

Indian Opinion

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“LEAVE INDIA TO HER FATE!”

THE Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C., C.H., contributed the following article under the above caption in the *Spectator* of June 14:—

“Leave India to her fate!” This seems to many Britishers, both here and in India, to be the only way out of the tangle. Some days ago it found expression even in the columns of so well-informed a paper as the *Manchester Guardian*. One hears it so often in influential quarters that one must take it seriously.

The sentiment may be taken in two ways. On the lips of some it is perhaps a threat intended to rally those Indians who seem to hesitate without realising fully the disaster which a sudden withdrawal of the British would mean. Others contemplate it as the inevitable end of a novel upheaval which puzzles their statesmanship and subtly undermines their prestige. In so far as it is a threat, it would soon overreach itself. For it will meet on the other side a strong conviction that the salvation of India is not through British help but against British resistance. No fact in the situation is so prominent as that the present generation of Indians have shed their faith in the high mission of the British people in the East. Statesmen here must grasp this truth and another, viz., that the Civil Service in India can no longer hope to come between the *intelligentsia* and the common people of the land. To cherish either of these illusions is to precipitate the catastrophe.

But whence comes the ill-omened defeatism of so many earnest students of affairs? Mr. Gandhi's character and his principle and methods of political agitation are out of the range of common experience. The wonted mode of dealing with rebels will not do. World opinion will not tolerate the continued employment of force against a people who demand what is in reality their own and has been, besides, promised over and over again by solemn engagements. And in spite of advocates of violence here and in India it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the conscience of the British people will not sanction it. It is no good staying on in an atmosphere of ill-will which seems to admit of no cure. Gather up what you can and retreat. Leave India to her fate.

But what will become of her? What about the trusteeship of civilisation and the trusteeship of the dumb, helpless millions of India? Before withdrawing, much must be done to enable India to defend herself. Acute and complicated problems, of which the real magnitude will appear in the pages of the Simon Commission's Report, must be solved or brought within the reach of solution before the country can be handed over to its proper and natural custodians. A period of transition is, therefore, to be provided for. Take only the question of the country's security. The Indianisation of the present Army and the preparation of the citizens for the duty of self-defence are processes which require not only time but skill and delicacy of organisation. In spite of urgent and repeated entreaties they have received so far nothing but perfunctory treatment. It would be a gross betrayal, nothing

short of infamy, if Britain were to leave India without liquidating this supreme obligation.

The question is asked, Is it right to expect the British soldier to guard India when her internal administration has passed entirely into Indian hands? Knowing the mutual dissensions of the various religions and communities in India, would the Parliament of this country allow the sacrifice of British lives at the bidding of Ministers who are not its agents and whom it cannot call to account? It is true that India at present pays for her army; but that fact would only reduce the British officer and the British soldier to the status of mercenaries. That is one of the horns of the dilemma. The other horn is the continued maintenance of British control over the policy and the measures of the Government of India even during the period of transition—a course obviously impossible in face of the present posture of Indian nationalism.

Is the first alternative really impossible? Here appears the direct consequence of Great Britain's neglect in the past. The need of Indianisation side by side in the civil and military directions, though pointed out again and again, was not attended to. The British Parliament would be precluded by the equity of the case from putting forward the plea of impossibility; even if its correctness were not largely negated by what took place at the time that autonomy was granted to some other dominions. When the actual test comes, it is amazing how people are ready to decline from the exalted region of the moral mission and purpose of the Empire upon its gross material character. When Europeans in India are urged to live up to their own traditions and teach by their example the doctrines of democratic freedom, they turn round impatiently and ask, “Are we here to teach democracy to you? We are here just to make money and guard our rights.” The proposition that a British army has no business where there are no British interests and no British lives to protect may be true in the abstract though the implications of the Covenant of the League of Nations cast serious doubts upon it. But the long history of the Indo-British connection and the responsibilities, still undischarged, arising from it cannot be kept out of the discussion. If they were, the resplendent story of the Empire would have a lame and impotent conclusion. Perish the thought! The united wisdom of Great Britain and India, some of us still hope, will find a way out of the present difficulty of better promise to their honour and prosperity and the benefit of the world at large.

WE learn with delight that Miss Goonarathnam Naidoo, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. R. K. Naidoo, who has been for the past few years studying for the medical profession at the Edinburgh University, has left for South Africa on a month's vacation. She will be arriving in Durban on August 3rd by the “Kenilworth Castle.” We wish Miss Naidoo a happy and enjoyable holiday.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

THE situation in India and in England is fast developing after the speech of the Viceroy in the Indian Legislative Assembly about the round-table conference which is to assemble in London in October to discuss the future constitution of India. The Conservatives and the Liberals in England fear that if the round-table conference is confined to labour members only they may support the Indian extremists' demands to an extent impossible for Parliament to accept. The Viceroy in his announcement before the Legislative Assembly said that he hoped the conference would produce an agreement which would form the basis of proposals for presentation to Parliament in 1931. There is a suspicion amongst Conservatives and Liberals about the Viceroy's speech that the Simon report will be pushed into the back ground. The Conservatives and the Liberals therefore demand that the British delegation for the round-table conference shall be an all-party one. That is to say that besides the Labour members the representatives of the conservatives and the liberals should also be included in the conference. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Government takes the line that his Government alone must shoulder the responsibility of the round table conference, though it has not yet decided on the complexion of the British delegation. The Conservatives and the Liberals are most determined to carry the point that their parties must be represented at the conference. They have even threatened to throw the Government out of power if their demand is not granted. The *Daily Herald*, a labour organ, says that the Conservatives are reported to be contemplating to bring in a motion of censure in the event of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald declining the demand by the Conservatives and the Liberals and if the motion is carried the Government will undoubtedly resign. That is the position in England to-day.

The Indian Liberals view this situation with alarm and Sir Chimanlal Setaiwad, a liberal leader, has telegraphed to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald that if all the British parties are admitted to the round-table conference, those who previously welcomed the conference must reconsider the matter. From one side the Conservatives and the Liberals in England are united and they

threaten to throw the Government out of power. From the other side in India the Indian National Congress is determined to carry on the campaign of civil disobedience to a successful issue. The Congress does not desire to take part in the round-table conference unless it be for the specific purpose of drafting out a constitution for India on the lines of Dominion Status. The Congress party in India is the largest and most active. The masses stand behind that great organisation. It has branches all over India. Even the villages have their own Congress Committees and throughout India the great non-violent civil disobedience movement is carried on through this great organisation. Even the Liberals of India declared that Gandhi alone can deliver the goods. There can be no round-table conference without Gandhi. The Liberals in India now think that if all the British parties are admitted to the conference they will have to reconsider their position. How the situation will develop in future time alone will show. At present neither India nor England shows any sign of giving in.

"ONLY ITS LAWS ENDURE"

IT is a fact throughout nature and one equally true of mankind and human affairs that the forces of disruption and discord somehow appear to mass themselves in opposition whenever a special effort is made to promote progress towards harmony, unity and peace. In human e.g. racial and national relationships, it would almost seem that men themselves become the helpless sport of such reactionary forces, driven to their own undoing by an incurable obstinacy and deliberate opposition to the calls of reason and judgment and so eventually ending in destruction and death. History's pages are replete with such records of human folly, of the fatal consequences to races and nations, of defiance of the Higher Law which ordains that only the righteous and just shall survive, the wicked perish; of the truth of the classical text "whom the Gods wish to destroy, they first make mad." Would that mankind might be brought to realise that

"Before beginning, and without an end,
As space eternal, and as surety sure,
Is fixed a Power divine which moves to good
Only its laws endure".

Of theoretical assent to the doctrine, which to

the wise is also a warning, there is no dearth; but, the policies of rulers, politicians and "men of affairs," almost universally, offer a sad contrast between theory and practice. For, truth is, that stern unbending loyalty to Principle can rarely be maintained without sacrifice; without surrender of temporal power and place and emoluments. Devotion to the Ideal almost of necessity involves renunciation of what the worldly, deceived by appearances, fondly but foolishly regard as the Real; and so the intangible, as by comparison it seems to be, is let go, and Principle is jettisoned and Expediency adopted in order that the Dead Sea fruit of some temporary advantage may be plucked and eaten. Tagore, Oriental sage of the modern world, has truly said that unrighteousness is a canker that rots at the root of the unrighteous. Inevitably so, unless by an effort of will the canker be destroyed or expelled.

"When Righteousness declines, when Wickedness is strong

I rise from age to age, and take visible shape
And move a man with men.

Succouring the good, thrusting the evil back
And setting virtue on her seat again".

Thus, Sri Krishna in the immortal Gita.

It is, thus, that when a race or people is so blindly and obstinately beset upon a course of unrighteousness, of defiance of that "Power Divine which moves to good", the "Gods make them mad" and their destruction becomes inevitable.

Not as creatures of caprice or fortuitous happening is our fate determined. Our fate is self-determined. The Evil that sweeps us into oblivion is but the accumulated evil we ourselves have engendered and drawn about ourselves in such volume that like a piled-up wall of water it sweeps away the paltry defences of our self-sufficiency, and washes clean of us and our work the flood-ground we encumbered.

The annual general meeting of the East London Hindoo Society was held in its hall on Sunday the 13th instant, when Mr. D. B. Parbhoo presided. Mr. Harry, hon. secretary, presented the annual report, and Mr. J. Makan, treasurer, submitted the financial statement, which showed the society to be in a healthy and progressive position. These reports having been adopted, the existing officials, including the committee, were re-elected unanimously for the next twelve months, indicating that the members had full confidence in them.

Our Letter From India

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Calcutta, June 18,

Indian Rights In The Transvaal

The most important problem that is awaiting solution in South Africa so far as Indians are concerned is the trading licences and the rights of Indians to occupy and own fixed property in the Transvaal. From the particulars of Dr. Mahan's Bill affecting the rights of Indians in the Transvaal which have now reached in this country, the *Hindu* of Madras considers that "they have been based upon the majority report of the Select Committee which went into the question." What the minority report is like, the Indian public is not aware of and the Government of India who, the journal presumes, should be in possession of full details, should lose no time in publishing a full statement on the subject. When the second reading of the Bill came on it was postponed to a subsequent session which, it is expected, would be at the beginning of next year. This interval affords sufficient time for the South African Indian Congress and the Government of India to approach the authorities with well-considered representations so that the ruin which faces Indian owners of property and traders might be averted, otherwise, it is true, the paper observes, "that between 500 and 600 Asiatic traders in Johannesburg would find their occupation gone if the Bill becomes law. The measure allows five years for these traders to dispose of their business knowing full well that such business as is declared unlawful is not likely to find any purchaser. Moreover, the provision asking local authorities concerned to assign suitable areas in which Asiatics affected will be enabled to obtain free facilities and ownership of fixed property, was really introducing the policy of segregation which has in the past given rise to strenuous opposition on the part of Indians as affecting their national self-respect. The fact that the authorities concerned had followed a consistent policy of permitting Indians to trade and secure ownership of land by evading the strict letter of the law constituted a strong argument why they should not be disturbed in the enjoyment of their acquired rights."

Referring to a recent speech of Sir Kurma Reddi which he made in Johannesburg, the *Hindu*, in conclusion, hopes that Sir Kurma's appeal to the good sense of the Union Parliament would not be in vain and that the Union Government would, acting in the spirit of the Capetown Agreement, refrain from making a raid upon the rights now enjoyed by Asiatics in the Transvaal.

But from a message sent to the *Statesman* of Calcutta by its own correspondent from Simla, it is a relief to learn that as soon as the report of the Select Committee of the House of Assembly and the main provisions of the Draft Bill reached the Government of India they made pressing representations to the Government of the Union to allow adequate time for careful examination of the far-reaching provisions of the measure which the Select Committee had prepared. Their representations were ably supported by their Agent, Sir Kurma Reddi.

The spirit in which, states the correspondent, the request of the Government of India for a postponement appears to have been met by the Government of the Union of South Africa affords ground for the hope that the friendly relations established by the Capetown Conference endure and sugar well for the satisfactory adjustment of the difficult questions

that must from time to time arise in respect of the rights and privileges of Indians in the Union.

Simon Report—How It Was Received

In accordance with anticipation, there is little enthusiasm over the first verdict of the Simon Commission's Report which was released for publication early last week.

It would be remembered that the Commission, on which there was no Indian, was appointed in the teeth of opposition in this country "for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions in British India, and matters connected therewith, and of reporting as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislatures is or is not desirable."

In every responsible quarter, there is a general sense of disappointment over the first part of the report. Sir Phiroze Sethna, President of the Liberal Federation, is of the opinion that the recommendations will be found "to give India as little as possible and to keep England's hold on it as long as they can." Sir Ohiman Lal Setalvad is even more emphatic. To him "it is pretty clear that the recommendations are sure to be of a character which would never satisfy Indian national aspirations."

Mr. Krishna Menon, Secretary, Commonwealth of India League, opined that the survey introduced no new factor. He said it appeared to overlook the fact that the Commission had not heard Nationalist opinion and showed that the Commission was still thinking of progress by stages.

Mr. H. P. Mody, President of the Bombay Mill-owners' Association, says that one should not try to read between the lines for an indication of the conclusions, but he is certain that the recommendations of the Simon Commission will have to be very advanced in character, if they are to receive the slightest consideration of this country.

"If the report," he concludes, "concentrates on the difficulties of giving to India a constitution, akin to that of self-governing Dominions, it may turn out to be logical, but would certainly be lacking in imagination and statesmanship."

The Bombay Chronicle, in an editorial entitled "India Defamed," declares the report to be infinitely worse than what the critics had feared. It is in almost every line a subtle and revolting libel on India and her people, says the paper.

The Leader of Allahabad writes:—"We cannot acknowledge that Sir John Simon and his colleagues have presented an impartial view of conditions in India." The paper is not able to detect any difference in substance in the record of facts, review of events and estimate of political forces and tendencies and opinions generally between the volumes prepared for the United Provinces Government and the volume under review and for aught they know the passages they have read may have been composed by Sir William Morris or Mr. Tennant Sloan.

Commenting on the first part of the Report of the Simon Commission, *The Tribune* of Lahore says, to those of this country who boycotted the Simon Commission at every stage, in every form, neither the historical survey nor the analysis of the situation which is intended to prepare the public mind for the reception of the Commission's conclusions is worth anything. There is nothing in the volume to encourage hopes even in those who expected anything from the unwanted Commission.

The Muslim Outlook expresses disappointment at the manner in which the questions of separation of Sind and reforms for the Frontier Provinces are going to be treated.

The Daily Gazette in the course of a highly eulogistic critique of the Simon Report complains that the Commissioners have not given adequate attention to agriculture, commerce and industries which are the roots of Indian prosperity and progress.

Under the heading of "The Song of the Seven," the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta observes:—"God's seven Englishmen have justified their choice. From their Report the world knows to-day that though the British people and the British Government are pining to raise India to the status of the free nations of the world, it is the Indians or the conditions prevailing in India that have made it impossible for Great Britain to do anything in that way. It is Great Britain's generosity that has made India an original member of the League of Nations. But however generous Great Britain may be she cannot help India against herself. The world must therefore give credit for the good faith of England and reserve the pity for Indians. God's seven Englishmen are unanimous. Sir John Simon has laid great emphasis on that unanimity in sharp contrast to the hopeless division in the Indian Central Committee attached to the Simon Commission. It will be sheer perversity to say that the seven Englishmen, however much they might differ on questions concerning the domestic affairs of England, could not possibly differ on a question whether India should be lost to England."

News Of Independence Struggle In India

Negotiations With Gandhi In Gaol

Simla, Thursday.—As a result of correspondence, the Viceroy has agreed to Sir Tej Sapru and Mr. Jayakar seeing Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru in gaol, with a view to persuading them to restore peace.

The Viceroy reiterates the Government's desire for Indians to manage their own affairs subject to temporary safeguards in a sphere in which full responsibility is not yet possible.

Sir Tej Sapru and Mr. Jayakar will conduct negotiations with Gandhi on their own responsibility.—Renter.

Visit To Gandhi Postponed

Because of a bereavement, Sir Sapru and Mr. Jayakar have postponed their visit to Poona to see Gandhi, says a Renter's cable from Bombay.

Princes And Simon Report

Simla, Monday.—The Indian Princes met to-day to consider the question of drafting their views on the Simon Commission's report.

It is understood that, while favouring co-operation in carrying out the design of ultimate federation and agreeing to join the Council of Greater India, the Princes totally reject as unsatisfactory the financial and other recommendations made by the Commission with a view to giving effect to its scheme.

The Princes also regret that the Commission has not recommended the institution of a Supreme Court of India, which they consider an essential prerequisite of federation.—Renter.

Attitude Of The Princes

The Indian Princes' attitude towards the proposed round-table conference was voiced by the Maharajah of Bikaner, who, after endorsing the appeal made by Sir Sapru and Mr. Jayakar last Thursday and pleading for support for the conference, laid down only two conditions. These were that there should be an equitable agreement in regard to the position of the Indian States in the future constitution and

that India should retain the British connection as an equal partner in the Commonwealth under the leadership of the King-Emperor.—Reuter.

Economic Crisis

Simla, Monday.—Having obtained their views on the Simon Commission report from the Indian princes and some members of the Legislature, Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, to-day privately conferred with the Provincial Governors.

The opinion of responsible leaders in India is that constructive proposals must be presented to the Round Table Conference in London. Meanwhile, the situation in India is not cheerful, and especially in Bombay it is regarded as being very critical. Firm after firm is closing down, and hundreds of employees are idle, causing an economic crisis which will affect the trade of the whole of the sub-continent.—Reuter.

Message From Mahatma

Allahabad, Wednesday.—Gandhi, writing from Yeroda gaol, says: "I am keeping well, but find that doing 373 rounds of the spinning-wheel, which means spinning 500 yards of yarn daily, is something of a strain nowadays.—Reuter.

Riot At Jubbulpore

Followers of the civil disobedience movement at Jubbulpore tried to prevent consignments of liquor from living a Government warehouse by lying down in front of the gates.

Police, armed with lathis, charged the obstructors and the crowd retaliated by stoning the police, two of whom were injured. The magistrate thereupon ordered the police to fire. Sixty of the rioters and 12 policemen were injured, fifteen of the former and two of the latter seriously.—Reuter.

Sudden Change In India

FRESH MOVE BY CONGRESS LEADER

The Calcutta correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* reports:—

The most important political event since the Viceroy's address to the Central Legislature last week is the reported pronouncement of the Acting President of the Congress, Vallabhbhai Patel, that the Congress Party should contest the September elections and return to the Legislative Assembly.

Thus history is repeating itself with great exactitude, and the Congress Party's new dictator has overthrown Gandhi's policy while Gandhi is in gaol, precisely as on the last occasion when C. R. Das overthrew it and Gandhi was sent to gaol in his first non-co-operation campaign days.

A Complete Reversal

Patel's pronouncement is a complete reversal of the Indian National Congress decision made in Lahore at the annual meeting in December last.

This repetition of history will undoubtedly give some new courage to the numerous defeatists who are at present so impressed by the clamour that they are prepared to risk chaos in India by surrendering the framework of society to be the sport of the anarchistic creed.

There have been further but so far unsuccessful attempts to promote some rapprochement between the Government and the Congress to bring the latter into the Round Table Conference.

Britain And India

The London correspondent of *The Star* states:—Conservatives and Liberals fear that if the British personnel on the Anglo-Indian Round Table Con-

ference, which will assemble in London in October, to discuss the future constitution of India, is confined to Labour members, they may support the Indian extremists' demands to an extent impossible for Parliament to accept. This fear was increased by the Viceroy's speech last week, in which he said he hoped the conference would produce an agreement which would form the basis of proposals for presentation to Parliament in 1931.

The question now threatens to cause a political crisis in Britain. Conservatives and Liberals believe that Parliament will pare down the demands if they are excessive, and so cause disappointment and further trouble in India.

Mr. Baldwin, Sir Austin Chamberlain, Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Reading are now conferring with Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Wedgwood Benn in an effort to secure assurance that all the British parties will be represented at the conference.

They are most determined to carry this point, and are even threatening to throw out the Government if the proposals are rejected. The Government, meanwhile, is maintaining a policy of secrecy, refusing to answer questions in the House of Commons or to announce the date of the Indian debate.

The Conservatives, to give the Government every chance, agreed that Lord Burnham should postpone for a week his motion in the House of Lords demanding that the Simon Report shall form the basis of the Conference.

Indian Liberal View

Bombay, Wednesday.—Regarding the crisis at Westminster on the question whether the British delegation to the Indian conference shall be an all-party one. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, a Liberal leader, has telegraphed to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald that, if all the British parties are admitted to the conference, "those who previously welcomed the conference must reconsider the matter."—Reuter.

Another Threat To Labour

London, Tuesday.—"If the motion is carried the Government will undoubtedly resign," says the *Daily Herald*, with reference to a motion of censure that the Conservatives are reported to be contemplating in the event of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald declining the demand by the Liberals and Conservatives that the British delegation for the Indian round-table conference shall be an all-party one.

Behind the demand is a suspicion that the Government is willing to see the Simon Report pushed into the background.

The Cabinet yesterday met twice to discuss the matter. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald during question time deprecated efforts to raise the debate on India before the recess in either House.

The *Daily Herald* understands that the Government takes the line that it alone must shoulder the responsibility of the round-table conference, though it has not yet decided on the complexion of the British delegation.—Reuter.

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Making South Africa A White Man's Country

No Asiatic Trading

The problem of Asiatic trading on the town lands was reopened by the Lichtenburg Town Council at the request of the Chamber of Commerce. At their meeting a few days earlier the Council had decided that applications for trading stands by Asiatics should be refused provided that a sufficient number were taken up by white traders. The withdrawal of this latter proviso was urged by Mr. A. Schroder the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce who represented that body. Mr. Schroder said that by withdrawing the conditional proviso the Council would be amply repaid by receiving applications from white traders all over the country, who would, however, not be prepared to open business on the town lands if there were the remotest chance of Asiatics obtaining stands there as well. The Chamber of Commerce, declared Mr. Schroder, would see to it that if the Council decided to preclude Asiatics their decision would be made known all over the Union, and he was sure that such a procedure would have far-reaching results in making South Africa a white man's country.

The representations made by Mr. Schroder were discussed at length by the Council and it was eventually unanimously decided that no trading by Asiatics, either directly or indirectly will be permitted on the town lands. In order to facilitate the leasing of trading stands an office has been opened by the Town Clerk near Mansana and Witklip, and applications are now being received. Any information can be obtained from Mr. W. D. Roome. Members of the Town Council hope that in view of the fact that they are meeting the Chamber of Commerce in barring Asiatics, every help will be afforded in regard to the leasing of sites. It should be pointed out that councillors have always been opposed to the stands being taken up by Asiatics, but their contention all along has been that such a policy should not result in losses to the ratepayers of Lichtenburg, whom they represent.

Has India Rejected Non-Violence?

Grace Gilman of New York writes as follows in a recent issue of *The Nation*:—

Sir,—It is ironical that, simultaneously with the publication of S. K. Ratcliffe's statement in *The Nation* of May 28 that Indians have rejected the central doctrine of Gandhi's teaching, non-violence, we should have news from India that, censored though it is, proves beyond doubt that Indians are keeping to this doctrine in an amazing fashion. Casualties (I use the *Herald Tribune* figures from Webb Miller's admittedly mutilated account) to the number of 680 on one side, with no mention of anyone injured on the opposing side, surely do not indicate any great departure from the non-violence to which the Indian Satyagrahis are pledged. Lest anyone set this down to cowardice, I should like to say that Indian publications, which come to me regularly, tell quite a different story. One eye-witness to some of the frightful cruelty—and this against men who are merely offering themselves for arrest—writes, "Never have I seen such bravery... the meekness and non-retaliation under attack is nothing short of superhuman."

Paying for one's freedom in the "coin of suffering" is not the part of cowards. Courting arrest—to the end that available jails may be filled to overflowing—does not come from any but the most selflessly brave. The type of resistance employed by Gandhi is far more dangerous to the individual than the ordinary type of insurrection, as it is harder to combat.

What Gandhi calls, for want of a more definite phrase, "indecent assaults" have been the treatment of the satyagrahis right along, as highly reliable reports show; and yet this extreme of pain and humiliation is not alone borne, but courted, day after day. When all the facts have come through we shall know that Indians have *not* rejected their great leader's Ahimsa—doctrine of non-violence—but have, in the acceptance of it, risen to heights of courageous and spiritual achievement.

The Arrest Of Jesus And Gandhi

Writing under the above heading in its June Number the *Modern Review* says:—

It is said in the Gospel according to St. Matthew XXI, 46, of those who seized Jesus before his trial that "when they sought to lay hold on him, they feared the multitude, because they took him for a prophet." Perhaps for a similar reason, those who wanted to arrest Gandhi went stealthily to his camp forty-five minutes after midnight, and, though he is meek and non-violent and physically weak and his companions unarmed and pledged to non-violence, the party of arresters consisted of the District Magistrate of Surat, two Indian police officers armed with pistols and some thirty policemen armed with rifles.

In Matthew XVI, 55, Jesus is recorded as having said: "Are ye come out as against a robber with swords and staves to seize me? I sat daily in the temple teaching, and ye took me not."

Gandhi, too, might have said: "Are ye come out as against a robber with pistols and rifles to seize me? I wrote to the Viceroy what ye hold seditious and I taught the same daily in the villages and made salt, and ye took me not."

As One Premier To Another

The London correspondent of the *Sunday Times* states:—

After the crisis in Germany, the second sensation of the week's foreign politics is the alleged attempt of another neutral head of a State, namely, King Faud of Egypt, to establish a Dictatorship.

The Wafdist Premier, Nahas Pasha recently resigned, taking with him practically the whole Parliament, of which he controlled 95 per cent.

King Faud chose an admittedly able financier, Sidky Pasha, as Premier, but Sidky Pasha has no following, either in the country or in Parliament.

Nahas Pasha has made his followers swear they will not accept office under the new Government, thus creating an absolute deadlock.

The real sensation, however, follows on Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's warning to Sidky Pasha, after the Alexandria riots, that he holds him responsible for the safety of European lives in Egypt.

Sidky Pasha's reply is almost a snub, for it accuses Mr. Ramsay MacDonald of interfering unnecessarily in Egyptian affairs and says the Egyptian Police Force is capable of maintaining order.

Too Many Voters

The actual struggle is to amend Egypt's electoral

laws by limiting the franchise—which is at present enjoyed even by the Fellahin—in order that the more responsible sections of the Egyptian people may be represented in the Parliament, even if only in the Opposition.

A Renter's message from Alexandria states:—

Replying to the communication from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald of the information that two warships had been sent to Egypt, Sidky Pasha complains of the British Prime Minister's "unjustifiable intervention in Egyptian internal affairs." He declares that foreign lives and property were never jeopardised; and says, moreover, that as order has now been completely restored, the presence of British warships in Egyptian waters is no longer called for.

Mr. Tyson's Statement To The Select Committee

(Continued from page 239)

36. The grounds upon which a certificate can be refused are laid down in section *six* of the Ordinance; they will be found to be very wide and to take notice of the character of the applicant, the nature of his proposed business and the condition and position of the premises in respect of which the licence is sought. Any widening of these terms would, it is submitted, entail a risk of opening the door still further to that race discrimination which the Indian has only too much reason to fear at the hands of local bodies. With respect, for example, to the specific proposal that the statutory grounds for refusal should be widened to admit of the consideration by local bodies of the question whether there are not already enough businesses of any particular kind existing in the area concerned, it is submitted that the control of competition in the interests of existing businesses is no matter for a municipal body and that the introduction of this principle would open the door to most undesirable practices and accusations. Incidentally, any broadening of the grounds of refusal in this sense would involve an abandonment of the principle laid down in the case of *Dungarshi Morajee vs. Zautpansberg Rural Licensing Board*, quoted above, which was decided on that very point.

37. In particular Indians would press that the very limited recourse to the courts of law which they already enjoy under the Ordinance should not be abrogated or farther restricted—as for example by permitting the importation, into the decision of licensing applications, of the personal knowledge of the members of the licensing court otherwise than as evidence offered subject to the usual rights of cross-examination. Already under sections *ten* and *eleven* of the Ordinance the right of appeal is confined to cases in which the renewal of an existing licence is refused; where an application in respect of a fresh licence is refused, the application has no remedy unless the local authority goes outside the grounds of refusal permitted by the Ordinance or commits some fundamental error of procedure. It is therefore essential, if justice is to be done and the Ordinance is to be administered in the spirit as well as in the letter, that the Appellate Courts should not be hampered in their task of determining that the ostensible reasons for refusal are the real questions and that the reasons are such as are permitted by the Ordinance. It cannot be the desire of the Committee to deprive the Indian of even this recourse to the courts. The Indian has no vote—no say in the government or administration either of the country as a whole or of his particular locality. "You cannot," as Mr. Sastri

said in his speech at Krugersdorp, "you cannot wish to have anyone so much under your control that you will be able to oppress him in the first instance and then deny him a remedy." If you deny the Indian recourse to the courts of the land you leave him at the mercy of his competitors.

38. The Committee will recall that under the Cape Town Agreement the Union Government undertook that—

"(4) When the time for the revision of the existing trade licensing laws arrives, the Union Government will give all due consideration to the suggestions made by the Government of India Delegation that the discretionary powers of local authorities might reasonably be limited in the following ways:—

- (1) The grounds on which a licence may be refused should be laid down by statute.
- (2) The reasons for which a licence is refused should be recorded.
- (3) There should be a right of appeal in cases of first applications and transfers, as well as in cases of renewals, to the courts or to some other impartial tribunal."

Nos. (1) and (2) are already embodied in the Transvaal law.

The object of the Government of India Delegation in making these suggestions was solely to ensure the administration of the licensing laws in a spirit of even-handed justice and freedom from racialism. It may be that public opinion is not yet ripe for a consideration of this matter and that it would be idle to expect that the suggestions of the Government of India Delegation would yet commend themselves to the Legislature. It is, however, permissible to hope that the Committee will not prejudge the inquiry foreshadowed by this undertaking nor, by now recommending legislation at variance with these ideals, render the latter more difficult of open-minded consideration when the licensing laws in due course come before Parliament.

39. Item 3 of the first paragraph of the Terms of Reference is the judgment in the case *Frank Koltch vs. Max Pietsch and B. B. Dabhelia*. Though strictly speaking this case decided no point of law (the issue being simply a question of costs) it is understood that the judgment has been included in the terms of reference with a view to raising before the Committee the whole question of occupation of premises contrary to statutory restrictions contained in sections *one hundred and thirty* and *one hundred and thirty-one* of the Gold Law of 1908 (Transvaal Act No. 35 of 1908) and in similar provisions contained in conditions of deeds of grant or freehold titles in Government townships issued under Transvaal Act No. 34 of 1908. Though this is a matter quite distinct from the ownership of fixed property by Indians in the Transvaal, the subjects are connected by virtue of the fact that both are treated of in Act of 1919 which forms the subject matter of paragraph (3) of the Committee's Terms of reference. The two subjects will therefore be more conveniently dealt with under the head of that paragraph of the Reference.

40. Paragraph (2) of the Terms of Reference deals with the position created by the judgment in the case of the Town Council of Springs *vs. Fakir Moosa and Moosa Essop Sidat*. The facts of the case are fully stated in the judgment; its effect was to declare that in the circumstances in which the town of Springs was proclaimed the terms of section *one hundred and thirty-one* (1) of the Gold Law of 1908 (Act 35 of 1908) have no application and that Indians and other "coloured persons" are therefore entitled to reside on or occupy stands there.

41. This matter can be very shortly disposed of.

There is here no question of breach or evasion of the law. The judgment clearly states that in spite of the proclamation of July 1911 "section one hundred and thirty-one (1) of the Gold Law does not apply." It follows as a result that the respondents in that case, Moosa and Sidat, have committed neither an offence nor a tort by occupying erf No. 66 in 1927 and residing there since. And as their action has been, according to the judgment, perfectly in accord with both the letter and the intention of the Act under which proclamation took place, there can be, it is most earnestly submitted, no question of any possible restrictive legislation being given retrospective effect as against them. The same would apply to other Indians residing on or occupying premises in the area to which the judgment refers.

42. But, it is submitted, there is no case for any such restrictive legislation at all. In the course of an elaborate judgment his Lordship, the Acting Chief Justice, not only came to a considered conclusion that section one hundred and thirty-one of the Gold Law does not, as a matter of fact, apply to the town of Springs, but gave the fullest reasons for holding that this view correctly interpreted the intention of the Legislature in respect of section fifty-two of the Act. "The fact is that land proclaimed under section fifty-two stands in a peculiar position and was not intended by Parliament to be hit by all the provisions of the Gold Law with reference to proclaimed land. Land proclaimed under that section is land *sui generis* with a long history of its own. It differs *to toto* from ordinary land which, from virgin veld, is converted into proclaimed land. General provisions in the Gold Law of 1908 *prima facie* refer only to ordinary proclaimed land." His Lordship then cites some of these "general provisions" and continues, "For these reasons I have come to the conclusion that section one hundred and thirty-one (1) has reference to proclaimed land not falling under section fifty-two." In other words, it was not a case of oversight that the "general provisions" of the Act (section one hundred and thirty-one among them) were not applied to this "improved" land as they were applied to virgin veld where, at the time of proclamation, there could be but few surface rights to protect. Springs was laid out as a town in 1904 and not proclaimed until 1911; by the latter date, many surface rights must have been in existence. The position then is, that Indians enjoy in regard to Springs a right which the Legislature, according to the judgment, intended them to enjoy; the introduction of legislation designed to impose new restrictions upon Indians in an area in which they are lawfully established, clearly stands upon a very different footing from the enactment of legislation, whose object is to enforce existing restrictions.

(To be Continued)

Durban Municipal Barracks Free School

The annual general meeting of the Durban Municipal Barracks Free School (late Vishnu Temple Free School) which recently took place in the School hall, Depot Road Durban, was the most successful since the inception of the institution.

The President, Mr. G. P. Nair, was in the chair and was supported by Mr. M. P. Pillay, (Secretary) and Mr. M. D. Pillay, (Treasurer) and members of the School Management Committee. There were also present friends and others interested in the work of the Committee.

The President made an interesting speech in the

course of which he paid an eloquent tribute to the Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and complimented the School Management Committee on the very efficient manner in which they had carried out their duty.

Mr. Nair also thanked the other co-workers, friends, and well-wishers, for the interest they had taken in the welfare of the children.

The Secretary's report disclosed that over 100 children are at present receiving tuition. It also reviewed the successful work of the past year. The secretary also paid a warm tribute to the Mayor and Mayoress for their kind action in opening the school sports on the 12th January 1930.

The elections were held by ballot and the following officials were elected for the ensuing year:—

Patrons, Mayor of Durban and Sir K. V. Reddi, Hon. Life Vice-Presidents: Messrs. A. A. Peters, and Padayachee, President: Mr. G. P. Nair, re-elected, Vice-President, Mr. D. M. Hoosen, re-elected, Hon. Secretary Mr. Fred V. Chengiab, Treasurer Mr. M. D. Pillay, re-elected, Assist. Secretary Mr. A. Nair, re-elected, School Management Committee Mr. D. M. Hoosen chairman, Messrs. S. Basdeo, A. Chengiab, M. Soobramony, K. Naidoo, M. P. Pillay and the officials of the board. Trustees:— Messrs. V. M. Govinder, P. M. Pillay and R. Bablall.

The meeting terminated with a musical item which was under the conductorship of Mr. R. Bablall.—Contributed.

A pitiful tragedy of a disillusioned young man, described by him "as a good life and a hell of a one," was revealed at the inquest on James Scott Law, who was found dead in his flat in Charing Cross Road, London. Three years ago his father gave him £6,000 and cast him off. Law began to drink heavily and spent all his money. He left a letter stating: "I have taken all the sleeping dope I have accumulated for months. Cheerio, everyone!"—*Sunday Times*.

IN DANGER OF BREAKDOWN.

Many on Verge of Nervous Collapse.

There are many people who are on the verge of a nervous collapse. The stress of modern life is alone a great strain on the nervous system, and when, in addition, there is some extra worry, a shock, or an illness, it is not surprising that the nerves give way. As the nervous system governs the whole body, it follows that nervous disturbances cause acute distress. Among the symptoms usually experienced by sufferers are insomnia, failure of memory, irritability, headaches, lack of appetite, and severe depression.

But if you are a victim of nervous debility, there is no need to despair. Even severe nerve trouble may be overcome by improving the condition of the blood. That is why the blood-ionic treatment by Dr. Williams' pink pills succeeds where other treatments have failed. These pills make new blood, rich in the elements on which the nerves thrive, and in this way they have effected many remarkable cures of nervous disorders.

It is easy to prove this for yourself. Start taking Dr. Williams' pink pills now, and see how soon your nervous will be strengthened and your whole system toned up. Your own dealer sells Dr. Williams' pink pills, or direct from Dr. Williams' Medicine Co., P.O. Box 604, Cape Town; 3s., 3d. for one bottle, or six for 18s., post free.

Indian Opinion

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ENGLAND'S ATROCITIES IN INDIA

WE publish below the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress which throw light on the present political situation in India:—

1. Spirit Of Non-violence

On a careful survey of the progress of events in all parts of the country since its last meeting, this Committee puts on record its thankful appreciation of the general spirit of non-violence, the cool courage and patient endurance of suffering displayed by the people under the grave provocation of cruel and unwarranted firings and brutal *lathi* assaults by the military and the police. The Committee congratulates the country on this great achievement and warns the Government that no end of lawlessness committed in the name of law and order will deflect the people of India from their firm determination to win Swaraj at all costs.

2. Repressive Policy Of The Government

Whereas the Government has indulged in a regular orgy of relentless repression to stifle the Satyagraha movement and has established a reign of terror throughout the country by actively encouraging or conniving at open acts of lawlessness and violence committed on the people by the very officials charged with the maintenance of law and order.

And whereas the following among other unlawful acts have been committed in pursuance of this policy, that is to say (1) cruel and indiscriminate beating of unarmed and unresisting men, women and children by, in the presence and under the orders of responsible British and Indian officers in many towns and places in the country, (2) indecent assaults on men and women and hitting them on their private parts, (3) shootings without any justification, (4) inhuman treatment of the wounded and obstructing the private Red Cross and ambulance work, (5) arrests and convictions on false charges, (6) uncalled for application of Martial Law, (7) unlawful introduction of Martial Law conditions without the formal application of Martial Law, (8) misuse of Sec. 144 of the Cr. P. C. and other provisions of the law, (9) trespasses on private property and forcible ejection of lawful occupants, (10) suppression of authentic news and the issue of false and misleading communiques, and (11) fomenting Hindu-Muslim differences

And whereas the Governor-General has recently promulgated three Ordinances, namely the Press Ordinance, the Prevention of Intimidation Ordinance and the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance, the first of which has killed free and independent nationalist journalism and the last two have made it criminal to organise the peaceful picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops, the social boycott of Government officers participating in various kinds of excesses and to carry on propaganda for non-payment of taxes not voted by the representatives of the people

And whereas the statements issued by the Governor-General justifying these Ordinances contain allegations which are contrary to facts showing that the Governor-General is either kept in com-

plete ignorance of the actual happenings in the country or is intentionally ignoring them

Now therefore the Committee calls upon the country to meet the situation thus created, by publicly disobeying the three Ordinances aforesaid with calm and unflinching courage and strict observance of non-violence under the gravest provocation as heretofore, and carry out fearlessly all the resolutions of the Congress, the A.I.C.C. and the Working Committee regardless of the said Ordinances.

In particular the Committee advises the people to carry on with redoubled vigour the peaceful picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops, social boycott of Government officers known to have participated in unjustifiable assaults on Satyagrahis and others and to extend the campaign for non-payment of land tax to parts of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnatak, Andhra and Tamil Nad where it has not yet been started, and also to intensify and extend the campaign for non-payment of *Chokidari* tax in Bengal, and start it in Behar and Orissa.

3. Dharasana, Wadala, Contai and Tamluk Atrocities

The Committee has learned with horror the blood-curdling account of the barbarous atrocities committed on peaceful Satyagrahis at Dharasana. The Committee notes that these atrocities included, among others, beating Satyagrahis mercilessly with *lathis* until they dropped down unconscious and thereafter causing them to be trampled by horses ridden by European officers, stripping Satyagrahis naked and thrusting sticks into their private parts, driving babul thorns into the body of a young lad and striking heavy blows on the scrotum.

The Committee is satisfied that the atrocities committed at Wadala, Contai and Tamluk were with slight differences of detail on a par with those perpetrated at Dharasana and were equally inhuman and unworthy of any civilised Government.

This Committee holds that the high British and Indian officers of the Government are directly responsible for these inhuman acts by having permitted or failed to stop them, and warns the Government that it is only driving the iron deeper into the soul of the people whose determination cannot be shaken by the cruellest forms of torture.

The Committee conveys to the Satyagrahis of Dharasana, Wadala, Contai and Tamluk its heart-felt sympathy with their sufferings and its high admiration for their cool courage and patient endurance.

4. Lucknow Atrocities

Whereas a statement of the occurrences of the 25th May in the city of Lucknow issued by a committee of prominent citizens with Mr. S. M. Habibullah, O.B.E., M.L.C., as chairman, discloses the following facts:

1. That 'grievous hurt and fractures were caused to the Satyagrahis who according to all correct information had in no way resisted the police and

[Continued on page 253

BARBAROUS ATROCITIES IN INDIA

ELSEWHERE in this issue we publish the full text of the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress. The Government of India have established strict censorship on the news of the struggle of India for freedom to such an extent that as if a state of war exists to-day between India and England. Reuter in this country has been supplying us with such news which would not lower the prestige of the Government of India in the eyes of the world. The world is purposely kept in the dark about the happenings in India. Fortunately we receive Indian papers from India which give us very encouraging news of this great struggle. The barbarous atrocities committed on peaceful and non-violent volunteers at Dharasana, Wadala, Contai, Tamluk, Lucknow and at many other places are of such horrifying nature and are so inhuman that it is absolutely unworthy of any Government that calls itself civilised. The Working Committee rightly says that it holds that high British and Indian officials of the Government are directly responsible for such inhuman acts by having permitted or failed to stop them and warns the Government that it is only driving the iron deep into the soul of the the people whose determination cannot be shaken by the cruelest forms of torture. The active participants in the civil disobedience movement are carrying on their work on absolutely peaceful lines offering not the slightest provocation or resistance. They cheerfully court arrest and imprisonment. It is for the authorities to arrest them and send them up for trial for the technical breaches of the law they intentionally commit. But the measures taken by the authorities against non-violent crowds and the Congress volunteers are conducted in such a way that a person ignorant of the true political situation in India would believe that the British Government were waging a fight against an armed force that was violently attacking them. The authorities have discarded all the constitutional methods in dealing with the non-violent and peaceful volunteers of the country. Mr. V. J. Patel the ex-Speaker of the Legislative Assembly in describing this state of affairs in India said that there is no more constitution left in India. The

British Raj is at an end and in its place the Lathi Raj is established. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the ex-Acting President of the Indian National Congress who is now serving six months imprisonment, declared publicly before a large meeting in Bombay that 'the experience he earned in Bombay during his short stay was that there was no more a civilised Raj in the country in general and in the Bombay city in particular. It was a Raj of Lathis (sticks) and lies. The Lathi was being used to crush the spirit of the people and the Government is indulging in lies to hide the truth from the world.' India to-day is widely awakened, that no amount of repression could stop the movement of freedom now. The Government of India may go on breaking as many heads and bones as they liked but India would not be deterred by that. A day will come when England will have to repent for what she is doing in India. Truth must eventually prevail. That is the law of nature.

THE FATE OF OUR STATUS

"There is a tide in the affairs of man,
Which, when taken at the flood
Lands on to fortune."

Thus, Shakespeare, who like all true poets was both seer and philosopher.

We in South Africa are confronted with the gravest crisis with which our community has ever been called upon to deal. The fate of both our status and of our future opportunities is at stake, and the breathing space secured to us through the timely intervention of the Agent-General of the Government of India is drawing rapidly near its end. We have been assured that the Bill upon which our future turns is to be pressed through Parliament early next session, and there is little, if any, doubt that its sponsors are determined that it shall be passed without alteration in any important particular. We, for our part, have proclaimed that the Bill is wholly unacceptable to us, that the spirit of it is poisonous, that for us to dally with it, even, is tantamount to our acquiescence in our own death sentence. We have made unmistakably clear the position we as a community take up, and to which we are resolved to adhere, and the position is, that we consider that the time has come for us to insist that a halt be called to this statutory branding of us as a community of undesirables, of outcasts, a leper community,