

Indian Opinion

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LICENCE TROUBLES FOR INDIANS IN THE UNION

“Why Have We Got Power”

THE question of Asiatic “penetration” in Lichtenburg has been brought prominently to the fore as a result of a decision made by the Town Council to refuse two applications made by Asiatics for fresh produce dealers’ licences in Plein Steet. The applications originally came before the Health and Building Committee, and they recommended their refusal. There was a spirited debate when the Committee’s report was submitted to the Council, but their attitude was supported, after Dr. I. Olen had moved the closer.

An opponent to the committee’s recommendation was found in Mr. Huyser, who asked the Council to give the matter serious consideration before taking such a step. He said that in these hard times the landlords were finding it very difficult to find tenants for their buildings, especially European tenants, and in many cases buildings be tenantless if they were not let to Indians. Whether a building was tenanted or not, the landlord had to pay assessment tax. If, therefore, a European tenant could not be found, why should the place stand empty if it could be let to Indians?

The poorer section of the community was benefiting by the large number of Indians stores in Lichtenburg, as these stores were competing against one another and cutting prices, which enabled the public to buy cheaper. “To this section the Indian is a real God-send in these hard times. I have never let a building to an Indian, but I am fighting for the greater number of landlords in Lichtenburg who cannot find other than Indian tenants. I am also fighting for the poor section, who are benefiting from purchasing at the Indian stores,” declared Mr. Huyser.

The committee’s recommendation was endorsed by Dr. Olen, who expressed pleasure at their attitude. He advocated the same procedure being carried out in future. Mr. A. I. Ludick said that the Free State could be taken as an example. There they had no Indians, and the European business man was doing the business done in Lichtenburg and the Transvaal by Indians. “If we are rid of the Indians there will be enough Europeans to rent the buildings now to let the Indians, but the white business man will not come here because of the Indians. The Government has given us the right to refuse a licence without giving reasons for doing so. Why have we received this power? We know what we are to do, so why not do it? What benefit do we derive from the Indians in our community? What do they spend? Are they an asset to our town?”

Maritzburg Council Upholds Licensing Officer

The City Council by a majority of one upheld the decision of its Licensing Officer in the case of Asmall and Sons, which has aroused considerable interest in Maritzburg.

Asmall and Sons were granted a licence to carry on a general dealer’s business at the corner of West and Church Streets in premises owned by Mrs. Christie and occupied for many years by Saville and Chapman, who last March closed down.

Following the granting of the licence more than 30 objections were made. As the result of withdrawals, however, the objectors were reduced to eight. These objectors appealed to the Council against the Licensing Officer’s decision and the matter was heard yesterday.

Mr. W. E. Thrash appeared for Asmall & Sons and Mr. A. Milne and Mr. W. L. Howes for the objectors. Counsel spoke at length, after which the City Council went into Committee to decide the matter.

Although the voting was not made public, I understand the Council decided to uphold its officer by seven votes to six, the balance of the Council being absent.

An Arab Bazaar

Mr. Milne stated that the Licensing Officer had expressed the opinion that because a European was the landlord an Indian could get a licence irrespective of the amenities of the town. This principle, if carried into effect, would have a very serious consequence.

It was clear that this Indian had not yet bought the property, but he said he would do so if he got the licence. A pistol was being held at the Council’s head by reason of the fact that a European woman was the landlord. The price offered was £3,000, and it was clear that this was for the lease as well.

Another principle expressed by the Licensing Officer was that in very difficult times it was advisable to grant licences to a class whose presence was generally deplored in Church Street. This was the time, in fact, to turn Church Street into an Arab bazaar.

As far as he was aware, it was the policy of the Council to reserve Church Street for high-class trade and not Asiatic trade. This was not on racial grounds.

More Competition

Objection was taken to the licence on the ground that there was no necessity for it. Almost every

trading concern in the town was hard put to it to keep going, and the Council was being asked to increase their difficulties. If the Indians concerned intended to carry on high-class trade, they would be offering further competition. They had stated that they required a turnover of £18,000 a year to make the venture profitable.

Mr. Milne denied the Licensing Officer's statement that there was no evidence as to the cause of the failure of the previous occupants of the premises, Messrs. Saville & Chapman. He contended that the depression and competition were the causes. In other cases where Indians had been granted licences the applicants were the owners of the premises and not bargaining as to ownership.

The Licensing Officer had stated that the question of the necessity for the licence could not be taken into consideration. Counsel denied this, and quoted authorities to the contrary. He went on to say that the fact that the Council's policy was to make Church Street a European trading centre was not an indication of a racial policy. He quoted the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Durban case of Gora Mahomed.

"Retrograde Step"

The question of the amenities of the town was of paramount importance, continued Mr. Milne, and should be considered first. The granting of the licence would add to the troubles of present dealers and would be a retrograde step.

The Licensing Officer appeared to have been dazzled by the statement that the applicants were prepared to spend £1,500 on buildings. Naturally the applicant would do this as a business proposition if he thought he would get it back.

Mr. Howes drew attention to the fact that when the licence was advertised there was an avalanche of objections, numbering over 30. Some 15 or 16 had since withdrawn, and counsel alleged that these withdrawals were the result of very active canvassing.

The applicant in trying to prove the necessity for the licence had called Mr. Saville. The latter stated that he had lost quite sufficient to justify him in closing the store down and removing the stock to other premises. Saville had admitted that there was no public demand for the licence.

"No Depression"

Mr. Howes went on to deal closely with all the evidence. He pointed out that the applicants had stated that there was, in effect, no depression. Parak, Asmall's partner, had stated that times were normal, that cash sales had not dropped and that these were not bad times. Asmall, when his attention was drawn to Saville's statement that the business did not pay, said that he did not believe it.

The present time, when every trader was rubbing shoulders with bankruptcy, was one in which the question of necessity should be closely scrutinised. The £18,000 annual turnover considered necessary by Asmall for the success of the business would come out of the pockets of the established traders.

In this case the applicant bound himself to no type of trade. He had stated, in fact, that he intended to cater for all sections of the community. There would be Native trade on one of the most prominent corner sites at the entrance of the town.

Asmall had offered to build a second storey to the building, and when asked for what purpose, stated: "For dwelling rooms for the use of my partner."

Mr. Howes spoke strongly against the practice of converting upper Church Street into an Asiatic residential quarter. The applicant in addition was not a Burgess of the town and had stores elsewhere. The granting of the licence would inevitably create farther unemployment.

Mr. Howes was closely questioned by Councillor G. C. Joliffe. The latter asked whether there would be any objection to the licence had a European applied for it.

Applicant's Case

Mr. W. E. Thrash for Asmall and Sons, pointed out that Mrs. Christie had been the owner of the premises for many years. In March last, Saville and Chapman vacated the premises because they could not compete with the Indian stores in the vicinity. If the licence was refused, Mrs. Christie was condemned to pay rates and keep the premises empty. He denied the assertion that a pistol was being held at the head of the Council. The applicant naturally would not pay £3,000 for a property and keep it empty merely for the pleasure of opening it.

Mr. Thrash alleged that Mr. Milne had made a strong appeal on racial grounds. The policy of the Council was to confine the small Indian businesses to lower and the higher class to upper Church Street. These latter attracted many prominent people.

Mr. Allison: Judges!

Mr. Thrash: I am quite aware of that. The high class Indian stores among whom were some of the objectors, while catering for Europeans did not turn away Natives, continued Mr. Thrash. It was for the owners of the property to decide whether they should sell the property, and the objectors were not concerned with the fact.

It would not add to the amenities of the town if these premises were left derelict, and the business would further circulate money and create employment.

"Racial Grounds"

Mr. Thrash went on to quote authorities that no discrimination should be made on racial grounds. He contended that the case of the objectors to a large extent was based on this ground.

Counsel declared that questions were put which were intended to have a bad legal effect on the Licensing Officer's mind, without any evidence to substantiate them. He submitted that the objection of no necessity was not applicable to a borough.

The question of discretion was retained in the Retail Dealers Ordinance, but the same circumstances did not arise in a town. In a country there were stores dotted about and the customers were known. In a town the position was different, with a large floating population and almost unlimited competition.

He pointed out that finally only eight objectors had come forward in spite of the fact that attempts had been made to collect them.

"Asiatic Quarter"

Dealing with the proposal to erect dwellings above their stores, Mr. Thrash stated that objections on this ground were racial. There were already many dwellings and flats occupied by Europeans in Church Street. He added that both partners in this firm were property owners and ratepayers of the town. He appealed to the Council to put aside all prejudice. He declared that upper Church Street was now an Asiatic quarter.

In reply Mr. Milne said that the Council was being asked to surrender the interests of the town to interests of Mrs. Christie. He denied that this was a private fight between Indians, and pointed out that the Maritzburg Co-operative Society was one of the objectors.

Mr. Howes stressed the difference between racial and class discrimination. He agreed that in ordinary times the question of necessity was not applicable to towns, but that it was very important in present times.

"WHY HAVE WE RECEIVED THE POWER?"

TWO Indians in Lichtenburg town of the Transvaal Province made applications for fresh produce dealers' licences in Plein Street. The applications originally came before the Health and Building Committee of the Town Council. The Committee recommended their refusal. The report of the Committee was submitted to the Town Council and a spirited debate took place. We publish this debate in this issue. From this debate one can clearly see the deplorable attitude adopted by some of the Councillors towards the Indian applicants. The Transvaal Provincial Council has passed the Licensing Control Ordinance in 1931. When this Ordinance was drafted the Transvaal Indian Congress protested against it. The then Agent-General of the Government of India, Sir K. V. Reddi, made representations to the Union Government pointing out that the draft Ordinance violates in spirit and letter the Gentleman's Agreement of Capetown. As a result of his representations the Governor-General-in-Council did not give assent to it for a year. But in the early part of this year after the second Round Table Conference the Ordinance received the assent of the Governor-General-in-Council. Now the Ordinance is enforced in its naked form in the Transvaal. From the debates in the Lichtenburg Town Council the motive of the Ordinance can be clearly seen. The Indian community of the Transvaal is thrown into the hands of the members of the local authorities just as the goats are thrown before the wolves to be devoured. This Licensing Control Ordinance confers upon local authorities absolute and autocratic powers to refuse to issue licences. They are not even bound to give reasons of refusal and there is no right of appeal to the Courts or to some other impartial tribunals. In almost all the local authorities of the Transvaal there are also some members who are of the trading class. Most of them are laymen. They have practically no legal knowledge and many of them are competitors in trade with the Indian traders. The fate and the very existence of these Indian traders who are their competitors in business have been placed entirely into the hands of their enemies. What hopes can these helpless Indians have to live a decent life of a civilised standard. The Indians in the

Transvaal have always received full justice in the Courts. The Courts of that Province really speaking, were the protectors of their rights. Now that the Indians have no right of appeal under this Ordinance who is there to protect their rights? The judiciary has many a times in the Transvaal saved the members of the Indian community from the injustice of the local authorities. We will cite here an instance. Delivering judgment in Hassan Amod Karolia vs. Benoni Municipality, Mr. Justice Krause said in 1930:

"There is no doubt that the tendency of the legislation has been to get rid of the Indian trader and to give the handle to the local authority. This handle is being used in justifying refusal to grant licences to Indians. No reasonable man and no honest man would have refused the licence in question on the flimsiest of evidence without the fullest investigation. The colour of the applicant was the reason why his application was refused. The local authority did not consider the application in a bona fide manner on its merits."

The local authorities were in many cases doing injustice even when the Indian traders had a right to appeal. Now that this important and valuable right is taken away and the local authorities are given supreme and autocratic power how would the Transvaal Indians hope for justice being done to them? This Ordinance is against the letter and spirit of the Gentleman's Agreement of Capetown. In that Agreement there is a clause concerning the trade licensing laws. It reads:—

"When the time for the revision of the existing trade licensing laws arrive, 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."

The Transvaal Provincial Council last year passed this Ordinance and repealed the Licensing Control Ordinance of 1926. It was the duty of the Union Government to see that these undertakings should have been implemented in the new Ordinance passed by the Provincial Council. But the Union Government remained silent and allowed the Provincial Council to flout the Capetown Agreement. It is very surprising

to know that the Government of India and their Agent have not a word to say in this regard to the Union Government. How can their Agent continue to be in office when such a breach of faith has taken place and the Capetown Agreement is broken in spirit and letter? As a result of this Licensing Control Ordinance and the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act, the days of the Transvaal Indians are numbered. Not only did the Congress vehemently protest against these iniquitous legislations but it has passed a resolution to passively resist the Land Tenure Act. On one side when the Transvaal Indian community is struggling very hard against this repressive legislation, on the other side the Agent-General of the Government of India has become an axe to the handle and by dividing the community is offering his co-operation to the Asiatic Land Tenure Act Commission which is now sitting in the Transvaal. Personally we have no axe to grind against the Agent-General, Kunwar Maharaj Singh. In the cause of the Transvaal Indians we are in duty bound to criticise the action of the Agency of the Government of India. We know that Kunwar Maharaj Singh at heart is a patriot. Though patriot as he is we know he is bound to carry out the orders of his Government. Finally we quote the words in the debate in the Lichtenburg Town Council of one of the members. Mr. A. I. Ludick said:

"that the Free State could be taken as an example. There they had no Indians, and the the European business man was doing the business done in Lichtenburg and the Transvaal by Indians. If we rid of the Indians there will be enough Europeans to rent the buildings now let to the Indians, but the white business man will not come here because of the Indians. The Government has given us the right to refuse a licence without giving reasons for doing so. Why have we received this power? We know what we are to do, so why not do it? What benefit do we derive from the Indians in our community? What do they spend? Are they an asset to our town?"

Comments on these outbursts are not necessary lest the charm of it might be lost!

The Transvaal Land Tenure Act Commission

We understand from Johannesburg that the Commission has written a letter to the Transvaal Indian Congress and asked whether or not it desires to give evidence before the Commission. Such letters have also been sent to the Chinese and Coloured people's organisations. We also understand that the Commission has issued forms in order to give another chance to those who have not filled in the forms. A Committee meeting of the Congress met to discuss the letter and it has decided to send the resolution passed by the S.A.I.O. Executive which is to the effect that the Congress cannot co-operate with the Commission.

Mahatma Gandhi On Passive Resistance In The Transvaal

While himself an apostle of passive resistance, Mahatma Gandhi hopes there will be no need for starting this movement in the Transvaal against the Asiatic Land Tenure Act. Mr. Manilal Gandhi, son of the Mahatma, writing from India in mail week to the Agent-General to the Government of India, Kunwar Maharaj Singh, states:—

"Father (Mr. Gandhi) did wish the Commission would make such concessions as would satisfy the whole community and the community may not have to take the step it proposes to take."

A Matter Of Conscience

"With regard to the South African question he (Mr. Gandhi) said that he could not express an opinion from prison, but he said, "If your conscience tells you that you should sacrifice yourselves, do so by all means."

"He said it was for one's own conscience to decide as to what to do."

It is felt that Mr. Gandhi's advice follows the exhortation of Mr. Sastri asking his South African compatriots to refrain from starting passive resistance.

Commission's Task

The Commission, under the chairmanship of Justice Feetham, has already commenced its labours and it will be well within next year before its findings will be published. Its task will be to examine each individual case of occupation of proclaimed land by coloured persons and to compile a register showing: (a) Those individuals who are in legal occupation and (b) those individuals who are in illegal occupations.

It is also required to make proposals as to the exercise by the Minister of the Interior of the power conferred upon him—his terms of the Gold Law—to withdraw land from the operation of those provisions of the Act which prohibit occupation by coloured persons.

While the Tenure Act is referred in name as intended to apply to Asiatics, its scope includes coloured persons, that is, "Any African or Asiatic, native or any other person, who is manifestly a coloured person," but does not include Cape Malays.

The commission will take into consideration (a) the character of the occupant, and, in the case of occupation for trade purposes, the nature of the trade carried on; (b) the period during which illegal occupation has continued; (c) the character of the areas are already largely occupied by coloured persons or are predominantly European; (d) the wishes of the other occupants in those areas; (e) the hardships which the enforcement of Law would involve,

Rand Areas Affected

The following are the more important of the areas affected: Ferreirs township, portion Johannesburg, portion City and Suburban, portion Jeppestown and Jeppe South, Malvern, Paarlshoop, (Langlaagte), Fairview, La Rochelle, Ophirton, Prospect township, portion Marshallstown, Fordsburg, Denver, Cleveland, Wolhuter, Burghersdorp, Turfontein, Braamfontein (old).

South African Indian Repatriates In Trouble

A message from Calcutta in mail week states:—

A large crowd of immigrants who recently arrived and those already at Matiabruz, a suburb of the city, besieged the office of the Protector of Immigrants, demanding repatriation to their colonies.

It is stated that these immigrants, finding themselves unwanted in their mother country, and having exhausted their savings, are living almost on the verge of starvation. At present about a thousand are leaving Matiabruz, being desperate, having not found employment. They appealed before the Protector of Immigrants in a body, refusing to disperse unless their demands were granted.

They assumed a threatening attitude and abused the members of the office staff. The head clerk was assaulted so severely that he was removed to the hospital. Eventually police help was requisitioned and a number of persons were placed in police custody.

It is understood that the Government has been asked to provide a sum of money for the immigrants' assistance. Meanwhile, the more serious cases received relief. The men include persons from Trinidad, South Africa, Demarara and Jamaica.

“Unwanted In The Mother Country”

Commenting on the above *The Hindu* writes:—

The colony of Matiabruz, a suburb of Calcutta, contains about a thousand souls who have been repatriated from Trinidad, South Africa, Jamaica and Demarara. The only bond between these diverse elements is apparently that they were unwanted in the British Colonies and Dominions from which they have come and are equally unwanted in the mother country, which many of them saw for the first time a year or two ago, being colonial born. Thanks to caste restrictions which they have violated, and the remarkable disparity between the standards of living obtaining in India and in these countries, they do not fit into the India scheme of life.

This could have been easily foreseen if the Indian authorities, who are parties to the extensive repatriation schemes adopted in the Colonies and Dominions, had given any thought to the matter.

When inducements were being held out to them by the Governments of the countries of their adoption to go back to India, the Indian Government should in fairness have warned them of the hardship and disappointment that must be their portion if they went back to India. Having failed to do this they should at least have made arrangements to see that these men and women, returning to a country in which they are really strangers, had help and guidance given them to enable them to strike roots here if possible.

Inadequate Grants

Such help as the Protector of Immigrants at the various ports is able to give the repatriates is

necessarily inadequate. Once they go up-country the department seems to lose sight of them. That, at any rate, was what happened in Calcutta, with the result that they straggled back to the city sooner or later, and the suburban colony of Matiabruz thus grew up hazardly in the course of a few years. An account of this colony in the *Statesman* describes its inhabitants thus:—

They live primitively in rude huts and shelters. Their savings have all gone. Some are practically starving. The men eke out a poor existence by doing odd jobs of work when they can get it, which is not often. An effort has been made to find employment for these people, but complaints have been made of their unreliability, and the men themselves have refused an offer from the State of Bijaigarh to find work for all. Their objection is the low rate of wages compared with their earnings in the Colonies. Thus they remain in their miserable plight.

It seems hardly likely that people who are well-nigh starving would refuse work because they cannot get the wages that they used to get in the Colonies. Be that as it may, there is nothing to show that a definite or persistent effort was made to find them work and to make conditions of life tolerable for them—which was the least that the Government of India was bound to do for them in view of its meekly submissive attitude towards the policy of expulsion adopted by British Colonies and Dominions towards Indian nationals. Thanks to this policy and the world-wide economic depression, the problem must be even more acute in future, and it is high time that the authorities tackled it in an intelligent and systematic way.—*Natal Witness*.

Grave Indian Distress

Unemployment and distress are so terribly severe amongst the Indian community that they are being driven out of the country. Every day long queues of Indians wait for free meals given by the Sir Kurma Reddi relief fund, and the position is steadily growing worse.

“Indians,” said Advocate A. Christopher, “are caught between the millstones of economic depression and the white labour policy.”

While some may count it a good thing that they are leaving the country, this large number of unemployed Indians—it is estimated at over 4,000—presents an economic menace to European employment. Many of them are trained in various crafts and in order to keep body and soul together they make clothes or furniture for sale at absurd prices.

This form of competition has almost reduced the furniture industry to chaos. Following, it is understood, representations made through the Agent-General, the Department of Labour is now alive to the position, and Mr. Ivan Walker, Secretary for Labour, is in Durban at the present time pursuing investigations.

Interviewed this morning, he said he could make no statement beyond that he was going into the general position of unemployment and relief works. The general opinion is, however, that the Labour Department is contemplating some form of relief scheme work for Indians, who have made urgent repeated requests for some such scheme. They are now finding support amongst European employers acquainted with their pitiable plight and who recognise in it a factor which threatens stability of European employment.

Indian Shops In New Areas

Licences For Next Year

The Natal Indian Congress, it is understood, will not support any requests for the exemption from health regulations of insanitary trade premises in the added areas. Indian traders who are effected may ask for prescribed time if they are not already in a position to do so, to bring their shop buildings to the requirements of the regulations. The Congress urges Indian shopkeepers to apply for the renewal of licences for next year.

A circular letter issued from the Congress office, over the signatures of the joint secretaries, Messrs. A. I. Kaje and P. R. Pather, states:—

"As a result of an interview between the secretary to the Agent to the Government of India, officials of the Congress, and representatives from the suburbs and Colonel Molyneux, the Licensing Officer, and Dr. Gunn, the Borough Medical Officer, all Indian licence-holders in the newly-incorporated areas are requested to forthwith lodge their applications for the renewal of licences for 1933, so that the owner or occupier of any premises for which a trading licence has been applied and which is found to be defective in any way may have an opportunity by arrangement with the Health Department to correct the defects."

Call Of Humanity In India

(By RABINDRANATH TAGORE)

Post Rabindranath Tagore has sent the following reply to Mr. Carl Heath of the India Conciliation Group, London:—

"Dear friend,—It is encouraging to learn from your cable that there is a general feeling in England urging for a radical change in the relationship between that country and ours. To my mind, this is the time when a move towards honest co-operation with our people should be made by the India Government. The atmosphere has been purified by Mahatmaji's penance which was undertaken not merely for the sake of any particular group of people but for the sufferings of man."

Times without number, in recent years, opportunities had offered themselves to the Government for responding to the call of humanity in India. One such was Mahatmaji's desire to confer with the Viceroy when he returned from the Round Table Conference. But Mahatmaji's gesture was ignored, he was summarily put into the prison. Since then the Government has openly entered into a policy of repression, blackening its own prestige in the eyes of millions by its fury of unreason. From one blunder to another, the Government has proceeded till it has successfully initiated India into a state of imminent warfare, on a scale which modern scientific militarism can appreciate.

Nobody defends the acts of terrorism by isolated individuals, yet this must clearly be recognised as the direct result of Governmental action. Now, British troops are being massed in Bengal villages to stamp out the anarchism and to teach our people, as it is said, "a moral lesson" by the use of brute force. Coming on the top of the Government's actions in Dacca, Midnapore, Hill and Chittagong, this new measure will create an atmosphere of panic, favourable to widespread anarchism.

Facts To Be Faced

Two facts have now to be definitely faced by the British Cabinet and by the India Government if they desire to change their policy in India before it is too late:

(1) No country can be ruled against its will by another. India can no longer be governed by force, however ruthless and scientifically efficient it may be. India's relationship with England, economic and cultural, must be maintained, but that can only be achieved through friendliness and trust. Our people are ready for such co-operation but their confidence must be regained by specific acts of the Government, clearly recognising the right of our people to equity and self-determination.

(2) The only real check to disorder and distrust between our people and the English is the influence of the Congress under Mahatmaji's own leadership. Yet thousands of the finest men in the Congress have been jailed like criminals, their one crime being their loyalty to Mahatmaji and to the masses whose interests they have zealously upheld. The Congress, as an organisation, has been declared illegal, its money confiscated, its sympathisers secretly and relentlessly victimised.

Not that the moral hold of the Congress on the mind of our people has been in the least impaired or its organisation weakened, but the Government, by wilfully depriving themselves and our own people of the services of this beneficial organisation, has chosen to drive the activities of our finest men and women underground. The Government is thus running serious risks, not only of permanently losing any legitimate influence it may still possess on our people but also of encouraging explosive activities which will be disastrous in its effects on innocent humanity.

Stop Repression

It is too late in the day for the Government to throw out mere gestures of goodwill, palliative measures and tactful promises, safeguarded by diplomacy. Government must reverse its weak policy of repression and intimidation and come out with concrete proposals, which can immediately be made operative, giving India the substance of independence. Honest constitutional reforms, sweeping aside the heaped up follies of an indiscreet Government, must be preceded by the release of Mahatma Gandhi and members of the Congress and the unconditional repeal of the Ordinances, which are a frank confession of the Government's failure to rule.

I sincerely hope that the India Conciliation Group will devote its best energies to acquaint the British people with facts as they are in India to-day, and commit itself to a definite programme and a policy which will accept, as axiomatic, the birthright of our people to freedom and to such self-chosen federation with other countries and peoples and they may freely decide upon. I know I can count upon such heroism of soul from your people.

Genuine peace in India can only result from a fearless recognition by the Government of the fundamental claims of our humanity. Mahatmaji has proved to the world his clear honesty of purpose; will the Government respond?

Gopalswamy Venu Kurma, the eldest son of Sir Kurma Raddi, the former Indian Agent-General, has passed his Bar examination held in mail week. Mr. Kurma, who is a graduate of Oxford, acted for a year in South Africa as his father's private secretary. During his stay in the Union, Mr. Kurma did research work connected with the legal aspect of the Indian question. The book it is expected, will be shortly published or, as it was originally planned, will be first presented as a thesis for a doctorate's degree of his university and afterwards published.

[On behalf of the Indian community of the Union we congratulate Mr. Gopalswamy Kurma for his brilliant successes and wish him a success in his career Ed. I.O.]

Untouchables Of South Africa

The Leader of Allahabad in an editorial note writes:—
Mr. C. F. Andrews addressing at Wolverhampton a gathering representative of nearly one thousand churches said that it did not lie in the mouths of British Christians to condemn too emphatically the caste Hindus' attitude towards their own untouchables so long as in British lands racial untouchability remained the slur upon the Christian profession of faith that he had found to be in many of those lands. We have never believed that two wrongs make one right. And if European Christians are ill-treating the dark races in so many parts of the world, that is no excuse for Hindus to ill-treat the so-called depressed classes. Fortunately, there is a new awakening in the country and the days of untouchability, as recent events have shown, are numbered. But when our European Christian mentors presume to sit in judgment on us, it is time they were reminded of what injustice, oppression and indignities are being heaped upon non-Europeans by European Christians themselves. If the 'untouchables' were not allowed access to temples and other places of public resort until the other day, are the Baratas and Zulus of South Africa permitted to pray in a white church or to send their children to the same school where white children are educated? 'You are the descendants of Ishmael,' said President Kruger, 'and therefore from your very birth you are bound to slavery. As you are the descendants of Esau and Ishmael we cannot admit you to rights placing you on an equality with ourselves. You must remain content with the rights we grant you.' Though Kruger is dead and gone, the policy enunciated by him still survives and non-Europeans have no place either in the white church or the white state of South Africa. It ill becomes our white Christian mentors to point the mote in other people's eyes, ignoring the beam in their own.

Once A Rebel Now Governor-General Of Ireland

London, Nov. 27.

Mr. Daniel Buckley, of Maynooth, has been appointed Governor-General of the Irish Free State. He is a shipkeeper, and was a member of the first and second Dails, but was defeated in the 1923 election. He is now a member for Kildare.

Tremendous surprise has been created in Dublin by his appointment as Governor-General.

He participated in the rebellion of 1916. He organised a small band of volunteers and marched to Dublin from Kildare and joined the rebellion, after which Mr. Buckley was arrested and deported. He was released in the general amnesty following Christmas.

Fresh Treaty

As a member of the Dail, Buckley voted against the acceptance of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. He failed to secure re-election to the Dail in the General Election last year. He recently retired from business at Maynooth.

An official in the Free State High Commissioner's office in London stated that the new Governor-General had "the esteem and respect of all classes in Ireland."

Mr. Buckley took the oath of allegiance to the King in the drawing-room of his brother's house in Dublin.

£10,000 Salary

He has not yet decided whether he will occupy the Vice-Regal lodge. Mr. Buckley will receive a

£10,000 salary attached to the post, though he may return a portion to the Government.

A prominent Cosgrave adherent observed that "the Government has put Daniel in the lions den."

It is not expected that Mr. Buckley will proceed to London to kiss the hand of the King upon his appointment. The commission concerning his appointment has been sent to Dublin, and the impression is that accordingly Mr. Buckley will be installed in office.—Reuter.

Statistics Of White Labour Policy

Elaborate arguments and statistics were used at Germiston by Mr. C. W. Malan, Minister of Railways, to prove that the Government's white labour policy had been justified and successful.

Statistical analysis occupied much of the speech. It was intended to contrast the methods adopted by the South African Party administration during the 1922 depression with those of the present Government. The South African Party, he said, had adopted a policy of "wholesale sacking."

With regard to the number of white labourers in the employ of the Railways, the position was that at Union there were 2,254; in 1923 there were 4,965, and at the end of March, 1924, there were 8082—a decrease of 1,782, or 36 per cent in one year. That was under the South African Party. But under the Nationalists at the end of February, 1930, there were 15,833 white labourers, and at the end of March, 1932, there were 14,445—a decrease of 1,388, or 9 per cent in 32 months.

Promotion Of Labourers

Bad as the depression might become, the Nationalists were determined not to give up their white labour policy.

"Just to deal with another aspect of it I can tell you that from July 1, 1924, to October 31, 1932, no fewer than 13,864 white labourers were promoted to a graded position, and, in addition, up to March 31, 1932, 8,278 junior labourers were promoted, making the grand total 16,637," said the Minister, "and from July, 1924, to October, 1932, no fewer than 27,507 members of the staff have been placed on the permanent staff."

"Now I come to make a declaration which will echo from the Cape to the Limpopo, which will let every Afrikaner man and woman be proud of white South Africa. I think we are more than weary of the chatter of the South African Party and their Press about incompetent poor whites. This will silence them for ever and be more than justification for our policy. On June 30, 1924—that is just before Mr. Jagger retired, there were in service 36,081 whites and 41,611 non-Europeans—a total of 78,842."

"These figures refer, of course, only to open lines and not the men engaged on construction work and so on."

"At the end of March, 1931, there were 50,197 whites and 23,817 non-Europeans—a total of 74,014. Since the time we took over from the South African Party there has therefore been an increase in the white staff of 13,466, and a decrease of non-Europeans of 17,794. What did those 78,000 men employed by the South African Government handle, compared with the 74,014 men we now have, including 13,000 more whites. The figures will be a reply to all those who speak about degenerate poor whites and ignorant poor whites, and use other derogatory terms about them."

The white man had definitely proved that he was the better for work. There was a future for the white man and woman in South Africa, but it was necessary to have a sympathetic Government and not a Government which was continually running the railways down.

Accordingly to the South African Party the difference between the wages of the white labourer and the non-European should be paid by the Treasury from general revenue.

"I warn the citizens of South Africa that once you subscribe to this conduct then you can confidently expect that if it is applied to the ordinary labourer they might eventually just as well go to the central Government and ask for a general subsidy, because natives could be got cheaper," said Mr. Malan.

Preserving White Civilisation

"It is done in Kenya and the Congo, but what will become of our white civilisation if it is introduced here? I appeal to every man and woman to oppose those parties who are not willing to give the white man the opportunity of making a decent living in South Africa. The white labourer has not disappointed the Railway Administration, and the white labourer, no matter how humble his occupation, will, as long as he is earning his living honestly by the sweat of his brow, find a friend in the Nationalist Government."

Cable News From India

A Peasant Uprising

Calcutta, Tuesday.

A serious situation exists in the Alwar State, where an agitation among the peasantry due to demands for the payment of land revenue, which has been simmering for some time, has taken a grave turn with fatal rioting in several villages.

The grievances of the agricultural workers, obsessed with the idea that their homes were in danger, resulted in thousands, led by armed ex-servicemen drawn from the fighting races, taking up a warlike attitude.

Preparations to resist the authorities were taken on a wide scale. Roads by which lorries could bring troops were made impassable, passes were blocked with huge boulders flung from the hillsides and at intervals among the hills watchers are posted with giant tom-toms which can be heard for five miles, enabling the summoning of fighting men to repel troops of armed police.

Even sites for possible ambushes have been selected, spies have been stationed at the foot of the hills and an elaborate system of communication by means of scouts who travel at night has been established.

The plans, which seem to be based on Frontier warfare and which both Moslems and Hindus have taken a share in drawing up, possess a touch of military genius, proving that the ex-servicemen leaders learnt a great deal of scientific warfare during their service in the Indian Army.—*Natal Advertiser*.

Gandhi's Prospect Of Release

New Delhi, Friday.

Civil disobedience remains an "article of faith" with Gandhi until the Government fully concedes the national demands formulated by Congress, according to a letter Gandhi is reported to have sent to the Government.

This is expected to stop the speculation which has recently been rife concerning the prospects of Gandhi's release.—*Reuter*.

Gandhi And The Untouchables

Poona, Sunday.

Gandhi is now prepared to agree to a referendum on the question regarding the opening of Gurayavour temple to untouchables. This is a modification of his original attitude. He suggests a referendum under the management of one of his nominees, and one from the Sanatani orthodox group. On November 5 Gandhi threatened to resume his fast on January 1 unless the

fact of Poona, providing for better treatment of untouchables was carried out. He demanded that the temple be thrown open to Untouchables by that date.—*Reuter*.

Indian Terrorist Conspiracy

Bombay, Thursday.

A widespread terrorist conspiracy in Bombay is believed to have been discovered by the police, following the detention of a young man possessing a number of large-bore revolvers and ammunition hidden in a roll of bedding, who arrived in a steamer from Goa with an unusually large number of packages. Correspondence was also discovered which, it is alleged, shows that he is a member of a terrorist organisation planning the murder of Government officials and raids on banks. Others have been arrested at Delhi, Allahabad and Gwalior.—*Reuter*.

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