

Indian Opinion

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MESSAGE TO THE NATION

THE "DAILY HERALD" INTERVIEWS PANDITJEE

THE Free Press of India has received for publication a message to the nation given by Pandit Motilal Nehru, after his conviction. In the course of the message Pandit Motilal says:—

"We have not yet paid one hundredth part of the price of freedom and must go forward with unflinching courage. Do not worry for those who have been taken. See to it that every woman and child left behind give a good account of himself or herself to the nation.

I have been convicted for inciting people to break three infamous Ordinances passed by a panic-stricken Viceroy. Immediately on my conviction, I repeat the offence for which I have been convicted and call upon every true Indian not only to disobey those ordinances but all other lawless laws.

Fight To A Finish

The fight for freedom must go on to a finish. Remember that that fight when bravely fought has no ending other than the achievement of freedom. They have de-

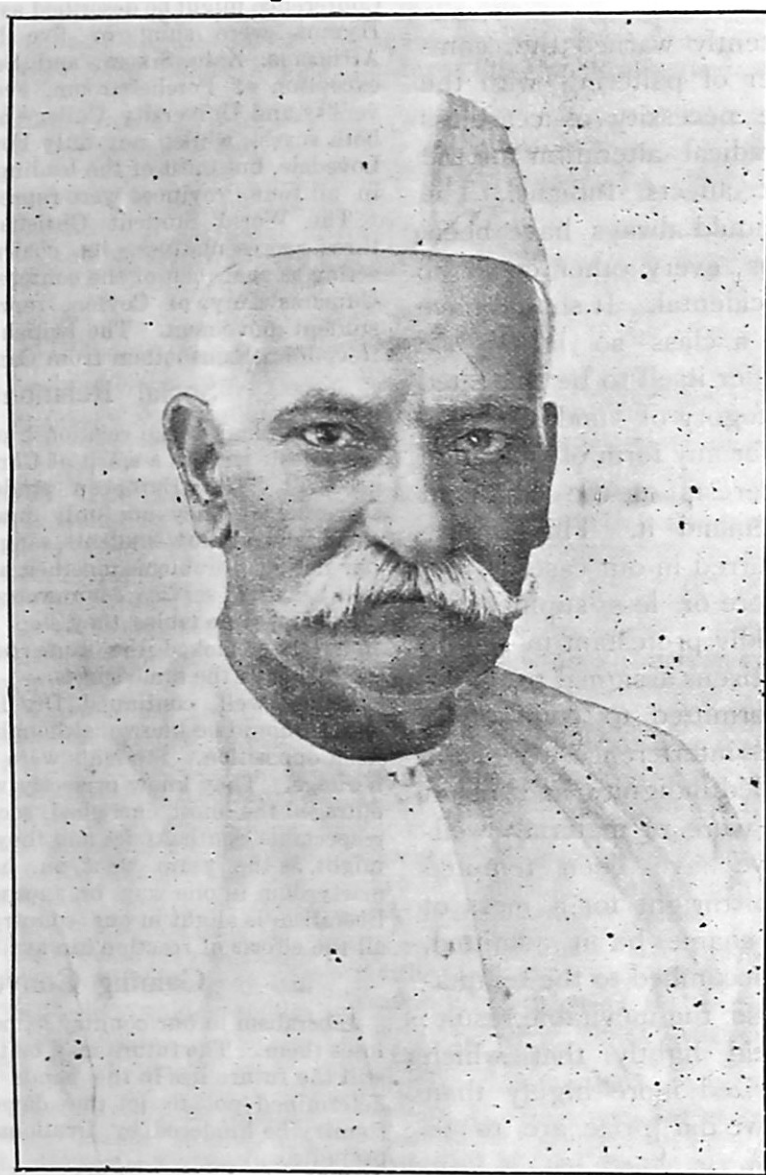
clared the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee an unlawful assembly in the U.P. That declaration is not worth the paper on which it is written.

Let the Working Committee go on functioning and carry on the good fight in the U.P. as in the rest of India in spite of that or any other declaration that may hereafter be made.

Let there be no relaxing, no faltering, no peace till the goal is reached.

Long Live Congress! Long Live the All-India Congress Committee! Long Live the Working Committee!"

Mr. George Slocombe, the special correspondent of the *Daily Herald*, has cabled to his paper an interview which he had with Pandit Motilal Nehru. It was signed by the his approval of



PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU. Ex-President Indian National Congress.

acting President signifying it.

Mr. Slocombe writes:—

I have had a long and frank conversation with Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Acting

THE LAW MUST BE REPEALED

PARADOXICAL as it may sound the judgment on appeal in the latest Norwood case promises to be a blessing in disguise, in spite of the fact that it rings the death knell of the Asiatic trading community. Put shortly, it arms municipal licensing committees with the power to refuse trading licences to Asiatics in areas controlled by municipalities, wherein occupation is prohibited by statute. This development of the situation at least clears the atmosphere and makes unnecessary any further anxiety concerning the fate of the "Bill" about which the community and the Indian Government have so long been worried.

We have persistently warned the community of the danger of paltering with the question and of the necessity of ceaseless effort to obtain a radical alteration of the existing law as it affects Indians. The vital issue is, and should always have been, that of Indian status, every other could be but incidental or accidental. It should have been obvious that a class so lacking in self-respect as to suffer itself to be relegated by statute to the category of "undesirables," had to be prepared for any form of spoliation if the competing interests of the dominant class appeared to demand it. This is precisely what has occurred in our case.

We have been more or less supine and, at the best, only mildly protestant in regard to the position as citizens assigned to us so long as we were permitted to continue to trade without serious interference. We have so to say, compounded indignity and insult in return for a measure of material well-being. In short, we have been tempted into bartering our birthright for a mess of pottage and to our shame be it admitted, have all too easily succumbed to the temptation. With, of course, the inevitable result: Inasmuch as we held lightly that which should have been prized more highly than riches, those things we did prize are to be taken from us also!

Sweet indeed, are the uses of adversity. Kind friendly adversity that spurs us on to throw off sloth and cowardice and refuses to desert us until we have found our true selves and asserted our manhood! Were we not so steeped in our stupid materialism could we fail to see in the "enemy" our invaluable "friend;" in pain and suffering the wise loving teacher guiding us back

to the ways of sanity and salvation? If we are not entirely bereft of understanding and courage, we shall whole-heartedly bless and be grateful for the turn events have taken, for now at last we are forced to make our choice of standing up as men or perishing utterly, body and soul. Thank God we have the choice. Pray God we choose honourably and well.

Liberalism In South Africa

Professor E. H. Brookes gives some interesting personal impressions of the European-Bantu Conference, recently held at Fort Hare, in this month's *Kingdom International*.

He says the European-Bantu Student Christian Conference might be described as a unique gathering. Hymns were sung in five languages—English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho, and Sesuto, and with the exception of Potchefstroom, every European University and University College had sent delegates of both sexes, whilst not only Fort Hare itself and Lovedale, but most of the leading Bantu institutions in all four Provinces were represented.

The World Student Christian Federation sent three representatives, its chairman, Mr. Francis, acting as chairman of the conference, and Professor Oumaraswamy, of Ceylon, represented the Indian student movement. The British movement sent the Rev. John Ramsbottom from Cambridge.

Social Relationships

The difficult social relationships, says the writer, were dealt with in a spirit of Christian courtesy and goodwill. The European students refused to be segregated. They not only prayed together with their Bantu fellow-students, sang together, discussed our national problems together, and in a memorable and beautiful service communicated together, they ate at the same tables, they slept in the same buildings, they kicked the same rugby football, they competed in the same sports.

It was well, continued Dr. Brookes, that these things should be known, although they might arouse keen opposition. Students were waking up to their heritage. They knew perfectly well that they had outraged the most cherished social conventions of respectable South Africa and they realised that they might, as the years went on, have to face minor martyrdom in one way or another, but the fire of liberalism is alight in our country to-day, and not all the efforts of reaction can avail to quench it.

Gaining Converts

Liberalism in our country gains converts; it never loses them. The future may be the far future, but still the future lies in the hands of those who are determined not to let the development of their country be hindered by irrational and unamicable prejudices.

This attitude among European students has not merely represented only one race; both languages and all sections were fully represented. Nothing in the conference was more striking than the rapprochement between two sections of the population, hitherto not well acquainted with each other—the Eastern Province Natives and the Afrikaans-speaking students of South African universities.

The purposeless and very unfair discrimination between the two white races had gone, so far as the natives who attended the conference were concerned; one illustration of this was the marked sympathy of native students to suggestions for the

better study and greater use of Afrikaans by their people. The conference was not a body of unintelligent pietists; it embarked upon economic studies of great interest and importance, and arrived in this sphere at some very useful conclusions.

[Continued From Front Page]

President of the Indian National Congress. At the age of seventy and in spite of ill-health Pandit Motilal is still the ablest politician in India. His first words were to assure me that the Government were tragically deceived if they believed that the Civil Disobedience movement was dying down, except in the Bombay Presidency, or that it could be crushed by Ordinances and the use of lathis.

National Movement

"Unlike the earlier campaign of Civil Disobedience," he told me, "this movement is uncomplicated by religious issues. Members of all communities have rallied to the Congress Flag, and this is a national movement in a sense never before known in India."

I asked him what his attitude would be if he were to receive an invitation to the Round Table Conference.

"My reply," he said, "would be to ask on what basis the Conference is convened. If its terms of reference are to be left open, and we are expected to go to London to argue a case for Dominion Status, I should decline."

His Terms

"If it was made clear, however, that the Conference would meet to frame a Constitution for a free India, subject to such adjustments of our mutual relations as are required by the special needs and conditions of India and our past association I for one would be disposed to recommend that Congress accept an invitation to participate in the Conference.

"We must be masters in our own household, but we are ready to agree to reasonable terms for the period of transfer of power from a British administration in India to a responsible Indian Government. We must meet the British people to discuss these terms as nation to nation and on an equal footing."

Pandit Motilal recalled that at the famous Delhi interview with the Viceroy on December 22 he and Mr. Gandhi had asked—failing a declaration of the terms of reference of the Round Table Conference—for a private assurance from Lord Irwin that His Majesty's Government and his own Government would support India's case for full Dominion Status at the Conference. The Viceroy had replied that neither Government could prejudice the decision of the British Parliament.

"No Concern Of Ours"

"We have no wish to interfere with the liberties of the British Parliament," Pandit Motilal told me, "What the British Parliament does is no concern of ours. We wished then to be assured that the British Government and the Viceroy were sincere in their promises.

"If we had been assured that as far as lay in their power they would honestly support our claim at the Round Table Conference we would have been content to leave the results of the Conference and their reception at the hands of Parliament to take care themselves, reserving naturally our own action for the future in the event of rejection.

"Much water has flowed under the bridges since December. The private assurance which Mr. Gandhi asked for then, and which we should have been prepared to accept, might not be acceptable now.

Even the great moral and political authority of Mr. Gandhi might not now be able to persuade the Congress to participate in the Conference on any terms short of complete Independence."

"Change Of Heart" Wanted

Pandit Motilal insisted that if an invitation were accepted, the Congress—which even the liberals had admitted to be the greatest political force in the country—must have the predominant voice in the representation of British India justified by its strength and influence. He refused to admit the exaggerated claims of a large number of mushroom parties which had appeared during the past two years, and which, in spite of their close association with the Government, had neither following nor influence in the country.

Echoing Mr. Gandhi's now famous phrase, he asked for signs of "a change of heart" on the part of British administrators of India as an earnest of their sincerity.

If these terms were conceded, and a wide measure of amnesty for political prisoners were granted, he believed that a political settlement was possible.

Indians In The Union

An Appeal For Fairplay

To the Editor of the "News."

Sir,—Major K. Rood, M.P., (Vereeniging) has, it appears, asked more than a dozen questions in the recent Select Committee which sat to inquire into the Asiatic question in the Transvaal, of Mr. J. D. Tyson, then acting Agent-General of the Government of India in the Union, about the responsibilities of the Indian Government and the appreciation of Union's complicated problems by India. Dr. Potgieter, M. P., was also sarcastic about it; and both of them seemed to make fun of Mr. Tyson's demand for equality, fairplay, forbearance and justice for the Indians settled in this country.

With all due respect to the sentiment of persons holding similar views on the Indian problem in South Africa, I would venture to protest publicly against the impolite questions they asked of Mr. Tyson, who was critically examined even on points which were irrelevant to the inquiry, and were obviously aimed at defaming the Indian Government and the Indians in the Union.

Luckily for India, Mr. Tyson, although hardly polished in art to undergo the fire of such subversive criticism, stood his ground well, and gave a good account of the fulfilment of responsibilities by the Government of India and the Indians in general; and seriously cast doubt on the good intentions of the Union Government for such an audacious and unexpected lapse so soon after the conclusion of the Capetown Agreement. Amid such a breach and mental conversion manifested by the Union Government in the drafting of the Transvaal Asiatic Tenure Amendment Bill, through the good offices of the Acting Premier, Dr. Malan, once the originator of Indian round-table conference and settlement, what blame could be placed on Indian national newspapers for criticising the newly drafted Asiatic Bill, and describing the South African attitude as "downright invidious one"? A perusal of the recommendations of the Selace Committee on Transvaal Asiatics amply justifies the comment.

But it would not be preposterous to ask how far the Government of South Africa has fulfilled her

obligations towards the Indian section of the Union population. The Indian Government, appreciating the peculiar position and colour problem of this country, never advocated equality of the Indian with the European, although this step did not earn her the admiration and support of the Indian intelligentsia in India, and until to-day attempted to understand the problems of South Africa from the European standpoint. Moreover, she has co-operated with the Union in all reasonable legislations to please the Europeans at the sacrifice, to a certain extent, of the interests of the Indians. Consequently, it did not behove these gentlemen of the Select Committee to question the right of Indian Government for her request to the Union to observe the spirit of the Capetown Agreement, and to blame her for the Union's determination to rid of the Indian population by legislation similar to that drafted for the Indians in the Transvaal.

The Calcutta "Statesman" commented that: "The Dutch element in the Transvaal has not greatly altered its views during the past three decades. The treatment accorded to Indians by the Kruger Government was one of the issues which eventually led to the last South African war."

The "Statesman" further stated that the passage of Dr. Malan's measure would be unworthy of a Dominion legislature.

In fairness to the Dutch element of the Union, it should be stated, nevertheless, that it is not the only element responsible for the unfortunate condition of the Indians in the Union. While the Dutch section is practically responsible for it, the Englishmen and other Europeans in South Africa have morally supported them. Several of the Englishmen, notable from Natal, have ever and again come forward with Asiatic Bills, which had to be either withdrawn or thrown out by the Governments of the time, under the explanation of considering the question and drafting their own Bills to cope with the situation adequately. While the Britishers in the Union neglected the cause of the Indians the Imperial Government of Great Britain hardly recollected to draw the attention of the Dutch delegates at the peace conference at Vereeniging, or took steps thereafter to ask for equitable treatment of the Indian in the sub-continent; one of the chief causes of the Anglo-Boer war.

The time has come to ponder seriously over the ill-treatment and injustices accorded to the Indians. No European imbued with the spirit of fairplay could remain mute while the Indian interests are being sacrificed to satisfy a few commercialists self-aggrandisement. The Indians should never be viewed in light of foreigners. They are part and parcel of the Union population. They are mostly born in South Africa. Moreover, they emigrated to settle in this land from a country which is an ornament in the British crown, and the most vital portion of the British Empire. The Dutchmen, the Englishmen, and all honest thinking people of the Union, should see that the Indians should not be made the scapegoat of political warfare and the object of derision and contempt. They do their humble bit for the advancement of the country; and, provided with further opportunities to serve, they are quite prepared to shoulder any other responsibilities for the national progress. Indians have been harassed much beyond their capacity, and the opportunity is at hand to call a halt to any further infringement of their rights, either in Transvaal or any other part of the Union.

A SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN

Indian Social Service Committee

Anniversary Celebration

The modern tendency of the State to control charitable activities that were previously the work of private individuals was commented on by Sir Kurma V. Reddi, the Indian Agent-General, speaking at last night's anniversary Celebration of the Indian Social Service Committee, held at the Hindu Tamil Institute.

Sir Kurma said that to those accustomed to deal in political matters this must have been brought home very forcibly. Hitherto man's service to his neighbors had been based on the principles of mutual assistance and help, while the States of the world contend themselves with the defence of their territories and the dispensing of justice,

Welfare Of The Individual

As time advanced it was becoming more and more the work of the State to look after the welfare of the individual. In the West the individual was taken care of by the State even before his birth and beyond the time of his death. He submitted that the Indian Social Service Committee had shown in a small way what organised charity and service could accomplish.

Among those present were the Mayor, the Rev. A. Lamont, who presided, the Mayoress, Councillor and Mrs. J. K. Murray, Councillors P. Osborn and W. Wanless, Mr. H. I. Buzzard; the Chief Magistrate, Mr. Maynard Page; the Acting Medical Officer of Health, Dr. G. D. English; Mr. R. J. Kingston Russell, Editor of *The Natal Mercury*; and the Rev. J. Metcalf.

Mr. V. Lawrence, Chairman of the Committee, garlanded the Mayor and Sir Kurma and presented a bouquet to the Mayoress. He also read messages apologising for the absence of the Governor-General, the Administrator, Sir George Plowman, Mr. Hugh Bryan, Dr. C. T. Loram and others.

The Committee, according to the report, which covered a period of two years, has for its aims the promotion of a clean and healthy hygienic condition of life among, and better housing for, the Indian community. It was reported that thousands of leaflet containing instructions on health and cleanliness and the extermination of flies and mosquitos and the sources of their breeding were being distributed.

"We have not only been making periodical visits to the Railway, Municipal and Harbour barracks," the report stated. "But we have also been carrying on an extensive tour in the peri-Durban areas, educating the people, more particularly the poorer classes of the community, on health and cleanliness.

Health Compact Carried Out

"We make bold to say that the wide circulation of these health leaflets has been instrumental in minimising the malaria epidemic among the Indian community without and within the Borough. In this we have been faithfully carrying out the compact we entered into with the Public Health Department of the Borough through its Medical Officer of Health."

The Committee was founded three years ago by Mr. V. S. S. Sastri. The lengthy report covered a wide field of activities, one of the most recent being the inauguration of a service of free dispensary of medicines to destitute Indians. Child welfare, first aid, Boys Scouts and interracial research were a few of the matters referred in the report.

The Mayor moved the adoption of the report, Sir Kurma Reddi seconding. Sir Kurma con-

gratulated the Committee on its work, and said that a visit to the poorer Indian quarters had convinced him that there was wide scope for the work carried on.

The Chief Magistrate, Mr. Maynard Page, also spoke, echoing the Agent-General's remarks on the encroachment of Administrations all over the world in charitable work previously performed by individuals. He firmly believed that social service was the duty of any Government, but at the same time commended the Committee in its endeavours in what was undoubtedly a necessary sphere.

Councillor J. K. Murray, Councillor P. Osborn, the Rev. J. Metcalf submitted a plea for the education of Indian girls as well as youths, and praised the Committee's propaganda work in the schools.

Indian Encroachment

Mr. J. Thompson writes in *Natal Mercury*:—

Sir,—How long are we going to tolerate the encroachment of Indians among Europeans and in European localities?

It now appears they are negotiating to secure a residential property which will shortly be put up for public auction in Frere Road, near Davenport Road, an essentially European neighbourhood.

The time is long overdue when we Europeans should protect ourselves against this invasion, and our remedy lies in calling a public meeting at once to protest against these properties being transferred to Indians, and, furthermore, to agree among ourselves to insert the anti-Asiatic clause in our title deeds as a further safeguard.

The Durban Corporation has very wisely inserted the anti-Asiatic clause in its recent land sales, owing, I believe, to pressure from European land buyers.

No one objects to Indians buying property within their own recognised area, and we realise that while we have them among us they have a right to live, but they should not be permitted to live in close proximity to Europeans.

Recently I was walking along one of our main thoroughfares—Umbilo Road—not a stone's throw from Berea Road, when I noticed a cooking demonstration in a perforated paraffin tin by an Indian family in a small front garden. The smoke and fumes penetrated well along the public highway.

This particular spot is also the scene of many disturbances, and is most unsafe for children and even adults when passing to and from their homes.

Has the Durban Corporation no by-laws to prevent this kind of thing, or are its by-laws framed to harass the already heavily taxed European?

This is not a matter for Frere Road and district only, but for the whole of the European residents of the Borough. A great deal of property has unfortunately passed from European to Indian ownership all over Durban during the past few years.

Wake up! residents of Frere Road, and give a lead to what may be termed the salvation of the European race within our beautiful township by arranging a meeting in a suitable hall at an early date.

Councillor Murray On Indian Encroachment

Dear Sir,—With reference to J. Thompson's letter on Indian encroachment, it will be of interest to your correspondent that a sub-committee is at present going into this question.

I would like to take the opportunity of expressing a personal view of the question of Indian penetration. This is a matter where the Ward Council

could do a great service to the town. It is not generally known that if a section of landowners got together they could agree among themselves to have an anti-Asiatic clause inserted in their title deeds and it is here that I feel the Associations could take a lead in this movement and assist the burgesses in having this done. However, more will be heard on this matter.

JOHN K. MURRAY.

Indian Housing

Sir,—Apropos the Indian question, cannot something be done for the poor class of Indians? I mean in the way of providing houses and rentals commensurate with their income.

Much has been done for the European community in this respect but nothing for the Asiatics with the consequence that they are compelled to makeshift for themselves.

Their wages are too small to permit of them renting a house for themselves and family with the result they are obliged to herd together—often in one room.

As one of your correspondents remarks, they have as much right to live decently as has the European, and surely it is up to us to try and help them live decently.

I am not referring to the trading class but to the poor class of Indian, most of which are decent, respectable, and hardworking citizens with as much right to consideration regarding decent living conditions as have those of our own colour.

"NEMO."

News Of Independence Struggle In India

Martial Law Declared At Peshawar

Simla, Aug. 15.—Two squadrons of the Royal Air Force yesterday engaged in offensive operations, which they are carrying out continuously against the Afridis in caves on the edge of the Kajuri Plain and in the Basra Valley. Aircraft also co-operated with cavalry in sweeping operations to the south of Peshawar.

The numbers of tribemen in the district are reported to be much reduced.

An official communique describes the situation as one of considerable gravity and danger. It says that the raiders are profiting from the high crops to elude the military forces. Their total strength is now about 12,090. They are moving rapidly in small gangs about the ravines and walled gardens.

Military action is being taken, but it is difficult to do much while the crops are high. The raiders are undoubtedly receiving food and shelter from the villagers, who join them whenever there is any prospect of loot.

The troops in Peshawar and in the Kohat district are in ample strength and fully prepared for all eventualities.—(Reuter.)

Viceroy's Statement On Martial Law

Simla, Aug. 15.—In a personal explanatory statement in regard to the proclamation of martial law in Peshawar, the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, says that, while the Ordinance empowers the Commander of the Northern Army to administer it, that officer intends immediately to delegate his power to the Chief Commissioner.

The Viceroy says that he has taken this step on the recommendation of both Civil and Military

authorities. The Ordinance provides for the institution of special courts, but the Viceroy expresses the earnest hope that these will prove unnecessary and that it will soon be possible to withdraw the Ordinance.—(Reuter.)

Frontier Situation

The Calcutta correspondent of the *Natal Mercury* states:—

It is the sharp eyes of the sniping Pathan tribesmen that the British Forces have to fear most once they move across the border to give battle to the enemy. So far, the few casualties on our side have not been due to the Afridis' faulty marksmanship, but to the excellent natural cover afforded in the Peshawar district.

Some reckon that 12,000 Afridis and other tribesmen are at present on the warpath. If but few of these remain in British territory it is because their stratagems obviously lure our troops into their own open country, so that from the caves and other emplacements in their mountain fastnesses they can snipe away at our men as they do with astonishing precision.

The latest dispatches show that the Kohat menace seems to be passing away and the Orakzai tribesmen, who were previously reported to be massing in the Khanki valley, are now reported to be dispersing, having failed to secure the support of the Mishti tribe. On the other hand small but villainous looking gangs of Mohmands have been observed in the vicinity of Risalpur and Nowshera.

The British garrison at Peshawar has been further strengthened by two infantry brigades, eight Indian infantry battalions, two mountain batteries of the Royal Artillery, one section of an armoured car company, and one squadron of the Royal Air Force.

The trouble between King Nadir Shah and some of the malcontent tribes has considerably diminished, and more confidence in the Afghan Government's stability for some time to come is being felt in India.

Retreat Of The Afridis

Simla, Monday.—It is reported from the North West that the Afridis are retreating. The tribes are now in a chastened mood following severe punishment inflicted upon them by the Royal Air Force, which has had a most salutary effect.

Communication from an influential leader in the Bara Valley states that the damage done by the Royal Air Force has been most impressive. He has given a pledge that no further hostile parties will be allowed to pass into India.

Subsequent reports, however, imply that although the greater part of the Afridis have dispersed, some gangs still remain in the caves south of Bara River, while the Haji of Turanzhai is still trying to stir up the Mohmands.

Two sections of the Utmankhel tribe have undertaken to refrain from joining any hostile Lashkars, and to refuse passage to any of the latter. In consequence of this promise it is understood that the eleven Utmankhels recently captured at Pollai have been released.

A message from Peshawar City states that the Chief Commissioners of the North West Frontier have issued regulations for the carrying out of martial law in Peshawar City, which was proclaimed under the order promulgated by the Viceroy on August 15.—(Reuter.)

Gandhi's Offer To Viceroy

The *Daily Telegraph's* diplomatic correspondent understands that Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin, is to the effect that Gandhi re-

cognises, in view of the strength of the Conservative and Liberal Oppositions in the House of Commons, the Viceroy and the Labour Government will probably be unable to give a guarantee of Dominion Status to India as a direct outcome of the round-table Conference.

He asks that the Gandhi group, the Viceroy and the British Government should definitely undertake to put forward this policy as their aim at the Conference, and, as an earnest of their intention, that they should give an amnesty for all political prisoners, in which case Gandhi would call off the non-co-operation movement.

Gandhi Going To London?

The *Daily Telegraph's* Bombay correspondent states that it is possible that Gandhi may come to London for the Round Table Conference on Indian affairs, says the London correspondent of the *Natal Mercury*.

Our Letter From India

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Calcutta, July 10.

Pandit Motilal's Arrest

The present tense atmosphere of the country has been greatly aggravated by the arrest and conviction of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the acting President of the Congress by the United Provinces Government. In consultation with the Government of India, the U.P. Government have also declared the Working Committee of the Congress and all Navwajan Bharat Sabhas throughout the Provinces as unlawful bodies.

Readers of INDIAN OPINION are aware that while visiting Bombay recently, Pandit Motilal Nehru who is "an international figure and a practical politician" had definitely re-opened the door to peaceful negotiations with the Governments. He set forth the peaceful terms on which he was prepared to participate in the Round Table Conference and there was definite expectations all over the country that the Pandit's conciliating offer would justly form the basis of an honourable and peaceful solution of the present impasse.

Just at the moment when there was a wave of high hope in all political quarters, the arrest of Pandit Motilal definitely disillusioned and disappointed those who believed that the Government was thinking of a compromise by holding the Round Table Conference.

The special Simla correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta learns from lobbies that the decision to arrest Pandit Motilal and to declare the Working Committee of the Congress unlawful was taken under very significant circumstances. The U.P. Government did not want it but those at Simla, who wished to prevent peace negotiations from maturing, decided that the best way to do so was to arrest Motilalji. This was done on the plea that unless the Congress Working Committee was declared unlawful and its President arrested, the morale of services such as Army and Police might suffer, and this point of view was put in the manner as made it difficult for the head of the Government to differ from it. At any rate, the majority of the members of the Government were in its favour.

The Government communique that the Congress Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, the highest national organisation in the land, is an

"unlawful association" is in the words of the *Daily Herald*, "unworthy of statesmen." Without the least exaggeration it can safely be said that the Congress to-day exercises wonderful influence on the people, as it derives its magnetic power from their spontaneous and willing allegiance. In fact, any attempt to crush the Congress Executive with the assumption that the situation will be eased will only make the problem much more serious and complicated. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has so rightly observed that the sympathy of even those who did not so long see eye to eye with the Congress in many matters will be drawn towards the leaders of this great national organisation in its distress.

Viceroy's Speech

"The Conference in London will enjoy unfettered right of examining the whole of the Indian problem in all its bearings with the knowledge that its labours are of no academic kind and His Majesty's Government still hope that Indians of all schools of thought, whatever the attitude that some have hitherto taken, will be ready to share in this constructive work."

In these words His Excellency Lord Irwin addressed the joint session of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly on July 9, hoping that "it might yet not be too late for wiser counsel to prevail."

Reminding his hearers of the background against which the recent political events are set, His Excellency pointed out that many influences were at work, and of these the Reforms were not the least effective to make it certain that the nationalist spirit in India would develop, and that quickly, and that such developments would be sought upon lines that British experience and contact of political classes with British education of practice naturally suggested. His Excellency observed that the London Conference, consisting of the spokesmen of Great Britain and India, would take free counsel upon measures which His Majesty's Government would later present to Parliament.

Referring to the Simon Report His Excellency added that just as the Commission would have failed in their duty to Parliament if they had not presented a report that reflected faithfully their own conclusions, so the Government of India would fail in their duty if they similarly did not approach the consideration of the Commission's report with a full sense of their responsibility.

Lord Irwin, then, had a dig at the civil disobedience movement which, he said, must be regarded as "unconstitutional and dangerously subversive," and justified the promulgation of the Ordinance to kill "noxious microbes."

Concluding, His Excellency struck a personal note "As a friend of India,"—"the right and the best solution of the riddle of India would be found only by Great Britain and India joining together in search for it."

The special Simla correspondent of the *Tribune* of Lahore is of opinion that the Viceroy's speech is taken as a challenge to the reactionary forces in England who are making the Simon Report their bible. He tells them that the forces of Nationalism have grown far more rapidly than England has known, and to India he says that the ignorance of his countrymen should not be taken to mean lack of sympathy. He admits that Nationalism as such cannot be crushed and assures that his repression is not aimed at crushing it. To congressmen his reply is that the Government must govern or abdicate. It is clear to the lobby circles that, while the Viceroy is right in saying that he has slaked his all, his speech makes it impossible for Congressmen to walk in. The riddle therefore, remains unsolved that, however excellent a constitution may

be devised at the London Conference, the necessary good-will to work it will not be there and the constitution may again flounder on the Congressmen rock.

"There was nothing new in the Viceroy's address and the speech was flat and did not carry anyone further," observed Mr. Vithalbai Patel, ex-Speaker of the Assembly.

Commenting on the Viceroy's speech on the Round-Table Conference, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes under the caption "Unacceptable":—"The outstanding fact that emerges from the latest pronouncement of the Viceroy is the determination of Great Britain and its Government to keep India under their domination. The problem of India is no riddle. It is the immediate and complete transfer of power from the hands of the agents of Britain to those of the people."

Characterising the Viceroy's utterance as tantamount to treating India as a suppliant and vanquished foe, the paper continues, "The country's views regarding the acceptability of the Round-Table Conference have been clearly expressed by Mr. Gandhi. It is only when the conditions stipulated by him are agreed to by the British Government that the Congress will attend Conference. Otherwise, it will be an ignoble and unpatriotic surrender of the country's rights to self-government. The paper concludes: "India will certainly denounce any agreement arrived at in her name by back slider."

Mr. Tyson's Statement To The Select Committee

(Continued from page 274)

48. Up to 1908, as is pointed out in paragraph 76 of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission's Report, Asiatics had the right, according to legal decisions, to hire stands on proclaimed land and to carry on business on them. Section one hundred and thirty of the Gold Law of that year prohibited Asiatics from acquiring leases in respect of stands granted after the promulgation of that law; and though no mention was made of "trading rights," the effect of sections one hundred and thirty and one hundred and thirty-one is to preclude Asiatics from exercising trading rights by reason of their being prohibited from hiring or occupying such stands. The provisions of the Gold Law and of the Townships Act have never been strictly enforced, and by 1919 a considerable volume of business had grown up on sites which Asiatics were not entitled to occupy. Such rights as existed on the 1st May, 1919, were recognised and validated both for the holders and for their successors in title, by section one of Act 37 of that year; since that date, again, a further growth of "occupation" contrary to the restrictions of the 1908 legislation has been tolerated and countenanced. It has been "tolerated" by Government by neglect to apply the sections which are specifically provided in sub-section (ii) of Section one hundred and thirty and sub-section (ii) of section one hundred and thirty-one of Act 35 of 1908, and the more general section which is apparently provided by section ninety-six of that Act. The Johannesburg witnesses seem to have overlooked the provisions of sub-section (2) of section one hundred and thirty of the Gold Law (prohibition against the acquisition of rights by coloured persons), where it says: "Any person contravening this section shall be guilty of an offence, and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, and in the case of a continuing contravention to a fine not exceeding five pounds for every day during

which such contravention is continued." The subsection (2) of section one hundred and thirty-one (Restriction on residence of coloured persons on proclaimed land in districts of Class A)—and Class A includes Johannesburg—provide: "Any coloured person contravening this section shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month, and upon such conviction the Mining Commissioner may cause any structures occupied by or erected for the use of such coloured person to be removed." I am not making any complaint that the Government have not prosecuted these wretched people; I am only showing that the Mining Commissioner's Department are the villains of the piece. It has been "countenanced" both by Government and by municipalities—by Government by the issue to Indians unprotected by the Act of 1919 of trading licences and by the acceptance from them of licence fees, in the teeth of the recommendations of the Select Committee of 1919 in paragraph 21 of their Report; and by municipalities by the issue to such Indians of trade licence certificates from the date on which the Transvaal General Dealers (Control) Ordinance came into force, though as regards municipal authorities it is only fair to add that it is doubtful how far they had any right to refuse such certificates on grounds arising from the Gold Law.

49. Evidence has been led before the Committee as to the way in which these further interests have arisen, outside the protection afforded by the Act of 1919. It will be recalled that that Act protected an Indian trader or his successor in title only so long as the business was carried on in the township in which it was being carried on in 1919. The area falling for licensing purposes under the jurisdiction of the City Council comprises a very large number of "townships"—at one street corner three shops may meet, while it is common for one side of a street to be in a different township from the other side of the same street. When therefore an Indian is forced, perhaps by termination of his lease or the raising of the rent, to vacate the premises in which he was protected by the Act of 1919, it may often happen that by taking premises across the street he forfeits the protection which he previously enjoyed under the Act. The licensing authority is the same, but the "township" is different. In other cases the protection has lapsed because the trading has not been "continuous"—owing to bankruptcy or, more usually, absence. There have also been new businesses. It is hardly possible to give the Committee any figures to show how far existing businesses are protected by the Act of 1919; in many cases even if the facts were available it would be a matter of law whether the protection of the Act could be invoked. It is however only fair to give the Committee such figures as have been obtained by personal inquiry. The results of personal interrogation by Mr. Baring at 201 shops inside and outside of Johannesburg gave the following result, assuming that the answers given by the shop owners were correct and that they have been correctly interpreted in terms of the Act.

	In Johan- nesburg.	Outside.	Total.
Licences still protected	40	32	72
Unprotected Licences	92	29	121
Doubtful	4	4	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	136	65	201

It should be added that the shops were taken at random and just "as they came." No attempt was made to select shops from any point of view. Beyond this it is difficult to say how far the results so obtained are typical of the position in the Province

generally. We put these figures forward in a genuine attempt to help you to understand the position. We took 200 shops simply at random. I would not care to hazard a figure as to how many shops there are in Johannesburg.

50. Sufficient has, perhaps, been said to show that if the view is now to prevail that, contrary to the apparent policy of Government hitherto obtaining, the laws of 1908 should henceforth be rigidly enforced, there is a large number of Indian traders who will be faced with ruin, unless a generous measure of protection is given to interests which have grown up since 1919. Not only would the enforcement of these laws against all who cannot claim protection under the Act of 1919 spell ruin for the traders themselves, but it would prejudicially affect interests of all kinds in the areas concerned. Landlords who have leased premises to Indians, wholesale dealers who have supplied them with stocks, banks and financial houses, would inevitably be involved. In the 201 shops visited by Mr. Baring, the figures of stock alone (not counting value of premises, value of goodwill, actual turnover of business) were as shown in the following table:—

Shops carrying stock:—	STOCK CARRIED			
	Under £500.	£500- £1,000.	£1,000 £5,000	Over £5,000.
Johannesburg*	21	21	26	15
Rodepoort	9	5	8	—
Krugersdorp	7	5	4	3
Nigel	3	—	5	—
Springs	5	—	5	—
Germiston	—	1	3	—

*Table contains figures for only 83 shops in Johannesburg, as fruit shops with a running stock have been omitted.

(To be Continued)

THE MEANING OF "NERVES."

People Who are to be Pitied.

Many men and women are disliked and blamed for sour, irritable temper and snappishness when they ought to be pitied. The fault is not in the mind or disposition—their nerves are starved. You would not hate a person for being hungry in the ordinary sense; you would be sorry. But starved nerves seldom gain any sympathy.

A nervous person suffers in many ways that do not show. Any sudden noise, movement or emotion causes real anguish to the nervous. Our nerves have to warn us of every incident, but when, through being starved, the nerves become too weak and sensitive, they hurt cruelly. That is nerve trouble.

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