

Indian Opinion

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THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE IN INDIA

MR. H. N. BRAILSFORD, who returned to England after a ten weeks' stay in India, has begun in the *New Leader* a series of articles describing what he saw in India. In his first contribution he indicates the tremendous power over the Indian masses wielded by the personality of Mahatma Gandhi :—

A few years ago the Santals, an aboriginal hill-tribe, which through 5,000 years has remained untouched by all the movements of Indian culture, heard a disturbing message from the remote world of the cities and the temples. A saint had said, "Let the creatures of the forest have peace." From time immemorial this jungle folk had lived by hunting. It pondered on Mahatma Gandhi's teaching, of which it knew only this one sentence, and then it burned its snares, its bows and arrows, and began to till the earth.

Devotion To "Saint" Gandhi

One cannot grasp the significance of the Congress movement by interpreting it in terms of European nationalism. It is the coinage of Gandhi's personality, and wherever it is most vital, it is his image which it reflects. Indians have a capacity for devotion to their leaders which we cannot find parallel among Western peoples. But to Gandhi they pay a reverence which differs in kind, as well as degree, from the affection and respect which they feel for Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel. He is the saint who has rediscovered the deepest principle in the Hindu tradition.

"Non-violence" to the sophisticated, Westernised younger generation is merely a tactic, which a disarmed people must adopt, because it lacks the means to fight the British Empire with its own weapons. To the masses, who have come under Gandhi's influence, it is at once a religious tenet and a racial instinct. So deeply is it seated that there may be memories of it even among Muslims, which centuries of Islamic teaching have not quite eradicated. Thousands of the stalwart frontier men, organised round Peshawar, in the disciplined formation known as the Red Shirts, profess it. Even the Afridi tribesmen, when they sent in their terms of peace after their recent invasion, put first a demand for Gandhi's release.

A saint in India is more than a sectarian leader, and I have seen Gandhi's photograph for sale on the steps of the great mosque at Delhi, the one exception which Muslim piety would tolerate in that sacred place, to the rule which forbids as idolatry the portraiture of any living creature. But, indeed, the saint is everywhere. Every shop in Bombay bazaar must show his effigy, and I have seen it in the mud-huts of outcast labourers, so poor that the penny they paid for it was the measure of a deep emotion. I have occasionally heard very simple evangelical Christians quote the commands of Christ in something like the tone of loving and unquestioning obedience which Indians use when they cite the Mahatma's words.

Every revolutionary movement lifts men for a time above themselves, and emphasises some aspect

of social morality. Gandhi has impressed on millions of his followers the belief that it is only by realising a high standard of personal virtue that they will win India's freedom. The movement has roots in the heavier clay of human nature, but this moral idealism is, none the less, its conscious motive force. I have watched the young men in the main street of a busy town risking arrest to distribute one of the illegal Congress bulletins, manifolded in some secret cellar. Its chief article, as often as not was a little sermon by the Mahatma on truth or chastity. In a gymnasium belonging to the youth of the movement in a little country town in Baroda State, in the place of honour among the paraphernalia of physical culture stood an altar to chastity, decked with flowers.


More even than the men, the women have shown their capacity for patient and courageous devotion. Taught to court the shadow, as no Victorian maiden ever was, these Indian women will face not merely the risks of a police charge, or privations of prison, but tasks more trying still. I have watched these sheltered Hindu women picketing the back doors of spirit shops in the slums; for eight hours one of them would sit alone amid heaps of garbage bedside an open drain exposed to the insults of drunken customers. It was much that the men at prohibited demonstrations would stolidly endure the blows of policemen's lathis until they fell unconscious.

What is more startling is that the movement felt it a point of honour to repeat these professions and meetings at frequent intervals, and always in their thousands, these frail, slightly-built men, who have none of our English training in rough games, would attend them, knowing what they faced. It sometimes happened after one of these demonstrations in Bombay that 200 casualties called for surgical attention. Indians, save among the martial races, may lack the male instinct for attack, but this movement has revealed a passive courage which calls for rare self-control.

I shall not easily forget the face and bearing of a man whom I met in Meerut. He had been the chief speaker at one of the few meetings which the police dispersed by rifle fire. Though he had done all in his power to keep the peace, he was arrested, beaten with lathis, and then, while under arrest, shot in the arm at close range. The police kicked him as he lay on the ground, and five hours passed before he received first aid. His arm had to be amputated above the elbow, and a day after the operation he was carried from hospital to prison. He told this story of brutality (which in the main I was able to verify from other sources) without a trace of bitterness. With a useless stump for a right arm, his whole personality radiated with triumphant serenity. He and his friends, he told me, kept their gaiety in prison. "Now we know," they said to each other, "that India is free. We have kept the Master's sayings. We have faced even the rifle, and refrained from anger." His vision of the new India, born of this supreme self-control, so

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THE WAY TO SUCCESS

 OUR issue of last week included a contribution by Mr. C. F. Andrews in which he reminded us of the necessity to see that our house was in order well in advance of the next Conference between the South African and Indian Governments. Under 5 headings Mr. Andrews indicated with simple clarity his programme for perfecting preparedness for the impending event, and it would be well if every Indian in the Union could be brought to assimilate their real meaning and appreciate their importance.

Right conduct is perceived only when duty is seen to be more truly desirable than self-interest. Duty unifies as assuredly as self-interest sooner or later disrupts and finally disintegrates. To repeat the oft-quoted "Unity is Strength" is, of course, merely to restate a commonplace, yet what is not as generally realised as it deserves to be is the truth that who does not carefully and watchfully restrain the prompting to introduce elements of discord at a time when a harmonious and united front can alone hope to prevail, is a greater enemy to his community than are the opposing forces. There is a time when differences of opinion may be urged to advantage; there is a time when it is the duty of the individual to refrain from thrusting forward with insistence his own particular view-point. For, duty has two aspects: Observance and Avoidance; the things it is right to do, and the things it is right to not do. The latter, not infrequently, is found to be more difficult than the former, for self-restraint is not easy of achievement.

Aham-Kora conceals itself in many subtle disguises. This egoism masquerades even as service, service that lives only in the limelight, but perishes otherwise. It takes form as sectional self-assertiveness, giving rise to intolerance and leading to hatred and separateness. It would have all else perish if only itself might persist. As to racialism we, as a community, are presently engaged in combating it. In India, it is providing Gandhiji with his most difficult problem, one which if not solved, may retard India's advancement indefinitely and undo much of the wonderful work of her splendid martyrs and sacrificers. Happily, we here do not experience these acute sharp divisions; a more intimate contact has made us know each other better. We shall be wise,

however, to take to heart the object-lesson that is confronting India and to subordinate the little "I" to the greater "All". The insistent 'ego' does admittedly take a lot to restrain it, but the true devotee is he who loses himself in the object of his devotion. Co-operation, then, should comprise not only the active "working with", but also the perhaps even more important avoidance of what if indulged in may mean the undoing of the good work of others.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND AFTER

EVENTS have moved very rapidly in the political history of India after the recent Round Table Conference. India is passing through one of the momentous days of her history. The dramatic release of Mahatma Gandhi soon after the London Conference, the Irwin-Gandhi Settlement, the meeting of the Indian National Congress at Karachi under the presidentship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the endorsement of the Irwin-Gandhi Settlement by the National Congress, and finally the release of political prisoners, are matters of greatest importance in the present political history of India. A great deal of work is awaiting Mahatma Gandhi after the meeting of the National Congress. It is absolutely clear that the decision of the London Conference does not satisfy the demands of the Indian National Congress. The demand of the Congress is Purna-Swaraj, which means that India wants full control of all her affairs. The London Conference has discussed the so-called 'safeguards' for the transitional period. The question of the Army in India is kept as a reserved subject in the Viceroy's hands. The Viceroy can take as much money as he likes for the upkeep of the Army without referring to the Central Legislature. It can hardly be called Purna-Swaraj if the control over the purse and the Army is reserved in the Viceroy's hands.

The representatives of the Indian National Congress will now take part in the second Round Table Conference which will probably be held in October in London. Before the meeting of the National Congress at Karachi, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Benn cabled to Mahatma Gandhi and assured him that the question of safeguards would be open for discussion at the next

Conference. By giving this assurance Mr. Benn strengthened Mahatma Gandhi's position at the meeting of the National Congress. India's many economists have fully discussed the so-called safeguards and they have declared that they are not in the interests of India. One of them, Professor K. T. Shah who is a well-known economist of Bombay and the author of several standard works on Indian economics has definitely declared himself against these safeguards. To take but one point as an illustration, Prof. Shah clearly demonstrates that if out of a total gross Central budget of 130 crores of rupees as at present, 55 crores are reserved and unchangeable by the legislature in respect of the Army, 50 crores in respect of the public debt of all kinds and 20 crores in respect of salaries and pensions and emoluments of all kinds, "there will be hardly five crores left for the Finance Minister to undertake any radical change whether for abolishing the salt tax or promoting any industry by subsidy in the financial or fiscal policy of India." Speaking generally Prof. Shah observes: "A close consideration of these safeguards and guarantees cannot but reveal the impossibility of agreeing to these demands without permanently endangering the interests of India, without creating a permanent mortgage on all Indian resources and without postponing indefinitely all claims of the economic and social betterment of the Indian people which are already overdue and some of which have been put forward in the specific points made by Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders". Prof. Shah finally comes to the conclusion: "The demand for guarantees and safeguards seems to be inspired by a desire to assure the interests of non-Indians concerned with India rather than of Indians and as such on the face of them these demands for guarantees and safeguards must appear unacceptable to the people of India".

It is therefore clear that in the next Round Table Conference the new future constitution must be hammered out in the light of the demand of Purna-Swaraj advocated by the National Congress. The Congress has given a limited mandate to Mahatma Gandhi which means that he cannot accept less than the Congress demands. Mahatma Gandhi has still to settle one most difficult problem of Hindus and Moslems. The recent communal riots have

made his difficult task more difficult. It would be quite easy for Mahatmaji to get Purna-Swaraj from the next Conference if there is a united demand on behalf of the whole of India. If that is not so India will have yet to make greater sacrifices to achieve freedom. May Almighty God lighten the burden that rests on Mahatma Gandhi and give him full victory at the next Round Table Conference.

MR. RICKETTS' MARRIAGE

THE Indian community in South Africa will be glad to know that the Assistant Secretary of the Agent-General to the Government of India, Mr. C. S. Ricketts, got married to Miss Peggy Pratt in Johannesburg on the 10th instant. Miss Pratt is the only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Pratt of Percy Street, Johannesburg. After the marriage a brilliant reception was held at the Langham Hotel. A large number of European and Indian guests were present and Sir Kurma Reddi proposed the toast to the married couple and wished them a happy and prosperous life. Mr. Ricketts received a large number of telegrams of congratulation from all parts of the Union from Indian and European friends, which shows that he is held in high esteem amongst both communities.

Mr. Cassim Adam, the vice-president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, paid a high tribute to the services Mr. Ricketts rendered to the Indian community and on behalf of the Congress presented Mr. Ricketts with a beautiful cutlery set. Mr. Ricketts received a number of fine presents from his Indian and European friends on this occasion.

To the Indians of South Africa Mr. Ricketts is considered to be one of them. His silent work in the Agent's office is highly appreciated by all sections of the Indian community. He is always courteous and ready to help everyone.

On behalf of the South African Indian community we heartily congratulate the married couple and pray to God that He may grant them a long and happy life.

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transfigured him that one ceased to pity the mutilated arm.

These idealists are the main spring of the movement, its inspirers, its organisers, its martyrs. They form the first line among the Congress prisoners in our gaols, whose total through this first year cannot be less than 60,000. But this is a mass uprising, which, in the more advanced provinces, notably Bombay, includes, if we accept the Muslim minority, virtually the whole population. I have passed through country towns and villages where literally every man wore the white Gandhi cap.

How is one to explain this diffusion of passionate national feeling among simple and mainly illiterate people, who seemed, a year ago, to have no interest in politics? It worked downwards and dates from a moment when the whole of educated India, including the Liberal Moderates, and all but a few of older and more orthodox Muslims, was united in intense indignation. The appointment of the All-English Simon Commission rallied India's self-respect against us. The union of the two Front Benches at Westminster forced her to realise that she must rely on her own efforts to win her freedom.

It was Gandhi's influence which dictated the middle course of passive resistance, when the young men would have taken to violence, and the old men would have trusted to constitutional agitation. The cult of a difficult and ascetic idealism was not his only contribution to the movement. This saint is a shrewd tactician, and he contrived that his methods of resistance, especially the cloth boycott and the refusal of the land tax, should touch the most responsive springs in the day-to-day mechanism of the average man. This was no longer the abstract political nationalism of the past; it raised economic issues.

Fate willed it that this crisis should break upon us, while the upheaval of world-finance was shaking India. No country has felt so grievously the consequences of the fall in prices, which resulted from the recent appreciation of gold. The bankers of New York and Paris have done more to further world-revolution than all the Communists of Moscow. In three years wheat prices in the great central plain of the Ganges have fallen from seven to four and at last to two rupees per "maund" (82lbs). Jute, the main crop of Bengal, dropped also to a half of last year's price, and so one might go on.

We in England hardly notice the fall in the value of silver relatively to gold. It means catastrophe to the Indian village, where hoards of silver ornaments are the basis of credit. The Indian Government had gone beyond Mr. Churchill's achievement in his handling of the pound sterling; it raised the exchange value of the rupee, which had long stood comfortably at 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. The usual consequences of deflation followed; the creditor and the "rentier" gained, while the importer secured a considerable advantage. But in India the creditor is often, and the importer is, usually, an Englishman.

Here was hot food for nationalist indignation among the rising class of Indian industrialists, who differ from Englishmen of the same type in the keenness with which they follow discussions on currency and credit. But whether in Bombay or Calcutta, one has only to open one's ears to be dinned by the voluminous complaints of Indian economic nationalism. Everywhere the demand is for high protection to foster industries, both those which exist, and those which sanguine persons may project. The unemployment among the educated proletariat is so widespread and so painful, that this demand readily gains a mass following. One is faced with long lists of leading British concerns

which will employ no Indian save in the most modest and worst paid grades.

Mr. Gandhi is the last man to desire the industrialisation of India. He is no Socialist, but neither has he anything in common with the Western middleclass outlook. He loathes mechanism and would go back to the golden age of the Vedas. But he proclaimed a boycott of British goods, and especially of foreign cloth. The subscriptions of the Bombay millionaires began to flow into the coffers of Congress. The wives and daughters of Parsee financiers put on the orange scarf, and picketed the English stores. He had contrived to unite the whole nation on his economic programme, and in this country, where the contrasts of purple wealth and naked poverty are starker than in any other land, the mill-owners marched with the rack-rented peasants, while the unemployed clerks filled the phalanx of his volunteers and the compounds of our prisons.—*New Leader*.

The New Phase In India

The *Star* in an editorial writes:—

The London Conference, the Irwin-Gandhi agreement, and last, but not least, the endorsement of that agreement by the Indian National Congress, are three enormous strides forward to a solution of the Indian crisis—so much so that sometimes British statesmanship seems almost to be wearing those seven-league boots of the fairy tale. Indian policy and foreign policy are probably the two defences which still stand between Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his fall from office. From the Indian side, the present attitude of the Congress represents a great triumph for Mahatma Gandhi's policy. Ever since his agreement with the Viceroy there had been many signs that the nationalist movement was taken aback by an armistice which struck it as being rather abrupt. There was evident disinclination to pull up the party machine, put it into reverse, and back tamely away from the precipice of strife towards which it had been heading. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru cried amid much applause that the war mentality must not be allowed to flag until complete independence was achieved. Mr. Gandhi himself expected powerful opposition at the Karachi meeting of the Congress and was nervous about it, because "he dared not prophesy what would happen" if the meeting refused to ratify the Delhi pact.

Mr. Gandhi's position, to compare big things with little, resembled General Hertzog's position vis-a-vis his republicans. The time had arrived for him to disappoint the extremism he had reared. Would it turn and bite the hand that fed? But, if so, how savagely and in what strength? Mr. Gandhi did not miscalculate. Again, like General Hertzog, he knows his own people, and can reckon with precision how they will think and act in given circumstances. The Karachi meeting was carefully staged so as to give Mr. Gandhi every possible advantage. He had carried the Working Committee of the Congress with him, and was sure of their support. The meeting took place under the chairmanship of Pandit Vallabhai Patel, Mr. Gandhi's "own devoted and trusted lieutenant," as Mr. Andrews has called him. What is more, it took place in Mr. Gandhi's own province of Bombay, and therefore in a surrounding atmosphere of enthusiastic followers ready to rally round at the first call. The critical nature of the occasion, both for the future of India and for the Mahatma personally, was well recognised. If the meeting went against him he would have had to abandon politics, and Britain would have had either to abandon her policy or to seek to impose it against their will on

the people it was designed to appease. On both sides frustration and consequent chaos would have been complete.

We only know the bare result of the meeting. The agreement with the Viceroy was endorsed "by an overwhelming majority." Things were made easier for Mr. Gandhi by a telegram which he received from the Secretary of State for India stating that in any future round-table conference the constitutional safeguards indicated by Mr. MacDonald at the close of the last conference will be regarded as entirely open for discussion. Also, the opposition inside the Congress played the game, apparently showing more loyalty than Mr. Gandhi had thought it wise to count on. Even the bellicose Jawaharlal Nehru, though confessing that he was personally opposed to the cessation of hostilities, consented to postpone his personal feelings to his duty as a disciplined soldier under his captain. The next move is a further round-table conference which, like the last one, will be held in London and, unlike it, be attended by Mr. Gandhi at the head of a Congress delegation. Two bulky fragments of Mr. Gandhi's tremendous task remain—to come to terms with Britain on the constitutional question and with the Moslems leaders on the religious one. The climax draws near. So far the omens are favourable beyond the most sanguine expectation of six months ago.

Sir Kurma Reddi In Pretoria

A reception was given to Sir Kurma V. Reddi, Agent-General for India, by the Pretoria branch of the Transvaal Indian Congress on the 5th inst. Among those on the platform were Dr. N. M. Hoogenhout, Director of Education, and Col. H. Mentz. Sir Kurma Reddi was welcomed by the chairman of the Congress, Mr. Shaikh Ahamed.

The main object of Sir Kurma Reddi's visit to Pretoria was to investigate Indian conditions, and particularly the question of security of tenure in regard to the new bazaar regulations.

All the European speakers gave their support to the principle that there should be security of tenure while Mr. P. K. Desai referred to the indignities and insults, the Indians were called on to suffer in view of the new bazaar regulations. Sir Kurma Reddi was pressed to use his influence with the Town Council to have the regulations removed.

Sir Kurma referred to the Round-Table Conference. "Despite black clouds here and there, events have conspired to leave no other alternative than that of granting Dominion status to India."

Sir Kurma paid a tribute to "the masterful personalities of Mr Baldwin and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who have kept up those great traditions of liberty and humanity."

England had given India a great deal in the way of civilisation and culture, and it was only to be expected that India would one day expect to stand on her own feet.

Sir Kurma spoke in glowing terms of Lord Irwin, and called him "the statesman of statesmen, who placed reason above statesmanship and Empire, and became human."

"There is no doubt that India is destined in the near future, perhaps within a few months, to become a self-governing community."

Referring to the displeasure shown by some Indians in regard to the financial negotiations, Sir Kurma advised them not to worry.

"I am not one who believes in restrictions being placed on the Indian Parliament," stated Sir Kurma,

"but I draw a line between restrictions and guarantees which British statesmen want. After the example of other countries who talk of repudiating their debts, can you wonder if Britain wants financial guarantees? No reasonable Indian would raise any objection to any guarantees England may demand."

Sir Kurma then dealt with other matters to which he has paid attention in South Africa, and advocated a reasonable attitude and seeing the other man's point of view in everything. He said he would do everything he could to assist in getting a satisfactory arrangement regarding the bazaar regulations.

Mr. Andrews Departure For England

The Rev. C. F. Andrews sailed in the *Armada* Castle last Friday, and hopes to meet Mahatma Gandhi in London either in May or June, when he proposes to attend the sessions of the Federal Structures Committee which will sit in the early summer. This Committee will do the most of the important preliminary work before the Indian round-table conference begins in London in September.

Mr. Andrews expressed the opinion that the Hindu-Moslem difficulty would find its solution through the energy and perseverance of Mahatma Gandhi, who had been always ready to make the largest concession to Mohammedan opinion, on the ground that the Hindus had a majority not only in population but also in wealth and education.

Mr. Andrews will not stay for the round-table conference, but proposes to return to South Africa in September. It appears to be most likely that the South African Indian Conference will be held in South Africa either at Capetown or Pretoria during October or November. Mr. Andrews stated that he had every hope that it might be possible to induce Mr. Sastri to come out for the conference provided that other circumstances did not imperatively prevent him.

No Hindu-Moslem Settlement

The London correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* writes:—

The position in India is causing serious misgivings here, for it is now clear that there is no sign of any settlement of the communal question by direct negotiations between Moslems and Hindus, and it looks as if the British Government may, after all, have to force a settlement on the two contending factions.

Indeed, the desire of both parties to force the British Government to do so may be one explanation of the intransigent line now being taken by both sides, particularly the Moslems.

Gandhi-Irwin Agreement

The Gandhi-Irwin agreement has to that extent aggravated the situation, for it has brought home to all parties in India, particularly the minorities, the near approach of something like responsible government.

The settlement has on the whole produced good results in Bengal, but the situation in the North-west Provinces, Orissa and Behar is very bad.

Picketing Almost Ceased

Picketing, at any rate of the aggressive kind, has almost disappeared from Bombay city, and foreign cloth is being sold more freely. The scheme for re-exporting all foreign cloth in India is not taken very seriously.

Such, briefly, is the general position. Dominating it is continual tension, for everyday the nervousness of the Moslems concerning responsibility at the centre, and the effect it will have on them in Bengal, the Punjab and North-west Provinces is increasing.

The idea concerning future procedure is that various departments, mainly at Simla, should prepare, and indeed are now engaged in preparing, the way for meeting the Federal Structures Committee in London in June.

This committee is expected to sit six weeks and then, after a fortnight's holiday for members, the full Conference will meet in London in September. But it is difficult to see how the Federal Structures Committee can possibly frame a Constitution unless the Hindu-Moslem difficulty is settled, for with that difficulty unsettled the safeguards and powers to be given to the Viceroy and Provincial Governors would have to be considerably increased.

There has been a real danger, as Conservatives have pointed out, that if the communal question is unsettled, many Princes may refuse to come into the Federation.

The three governing considerations, therefore, at the moment are, in the opinion of well-informed circles here:

- (1) Hindu-Moslem strife.
- (2) The very grave danger of an anti-British trade movement.
- (3) The possible stiffening of the latent Imperialism of the British people which such a movement may bring forth.

It is quite possible, finally, that we may be witnessing soon in India more scenes of violence and outrage.

Indians In South Africa

The recent agreement which the Union of South Africa has signed with the Japanese Government reveals once more that equality of status and equal opportunities cannot be achieved by a people who do not enjoy freedom in their own country. The humiliation and the constant harrassing of Indians in South Africa are a natural corollary to the inferior status which Indians enjoy within the British Empire and, through it, among the Nations of the world. The agreement with Japan, however, entitles an Asiatic free entry into the Union; whilst Indians, glorified members of an Empire with which they have so little in common, are not deemed fit for the privileges of international reciprocity. Japan, Asiatic though, can extort from South Africa a measure of honourable treatment which Indians cannot. The Immigration Bill which the Union Government intend converting into law cuts at the very root of the security which the Registration Certificates conferred on Indians. And this is being enacted in spite of agreements and understandings the terms of which have been scrupulously adhered to by the Indian Government and by the Indian people, but repudiated by the South African Government. This in itself would constitute a *casus belli* for any independent Nation; but for India, fettered to the chariot-wheels of Imperial Britain, the remedy is to suffer and pocket the insult—*Fairplay*.

Youth And Age In Politics

Mr. Grobler On The Perfect Party

"The business man and the farmer would be slaves and South Africa another Russia if the State were to provide for everything, as some people expect it to," said Mr. P. G. W. Grobler, Minister of Lands in his address at a social of the Junior Nationalist Party in the Nationalist Party Club, Johannesburg.

The hall was gay with coloured lights, Japanese lanterns and the orange ribbons of the party.

People expected too much from the Government, declared Mr. Grobler. If a man was out of work he looked to the State to provide it for him, instead of trying to provide for himself. If this attitude were persisted in we would become a nation of "papposke" unworthy of the great traditions which our forefathers had handed down to us. Where should we have been to-day had they adopted the same attitude of spineless dependence on others?

This did not mean that the Government was to do nothing. It was there to make civilisation safe for the future, to safeguard the interests of the people in times of peace and to organise defence in case of war. But when the Government had done its duty it expected that the citizens should do theirs, in carrying on business and satisfying the needs of all. This could only be done by honest labour and sturdy self-reliance.

Criticism Of Newspapers

Mr. Grobler deplored the fact that the Nationalist Party had no representative paper to state its case in English. The misunderstandings that existed amongst English-speaking citizens as to the aims of the party were largely due to misrepresentations and distortions of the truth by the papers that defended the Opposition. The younger men should combat this, and strive by every possible means to acquaint the English with the fine spirit of loyalty and disinterestedness that animated the party.

Racialism was the stick with which the South African Party was always trying to beat the Nationalists. General Smuts had said, and justly, "It is the last resort of a politician in distress." He ought to know the disease intimately, as he was suffering from it himself. (Laughter.) The true state of affairs should be revealed—that there were actually more English than Afrikaans-speaking members in the civil service and that these all occupied the best positions. The boot, it would seem, was actually on the other foot.

"You young people come into touch with the English South Africans. Discuss things amicably with them. Show them that you want to be friends. Let them feel that our party wants to be truly national by working in the interests of the whole community, English as well as Afrikaners, and this misunderstanding will be removed."

Young people are the socialists, middle-aged people the liberals, and old people the conservatives of a party, stated Mr. Grobler in conclusion. Youth is there to press forward when age would keep back too cautiously; age to put on the brake when youth would advance too impetuously, but both were necessary to a perfect party.

"We who act our parts now must soon vanish from the stage, and our places will taken by the youngsters, with whom the future of our country lies. It rests with you young people, therefore, to cultivate that spirit of self-reliance and idealism

which shall make the South Africa of the future one of the greatest, most independent and glorious nations in this grand world of ours."—*Star*.

St. Aidan's Hospital

The Street Collection on Saturday the 18th April, in Durban, will be for the St. Aidan's Hospital. This institution is so well known that it needs few words of commendation. It has for some years been open to Indians, and has brought great benefit to the sick. In the last eight months the patients have been as many as in the whole of the previous year.

In addition it has begun the work of training Indian nurses, of whom three are at present working under Sister Pratt and Sister Hart.

It is hoped that all Indians will take this opportunity of contributing to the good work which has done so much to help their people in a land where facilities of this kind are much needed by them.

Women's Education In India University Meeting

The Johannesburg branch of the South African Association of University Women met recently in the Senate room of the Witwatersrand University. Miss M. L. Hodgson presided. Mrs. Robertson reported on the Round Table Conference which took place last November under the auspices of the National Council of Women, and which discussed maternal mortality and nursing in the rural districts of South Africa.

Miss M. Brink gave an interesting address on "University Education for Women in India." She quoted from the lecture by Professor D. K. Karve, of the Indian Women's University, Poona, at Geneva, in the Palais des Expositions, in 1929. Dr. Karve spent over 30 years working up this university, which is the only one of its kind in India.

Miss Brink said that education in India proceeds on unnatural lines, the medium of instruction being English and foreign languages, the local language taking a very secondary place. Thus all knowledge was acquired under great difficulties.

India had so many local languages that it was impossible to teach different languages to every student. The Women's Union was started over 30 years ago to meet the need, and up to that time the curriculum was the same for men as for women, which was, of course, unsuitable for the women. The task of founding this union was difficult, as there was no State aid, no funds, and few students. The first stage was a boarding-school for widows.

The Indian women's university blazed a new trail, though the upper class and aristocrats ridiculed the whole idea. Dr. Karve had made a tour throughout the Bombay district to interest the people and to obtain funds. His efforts were unsuccessful.

In 1916 the Indian Women's University was opened without government funds or support, and only four students enrolled. 1916-1919 was a period of hard struggle, and many educationists were against the whole movement. Then the unexpected happened, and a Bombay merchant prince became interested in the scheme and put out £100,000 at interest for it.

To-day there are three colleges in connection with the university, Miss Brink continued. The degree

conferred by the university is known as G.A. (Graduate in Arts), after a three years' course. The greater number of the women turned out by the university become teachers. They go out into the country districts and found new schools. At first they are financed by the university, and later collections are made. The system of caste does not enter university life at all. Most of the girls marry at a very early age, but those who are unmarried are forced to go about with an elderly female relative.

Miss Brink terminated her address by saying that India was most certainly awakening to a sense of her nationhood, and that the solution of her problem came from within.—*Rand Daily Mail*.

Native An Outcast In His Own Country

Strong Plea For Free Exchange Of Ideas

Evidence given by Father Keretret, of the Catholic Native Mission, before the Native Economic Commission at Durban recently gave an interesting insight into the present attitude of natives towards Europeans. After referring to many of the harshnesses to which natives were subjected by Europeans, he said that to-day the native was made to feel an outcast in his own country—at any rate, the country of his birth. Better manners on the part of officials in public offices and on the part of the general European public when dealing with natives would tend largely to dissipate the prevailing inter-racial animosity. No sane native demanded racial or social equality with the white man, but there should be free exchange of ideas and free mingling of ideals. No social mingling on a large scale could be of ultimate use to either community, and neither desired it.

Unusual views were put forward by Mr. Thomas, organiser of the Bantu Adult Education Association, who, speaking of the curfew, suggested that if there were any merit in the measure at all it should apply to all sections of the community. He also mentioned the prevalent terms of referring to natives—such as Jim Fish, Boy and Kafir—which were opprobrious, and thought if these could be eliminated it would show the natives better that the Europeans respected their nationhood. Children in school should be taught to relinquish the use of these terms.

Kimberley Wedding

A pretty wedding took place in Kimberley recently, the contracting parties being Mr. T. V. S. Pillay, son of the late Mr. and Mrs. T. V. Pillay, of Kimberley, and Miss Muniammal, daughter of Mrs. M. Ramasamy Pillay, of Kersten, Port Elizabeth.

There was a large gathering at the reception at the bridegroom's residence, 102, Jones Street. Visitors from Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg and Oradock attended.

Numerous wires of congratulation were received from a big circle of friends throughout the Union. The bridal party left later for Port Elizabeth.

—*Diamond Fields Advertiser*.

Important Wage Act Charge

Determination Validity Questioned

Whether the wages determination applying to the clothing industry is valid is a point that was decided in one of the most important Wage Act proceedings heard in the Union, which was recently resumed before Mr. F. S. Heaton, additional magistrate of Durban.

Hyman Linder, representing Linder Brothers, clothing manufacturers, of Pine Street, was charged on 75 counts under the Wage Act in respect of wages paid to 75 employes, but his counsel, Mr. Moss Morris, contesting the charges, put forward the argument that these determinations were invalid. The decision in this case will affect the clothing industry throughout the Union.

He gave seven reasons for the invalidity of the determinations, the principal ones being that the publication of the notice of the determination in the Industrial Gazette was not in compliance with the Act, which required the notice to be published in a newspaper, and the Industrial Gazette was not a newspaper at that time.

Other Reasons

The determination was invalid because the Act required the date from which it was to be operative to be specified in the Government notice in the Gazette, and no such notice had been given. Further, the Board had recommended the period of the duration of determinations to be indefinite until fresh determinations, and under the Act the Board could not recommend any period of duration exceeding two years.

Another exception taken by Mr. Morris was that the determination purported to deal with the ratio of employes, but the only power to make ratios referred to juveniles, whereas the determination purported to deal with adult employes.

If part was invalid, the whole determination was rendered invalid. It was invalid because the classifications and definitions of employes were vague, uncertain and unintelligible.—*Star*.

British Imperialism In India

Writing under the above heading in a recent issue of the *Calcutta Review*, Dr. Tarakanath Das says that it is not true to say that "Great Britain secured control over India accidentally, and the sole purpose of the British Government's insistence to rule India is to serve the people and the cause of humanity and civilisation. It is needless to say that no honest Englishman and certainly no Indian—moderate, constitutionalist, nationalist or revolutionist—believes in Britain's mission of philanthropy in India."

He quotes the following candid statement of an ex-member of the British cabinet to prove his case:

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. *That is cant*. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we should hold it. (Shame) Call it shame if you like. I am stating facts. I am interested in missionary work in India and have done much work of that kind, but I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold India for Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire cotton goods in particular."

Subordination of the interests of the people of India to those of the British people, contends Mr. Das, remains to-day as a cardinal policy of British imperialism. Thus he says that in spite of all professions of reforms, the people of India are denied full control over the finances of the country.

Imperialism in India is to keep the people in subjection and exploit them for the benefit of the British people in general and British imperialists in particular. Furthermore the British Imperialists have designs of utilising Indian man-power, strategic position, raw materials and economic resources to further the British imperialist system. The present nationalist movement in India is an endeavour to change the existing system. An American observer on the present situation in India writes:—It was Warren Hastings who first acted upon the assumption that Indians could not be entrusted with authority to handle revenues and to administer justice. This assumption has been the prevailing influence in England's conduct of the affairs of India ever since, and it is in protest against this assumption that the people of India have risen to a point of practically open rebellion against British domination.

The people of India are working to recover their birthright of freedom; while the British imperialists, says the writer, are determined that the people of India should not even be accorded "Dominion Status" within the Empire.

IN THE MAGISTRATE'S COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF DURBAN

HELD AT DURBAN

Case No. 5887/31.

In the matter between PAHLAD No. 144375, Free Indian immigrant of Cato Manor, Durban, Carpenter, —Defendant, and DHEOTEE Indian immigrant No. 45225/9484/1165, lately of Cato Manor, but whose present whereabouts is unknown to Plaintiff—Defendant.

To the above-named Defendant:

Take notice that a summons has been issued against you in this Court by Pahlad No. 144375 of Cato Manor, Durban, for divorce on the ground of malicious desertion and that an order has been made that the publication of notices of such summons shall be deemed to be good and sufficient service of the summons on you.

You are hereby required to enter appearance to the summons on or before the 15th day of May, 1931, and if you do not do so judgment may be given against you in your absence.

Dated at Durban this 14th day of April, 1931.

DENZIL D. WILL
Clerk of the Court, Durban.

A. M. Haviland,
Plaintiff's Attorney,
Temple Chambers,
Masonic Grove, Durban.
Postal Address:
P.O. Box 642, Durban.

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