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NOTES AND NEWS

London of Mr. W. P. Schreiner, the High Commissioner of South Africa. In him the Sounty loses a truly noble man. He was one of the very few really broad-minded South African Statesmen. He was rightly claimed as the triend of the coloured races. Natives, Coloured South Africans and Indians join in mourning the loss of this great man.

His place will not easily be filled. Too often we find that our present-day politicians are ready to sacrifice principle for popularity. It is not an easy thing to hampion the cause of unrepresented and often mis-inderstood peoples. The late Mr. Schreiner succeeded, broughout public life, to avoid all forms of colour-pre-udice. We revers his memory and trust that other rublic men will emulate the noble example set by the ate High Commissioner.

A correspondent writes :—"The sudden death of Ar. Moonsamy Redhi of Tinley Manor, on the 16th Inst, came like a thock to all who know him. He was the son of Mr. Narayan Redhi of New Glasgow. He was very good to all who knew him, and also took keen interest in charitable work."

A special telegram to the Natal Mercury from its Johannesburg correspondent states that at a meeting of the Boksburg and District Chamber of Commerce it discussion took place concerning the protest tigned by certain wholesale merchants in Johannesburg condemning public action that aimed at restricting Indian trading in certain areas in the Transvaal. It was urged that the signatories to that protest were guilty if injustice in expressing views which favoured the Indian traders. It was also suggested that these proesting merchants should be boycotted, but this was bought to be too drastic a measure at present. It would be better to sentilate grievances at the annual longress.

It has been reported to the Town Council of Pottheistroom (says Reuter) that protests were made, through the Transvaal Municipal Association against the action of the Senate in deleting the clause in the Aviatic Bill which would have enabled local authorities to refuse the issue of licences.

The following resolution is submitted for adoption by the above Council; "That the time has arrived when, in the interests of the white races in this Province, segregation in locations and bazzars of all coloured people, including Asiatica, resident within to urban area, is imperative."

So we know what we have to contend with. What more Transwalers want is that men of colour, including British Indians, shall be couped up in locations where they should exist by trading with each other. It is just is well to understand what is in store for us when Sir Ate Bailey and his triends succeed in their purpose. The question is, what are our brethern in the Trans-

veal going to do to counteract this most deliberate attempt to rob them of their right to live and earn their bread by trading if it should unfortunately happen that the Governor-General gives his consent to the Bill recently passed by Parliament?

The India Office reports (says Reuter) that over half-a-million Indians are receiving in one form or another famine relief.

A mass meeting of Indians employed in hotels, reaturants, and tea rooms was held recently in Rawat's Bio for the purpose of forming a union. Mr. B. Sigamoney was elected to the chair. All the hotels and restaurants were represented. The members keenly debated the question of forming a union immediately, and eventually this was unanimously decided upon. Various officials were elected. It is the desire of the union to affiliate with the Natal Shop Assistants and Commercial Workers Union as soon as possible. The membership of the union is increasing, and we are given to understand that every Indian waiter in Durban intends to join the organisation.

PEACE AND THE FUTURE

T last the Peace Treaty between the Allies and the Central Powers has been signed. From in ... formation gathered from the press cablegrams, . it would appear that the Germans and their Allies have signed under compulsion. Up to the last they have shown no sign of wanting to plead guilty to the serious charge of forcing upon Europe a terrible war. They have signed the Peace Treaty as though it were a death ... warrant. Such an attitude does not augur well for the complete fulfilment of the terms agreed upon. It almost looks as though there was no real honest intention of carrying out the agreement and that, if there is half a chance, the whole thing will be repudiated : before long. We may be too pessimistic, but the outlook is none too bright. Those who confidently prophesied that this war would be the last are now saying that the time has not come for the " swords to be beaten into ploughshares." That time will never comeuntil the nations voluntarily lay down their arms. It cannot come so long as one nation is beaten into submission by a more powerful foe, At would appear, however, that a favourable opportunity has come for the victorious nations to reduce their armaments and deliberately determine that there shall be a lessening of this great burden. But it is the people and not government who have the power to end war, All' governments are powerless to do what the people disapprove: War, then, will cease only when a new spirit is created within the nations. It is the people who must rise and preclaimed the gospel of "peace and" goodwill to all men."

Peace brings its problems to solve. The workers in all lands will claim the greater share of the good things of hife. There will have to be drastic changes in the conditions existing between capital and labour. There are signs of these changes all around. Then there is the perhaps still greater problem of the government of coloured and subject races. As education spreads the backward peoples of the earth will demand equal opportunities in life. The non-white man will refuse to take a back seat simply because he is not white. He has lound that, in war, his services are just as valuable as those of white men. Why in peace should he not share the bonefits of civilised life? Why, indeed, should he not take part in the government of his own country? Dur brethten in India are asking these questions. At the same time they are suffering under conditions entirely opposed to the principles of enlightened governments. One of the greatest problems of peace will be the carrying out of those principles of justice and fair treatment towards all the people of the same empire which have been lought for on behalf of the nations. We look to the British Empire to do the right thing, "though the heavens fall." Then only will she have truly won a victory. Then alone can she be called great.

"WHAT INDIA WANTS"

Under the auspices of Britain and India, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on May 3, Mr. B. G. Tilak addressed a well attended At Home on "What India Wants." In the course of his remarks he said

As the result of bureaucratic government the thinking classes in India were in a condition of utter helplessness and the masses in a state of abject poverty and "illiteracy, with the attendant ills of famine and plague. Yet when put to the supreme test during the war, all sections of the people agreed to sink their differences, and India provided a million and a quarter man and immense quantities of war material, besides making a tree gitt to England of £100,000,000. Princes and people alike helped to win the war for the freedom of the world. He condemned the Rowlatt Bills, observing that they were as reactionary in character as any ever conceived in Tsuriat Russia, Imperial Germany, or Imperial Austria: One of them had passed through the legislative machine. The day on which the Bill passed into law was observed in India as the day of bumiliation and mourning. The whole Rowlatt Bill tragedy strikingly illustrated the political situation in India to day. The bureaucracy wanted to defend to brutal acts by raising the cry-usually intended for home consumption—that there was a rebellion in India and that the British Empire in India was in danger-in other words they frankly declared before the whole civilised world that they, acting as representatives of the British people, could govern India only by sheet brute lorce. Junkerdom was dead in Germany; it was now legalised in India But to day. Indians did not ask for full Dominion self-goyernment; they did not demand that the Goyernment of India should be made responsible to the people of India even in the matters concerning the Army Navy, foreign affairs, or relations with the Indian Princes. Indians definitely reserved these matters to the Government of India as it was at present constituted-i.e., responsible not to the people of India but to the people of Great Britain. Indiana asked for responsible government only in their domestic allairs, and he submitted that the demand was quite within the limits of the pronouncement of August 20 1917wherein the Secretary of State for India laid down the policy towards India as decided by His Majesty's Gov-

THE SITUATION IN INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE'S CARLE TO ENGLAND

The following cable, giving a sober view or situation in India as viewed by responsible public was sent to the Prime Minister, London, the Secrof State for India, London, and Lord Sinha, by P. Madan Mohan Malaviya, President, All-India Conj. Committee, Bumbay:—

The All-India Congress Committee desire earnestly to represent to His Majesty's Government intense gravity of the present situation in India, the causes and the need for a change of policy pursue tracers.

While deploring and condemning popular excei which have occurred in some parts of the country? which popular leaders have everywhere used it influence, not unsuccessfully, to restrain, the Commiurge the impartial consideration of the circumstart which have so aggrayated and embittered the feel of the people throughout the country as to make a putbreaks possible. The resolution of the Governes of India dated 14th instant, describing the presituation as arising out of the Rowlatt Act agitat: makes only a partial statement of the case. Undoub ly, intense universal bitterness of apposition to Rowlatt Act, forged through the legislature by offi votes against the unanimous protest of all non-Inc. members and in the face of the unpercleiled opposit throughout the country, was the immediate cause of recent popular peacaful demonstrations. But the s sequent excesses were provoked by the needlessunjustifiable action of the Government of India : the Punjab and Delhi Governments against so reve a personality as that of Mr. Gandhi and against, other popular leaders.

CAUSES OF DISCONTENT

For a complete understanding, however, of the p sent discontent and its causes, other important factmust be considered. The attitude of India through the war was one of consistent loyalty and helpfulne Cheered and encouraged by the declared aims for whi the great struggle was waged and the promises of t British statesmen of political freedom and self-detern nation for all, followed by the visit of the Secretary State to India to frame recommendations for refor the people uncomplainingly suffered the hardships war conditions and gave their aid ungrudgingly. Indi services were handsomely and unreservedly ackne ledged by the Premier and other leading statesmi Since the signing of the ermistice, the people hower feel there has been a notable change in the attitude the European community, official and non-offici toward Indian aspirations generally and reform

The sufferings of the middle and lower classes, owi to high prices of foodstuffs and clothing have be intensified by the failure of the monsoon in seve parts of the country and grave mismanagement of 1 control of foodstuffs, Railway and shipping freig The people feel the Government have been indiffere and failed to do all they might have done to atlevil the sufferings. Criticisms and complaints in the Pn by leading journals and well-known public men wi ignored. The hostile attitude of the Anglo-Indi Press and the European community towards reform a the malignant campaign of the European Associati In India and the Indo-British Association in Engla greatly intensified the bitterness of feeling. impression is now widespread that the Europ can offic and non-official community are generally opposed es to the mild recommendations in the Montagu-Chelt ford Report which are regarded as inadequate by 1 bulk of Indian opinion. Added to this, circumstant have encouraged the helief that the Government do: desire to encourage Indian industrial enterpase : admit Indians to equality of provileges and opportunit with Europeans as illustrated by the meagre propos for the admission of Indians to Commissions in th from army and the fact that out of two handred officers casplayed by the Maninime Board, only one was sadiso. MAHOMEDAM DISCONTENT

A further important factor of the popular disconvent is use deep and universal teeling uniong Indian Mahornedans regarding the Monditate and the doly places ant apprehensions that their claims are not sufficiently tog arded by the British Government and the Alies are dequately passed at the Peuce Conference. The Maprintelans feel bitterly that their leyalty during the war is without expression since the sanger is quised. Sinch a teching too in general among the dridings of all of som and as leaned by the sudden change of the le dian Government's attitude from one of conciliation during the war to obstinate opposition to the will of the people since the enmission and by a similar attitude of other officials as evidenced by such boastful and intimidating utterances based on the victories of British Arms as that of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in his Council on the 7th instant when he threatened the ruthless repression en protection agreement de perce las a all de in tref tiene.

THE ROWLETT BLUNDER

In their officialistances, the the Rowlett Bills were is desidenced used the prescipal was see forced through the Council in spits of the ununimous opposition of to the post-official indian ensurbers, and appeal for postprocuents and econsideration and warnings of the spiration that would inevitably follow throughout the causing which was stiered by this meaning and the uncompremising strivete of the Government in a degree

noperalelled in the tristoly of the country.

The Committee here cannot erter in detail as to the methode apprehensions caused by the passing into law of this Act. They are content to represent that it 14 w town distortion of the facts that an agitation against a measure placed on the Statute Book in time of peaus depriving subjects under any pirodinstances of the meted. right of tree and open trial and otherwise restricting is tundamental inberties and depriving accused persons of normal and commiss refeguerds designed for the protection of threecent persons should be regarded as so wheal agitation engineered by political agitators for their own ends. The Committee have no authority to discuss the merits of the Passive resistance movement hed by Mr. Gundhi, but would emphasize that mothing but the feeling of high would patriotism and intense malisation of the rejustice involved in the passing of this measure could have actuated a man of his saintly character and noble record. The Committee submit that so far as fatts are publicly knows, no, violence had anywhere been committed by the people until after the arbitmey restrictions placed on Mr. Gardbi's movedicists leading to his win at and the forcible deportation without any announcement about his destination, while he was on his way to Delhi with the object of pacifying the people siter the unfortunate sprone there on the March york Grave silegations were made that the authorities in Delbi unjustifiably fired on crowds killing and wounding several. The Covernment of India have ignored the demands for an enquiry loto this and have published an expanse statement of the Local · Covernment i xindrating the lital authorities on an-convincing statements. Had Mr. Gandhi been allowed to proceed to Delhi. the Committee believe he would have restored normal conditions. The Government, we the convery, by his arrest and depositation, provoked outoreals in Abin dabed and Virengaum.

A CONTRAST IN METHODS An ombreak heid become imminent an Bohibay alst, but it was averteff by the wise action of the authorities in restraing the police and the military and the efforts of Mr. Gandhi and other leaders parified the people and testered quiet. The Committee invite attentibil to the contrast between the sapidity, with which Iran quility was returned in Ahinerlahad by the fir sence of Mr. Cardhi, his co-operation kiong with that or other leaders with the authorities and the continuation of disorders in the Punjab Where leckless and horrible

methods of repression upder Martial law such as the public tropging of citizens in the street, dropping of bombs from veroplanes and wholesale firing on people assembled in the streets, have been resorted to. These methods of repression have created horror and resembles of repression have created horror and resembles the needs for strong measures to deal with copylise the needs for strong measures to deal with popular violence where popular leaders and bodies and if positic men are ready to co-operate with Government in parting flows popular excesses and violent horse ments leganst authority, but the use of such methods as have been in force in Publish anagonise the feelings of the needs to with Government and sow seeds of builds. the people towards Government and solv seeds of bittel; ness and distribst.

The Committee most entrettly time His Majesty's Government to there and put in end to these methods and to order the appointment of a commission of officials and hon officials to investigate the causes of

of officials and how-officials to investigate the causes of discontent and allegations of excesses by the authorities in repressing popular outbreaks.

Change or Policy Neroed

The Committee strongly viges the Majesty's Covernment to consider that popular discontent has been provoked by causes set forth above. At Aminist, the disturbances to flowed mimediately on Sir Michael O'Dwyer's action in arresting and deporting Dr. Kitchley and Ir. Saryapat. The Committee mode earliestly represents that the situation channot be dealt with along by repression and the attitude of steinness towards the proper displayed in the resolution of the Indian Government of ith instant which gives a free hard to Local Governments to employ every weapon in the armouty of repression and is saidly lacking in the spirit of conciliation. The situation calls for the highest statesmanship which will geal with it in the spirit which animated the British Government and the Indian people animated the British Government and the Indian people in their recent struggle for the maintenance of the liberty and herdom of the peoples from despotic domi-

marry and needom of the peoples from despotic domi-marron and not in a mode of ruthless repression.

The All India Congress Committee feel that they can appeal with confidence to His Malesty's ministers to consider this representation with sympathy and to take definite steps forthwith to reverse the policy of repression and to satisfy Indian feeling with regard to the Maho-medan question, the reforms and the repeal of the Rowlatt Act.

Rowlatt Act.

The Committee respectfully submit this action alone will secure real peace and contentucht in the land.

Maran Monan Maraveya.

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR ON THE ROWLATT ACT

In the course of along and closely reasoned retres to he Madres Mail on the Rowlfat Act, Sir Nafayan

Chandavarkar observes:

I think that this is an opportune invident for and 86 hàrm van come from emphasising the view that an objection in the view that an objection in the view that an objection is the specific of the company of the propriate resided against revolutionary crime. I say the moment is opportune because to meet the present the moment is opportune because to meet the present specific tax the present specific tax. simalibi the Governor-General has been making Ordi-nauces—and that late carries the moral against the Rowladt Act for which I cortefut.

How that is I will now endeavour to state.

How that is I will now endeavour to state.

When the Rowlast Bill was under discussion in the Council, some Indian hit mosts proposed amendments to define the term revolutionary and analytical crime. The member in charge of the Bill declined to accept the amendment; and it was rejected by a hajohit of whee in the Gouncil. I can well understand and appreciate the reasons which led the midjortly to dicline to Belive the trime. Definitions in Alls die often hard nuts to erack and when especially judges This is especially to as legards terms which to these days of rapid events and social, political, and tedebuties

transformation, have to be applied with changed meanings to the actual conditions of crime. Revolutionary and anarchical crime is one of such terms. History is replete with instances of that crime to show how it has changed, as to its methods, from period to period At present in India, no doubt, we have become familiar with the current and contemporary methods of that crime. Having regard to those methods—namely, the plotting in secret, the strict pledges of secrecy, the murder and terrorising of witnesses, the Police and Indicial officers so as to render the trial of a revolutionary abortive and impossible in a Court of law according to its procedure and the ordinary principles of justice-Mr. Justice Beachcroft and myself in our report on Bengal interoments have explained the nature and character of revolutionary and anarchical crime, so as to supply a workable definition. But our definition, such as it is, is founded on the existing methods of that crime, and cannot be said to be exhaustive. But, I apprehend, it is useful as showing that the expression revolutionary and anarchical crime has become, for the purpose of trial of the crime, a term of art, well understood and understandable and, therefore, not requiring a strict legal definition.

That being the meaning and nature of the crime, constitutional lawyers like Blackstone have laid down that in grave emergencies, when such crime becomes a danger to the country. Parliament, as the supreme Legislature of the Empire, should arm the Executive with emergency power, according as the emergency arises, to deal with persons whom the Executive suspect of that crime, without giving reasons. Such power Parliament has already given to the Governor-General by vesting in him the power of making Ordinances in the interests of peace and order. This is a very arbitrary power, but the crime is itself arbitrary.

It has been urged that the Rowlast Act has this merit to differentiate it from an Ordinance and the Detence of India Act and commend to the Indian public as a much milder and more judicial and judicious measure than the latter, that it provides certain judicial safeguards, borrowed from the accustomed procedure

of an ordinary Cont of Justice.

It is this very look of mildness and judicial garb that makes the Act an insidious measure, and therefore more objectionable than an Ordinance or the Defence of India Act.

That statement of my view is apt to seem paradoxical.

It is not, and that for the following reasons:—

(1) If revolutionary, crime is of a kind, which, on account of its secret and terrorising methods, makes it impossible to try it according to the recognised judicial principles of law and justice, it is necessary that a measure adopted to combat the crime should present itself in its true light, required by the necessities of the case, as an arbitrary measure, demanded for temporary emergencies. That is the merit of an Ordinance and of the Defence of India Act. They do not pose as and profess to be judicial. They are extreme remedies for extreme cases. If an arbitrary measure is the proper cure for a crime which, unlike ordinary crime, works by extraordinary methods, let the arbitrariness stand out plain as a warning to revolutionaries that they shall have no mercy, and as a satisfaction to the public that an arbitrary measure adopted for emergencies does not stalk abroad as a judicial measure, and that liberty, meaning the liberty of a judicial machinery is not tampered with so as to bull the public sense. We have the authority of Burke that, such "great determined measures, are not commonly so dangerous to freedom because they are marked with too strong lines to slide into use"

(2) When such determined remedies as revolutionary crime calls for in exceptional times assume the garb of a judicial machinery they become what Burke calls "a sort of masked proceeding," cutting away liberty by parts, while professing to safeguard it and "the true danger is when liberty is nibbled away for expedients and by parts."

(3) In India we have become familiar since 107 with the form of legislation, which while depriving ouCourts of Justice of jurisdiction in the trial of certai
matters, transferring that jurisdiction to the executive
has invested that jurisdiction with some of the judicis
forms. This is the real danger of the Rowlast Act.
admit, it is what constitutional lawyers would call "
remote and constructive danger"—but Englishmen with
understand me when I say that those people alone de
serve the safeguard of equal laws and justice, which
forms the true temper and tradition of British histor,
who strive constitutionally, and not by disturbances to
peace and order, designed or undesigned, to avert to
mote and constructive dangers.

MR. GANDHFS LEAFLET

ON AHMEDABAD RIOTS

Bombay April 25,—Mr. M. K. Gandhi has issued the following leaflet which has been distributed broadcast among the people of Ahmedabad.

Mr. Gandhi asks for funds for relief of the families of those who have died or are lying wounded in hospitare. He states: -Twenty-two men have died in hospital etc. there have been many more deaths. It was the duly of the citizens, he says, to render help to the families of those dead or wounded. "These include two or there Englishmen (now ascertained to be one). Our limit duty is to render help to their families since we'uresponsible for their deaths. We have no excuse what soever for killing. They have been killed simply or all animosity. If we do really repeat for what we have done it is our duty to aid their families. That is the least penauce we can do. Some of us believe that we can obtain our rights by such acts of terrorisates, violence and arson. Satyagraha on the contrary house that the rights so obtained should be rejected. I at me that of the two parties using brute force the one polices. sing more of it than the other apparently gains its and My 40 years experience tells me that the object ... attained do not permanently benefit the winner. Tours who advise us to use physical force are sadly mistaken and we should never listen to their advice. Even: in Ahmedabad would have been impossible had we kind in true sense of Dharma. It is one of our duries 'a prevent mischief. It is obviously a far greater thing to overcome mischief by spirit lorce and Dharma that. brute force. We have seen that the violent outbie the have not benefitted us. They had nothing to do anth my release: The outbreaks commenced on the and the decision to release me in Bombay was arrived at on the oth. It cannot therefore have been in any way the result of those outbreaks."

HOOLIGANISM CONDEMNED

After dwelling upon the damage caused to \$ 100cc and private property, he points out that the expenses of re-building them and compensation fell indirectly up a the people. Surely the incendiaries must never have thought of making up for the luss. The closing of the telegraph office also meant loss of commerced for concludes thus:— If the people were thus to take law into their own hands there would be an end to peace and public safety and perpetual reign of terror would prevails. If any and every person aggrieved by an or toe: conduct were to be regarded as within his rights !! violate the person and property of that officer no think would be safe. A country where such a state of all e prevails is not considered to be civilised and the proper there live in constant lear. Consider the bridge barbarity of burning alive the Aval Karkun of Vira. What offence has he committed or it he had committed one why had we not the courage to obtain his demics. Sergeant Fraser, an innocent Englishman, who has sought refuge in an Indian house was marched at the house and hacked to pieces. What can India san out of such a piece of brutality? One direct of