

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

WE are glad to note that intimation has been received from the Secretary of State for India that the Government of Fiji has been instructed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Indian labourers in Fiji are to be released from indenture on 1st January 1920 on all estates on which the following reforms suggested by Mr. C. F. Andrews have not been carried out by that date:—

(1) That at the mill centres the coolie lines be reconstructed so as to give privacy and separateness to married labourers, (2) that at the mill centres the hospitals be placed under the supervision of a resident matron, (3) that no young unmarried overseer be placed in charge of field gangs of Indian women, (4) that no young unmarried hospital assistant be placed in charge of an Indian hospital where there is no matron.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies does not consider that the demand for cancellation on estates where those reforms have been carried out is justifiable unless compensation is offered to the planters at the expense of India. The Government of India have now enquired by telegram what would be the cost of freeing every Indian labourer in Fiji from indenture on the 1st January next.

The Chairman of the South Africans' League, in evidence before the Local Government Commission at Johannesburg, submitted that the Asiatic was socially and economically undesirable in the Transvaal. Inspections carried out in Vrededorp Location revealed a herding together of Indians, Malays, coloured and Natives. The report of those inspections stated that if animals were to be housed according to the by-laws, certain buildings would be at once unfit for animal occupation. Behind one Indian fruit shop and general store 24 persons, mostly Native women, lived in the looms. If the Indians were allowed to continue to trade as at present, within 20 years the bulk of the trading would be in their hands, because, from a difference in the living standards, the white trader could not compete with them. Asked whether the Asiatics were good citizens, witness said there was little crime among them. Their record in that respect was excellent.

At a meeting held at Sea View, Natal, the resolutions recently passed by the Sydenham District Association, were submitted to the meeting, but resolutions 2 and 3 were ruled to be beyond the scope of this Association. Resolution 1, reading as follows, was unanimously carried:—

"That this meeting urges the necessity of prompt legislation for the purpose of securing throughout the Union: (a) The prohibition of any future sales, leases or tenancy of land or buildings to Indians or non-Europeans, except in such areas as shall be set aside and reserved exclusively for their trade, agriculture and residential quarters. (b) Prohibiting the issue of any trading licences, to any Indian or non-European, except in the reserved areas or 'bazaars' aforesaid."

Mr. H. H. Kemp, Labour candidate for the Umhlangeni

Division of Natal, takes every opportunity of pressing forward his propaganda for the compulsory repatriation of Indians. He was reported recently as follows:—

In regard to the Asiatics, and having regard to the menace to the European citizens of to-morrow, and to Natal Parliament pledge of 1895, he was of opinion that the practice of allowing European, Asiatic, and native families to live side by side was fraught with many evils and he urged that Parliament should legislate in the direction by buying out lock, stock and barrel, the interests of Asiatics and expatriate them from Natal. In Durban alone to-day there were approximately 1,800 licensed Indian traders and a similar number of licensed European traders. Mr. Escombe had laid it down in 1895 that it was the wish of the Natal Colony that the Indians were to come here appreciated as labourers and returned at the expiry of their indentures and would never be tolerated as settlers and competitors.

General Smuts, speaking in a Transvaal town recently, dealt with the non-white element in the population of South Africa. As to the coloured people, he paid a tribute to their behaviour during the war, and he trusted that when the question of pensions was again reviewed the coloured soldiers who had done their duty would also be taken into consideration. (Applause.) With regard to Asiatics, he pointed out that fresh invasion had been stopped, but that new dangers had arisen in connection with the situation, especially in connection with trade. Steps would have to be taken, but he deprecated ill considered action, as that might easily lead to worse difficulties. They should wait the investigation of the committee shortly to be appointed in accordance with the promise made by the Acting Prime Minister (Mr. Malan) to the Anti-Asiatic League.

Referring to the Indian hotel waiters strike at East London, *The Internationalist* (the organ of the International Socialist League, South Africa) says: "The strike of waiters in East London is still on and Comrade Sigamoney, of Durban, has sent us an appeal for funds on their behalf. This is a matter in which white trade unionists, and especially the Waiters' Union of Johannesburg, should interest themselves. Here is a case where the Indians, by their organisation, placed the badly organised white waiters in a position to get substantial concessions. And in spite of the fact that a written agreement was made out that they should reject or accept concessions, jointly with the Indians, the white section betrayed their Indian comrades by accepting terms on their own which they had previously agreed with the Indian waiters were unacceptable."

"These are tactics (continues our contemporary) unworthy of so called white men." They are the tactics Britishers are so fond of attributing to the sly Eastern. But here we have the organised Indians still standing out solid for the full demands, and held up to the reprobation of all the loyal and patriotic workers who have sneaked into their jobs. We make this appeal to the trade unions to vindicate their good name, and

thus preserve the first step in solidarity irrespective of colour shown by their Indian fellow workers at East London."

A Reuter cable states that, in the House of Commons, in the course of a debate on the Government of India Bill, Mr. Stewart (Unionist for Wirral Division of Cheshire), asked what guarantee we had that India would manipulate tariffs against Britain. In reply, Mr. Montagu, Secretary for India, asked: "What guarantee have we that Australia will not?" Proceeding, he declared that nothing could do so much harm as the slightest suspicion that we wanted to alter the tariffs of India in the interests of the British trade. The solidarity of the Empire rested upon Imperial goodwill, which had always been developed by mutual trust. He did not think this matter could be dealt with under this Bill.

How long have tariffs been manipulated in favour of Britain, and especially Manchester? Mr. Stewart is evidently conscience stricken, and is mortally afraid that India may copy the example of Great Britain. In India's case it would be justifiable protection for her own industries, whilst in the case of England, it was exploitation of a helpless people.

The Indian community in Durban will learn with not a little amount of joy that Mr. Omar Hajeé Amod Johari who is expected by the *s.s. Karapara*, will be once more with them by the end of this week. We hope Mr. Omar will bring back with him the same spirit that he has shown in the past in communal affairs. How ably he has performed his duty as one of the secretaries of the Natal Indian Association is a well known fact and we have not the least doubt that he will once again make every effort to bring new life into that body which has for long gone to sleep.

AN AMAZING CONFESSION

THE statement given by General Dyer before the Punjab Commission of Inquiry regarding the shooting of Indians at Amritsar is truly amazing. Even in war, when things are equal with opposing armies, there is some regard for fairplay and even humanity. And at Amritsar there was no consideration. At the worst they were an unarmed mob. To shoot them down in hundreds, apparently without warning, and then to go on killing until the ammunition was exhausted, was the work of either a lunatic or a man filled with the lust of war—war on helpless people. Whatever a few reckless people in that mob may have done, surely it was nothing but glorying in vengeance to proceed to slaughter the whole crowd. Words fail us to describe it. It is said that the report of General Dyer's evidence created a sensation in England. How could it have been otherwise? Unless the people of England have been altogether demoralised by the war, we should say that they are horrified at this act of vengeance committed by England's "fighting men." Of course we know that the rank and file simply do as they are ordered. We cannot blame them so long as they choose to have no conscience in the matter. It is upon the General and the Governor of Punjab that this sin must rest. We wonder whether they will be punished.

It is not our intention to dwell at any length upon this gruesome incident. We cannot, however, refrain asking whether such a thing could have happened in England, or Ireland or South Africa. Not even when the crowd was armed has there ever been such a brutal

reply of fire. We know how the "armed protest" in this country was skillfully brought to an end almost without bloodshed. When the streets of Dublin were a bloody battle-field, still there was some restraint by the military. But at Amritsar, it was thought necessary to kill quickly and well so that the crowd might not turn round and laugh at the General. Does not this incident give some insight into the discontent in India? Two thoughts force themselves upon our mind. One is that the iron heel of military authority is determined to grind itself deep into the vitals of the people. The other is that the state of public life in India is rotten. We refuse to believe that the slaughter at Amritsar could have been possible if the leading men in India had been true to their ideals. Their opinions, it seems, can be safely left out of account by Governors and Generals. The question of who is to rule India is brought to the front by the Amritsar incident. Is it to be the despotic and cruel rule of Governors and military men, or "government for the people by the people"? It is said that India is not ready for self-government. At the worst, things could not be in a more parlous state than they are at present. The tragedy of Amritsar will long remain in memory as one of the most brutal acts of suppression known to history.

ANTI-ASIATIC AGITATION

SOUTH AFRICANS' LEAGUE ACTIVE

We have received a detailed report of a meeting held at Potchefstroom, Transvaal, several weeks ago. The meeting was convened by the Mayor and presided by

The Mayor, in his opening remarks, said that the Asiatic question originally made an entrance at the kitchen door in the old republican days. Now, said the Mayor, he has got into your dining-room and is threatening your parlour, and will soon be wanting to take tea with you." Although a number of laws had been passed with the object of controlling the Asiatic Movement, on account of the Indians' propensities for evading the law and by agitation and passive resistance, the menace had become alarming to-day.

He (the speaker) perceived many obstacles in the way of total expulsion. The financial side of the question would be a gigantic one and he did not think they would get unity of action among all four Colonies, but by strict legislation which would confine and restrict the Indian in his business, and bring him within the scope of law, he thought the object of the South Africans' League would eventually be achieved. He did not think there would be much objection to the Indian staying in the country so long as he did not go beyond the rights granted to the aboriginal natives. Slackness in the protection of their rights as white men had led to the present menace. Let them see to it that that was remedied in future. They must remember how: had they done so 20 Years ago Potgieter Street would not have been lined with Indian Shops—(hear, hear). They must demand pledges from their Parliamentary representatives, Provincial Council and Municipal Candidates to fight this question or withhold their support. Any man with Asiatic sympathies should have no place in their public bodies—(applause). They had to try and make the position of the Asiatic untenable in South Africa, who were striving for nothing less than full civic and political rights, and unless they stood shoulder to shoulder and fought the problem to a finish their children were going to suffer—(applause).

Mr. Phillips, chairman of the South African's League, referring to the Pretoria Congress, said they had commenced a movement which he believed

would come home with tremendous significance to every man and woman. There was no other question which affected them to the same degree, no matter to what political faith they gave adherence. They had to try and look forward and to see how far and to what extent the penetration of Asiatics into South Africa was going to affect the future. It was only a question for them and himself, it would not matter very much, but they had to face the position that their children were inevitably going to suffer. Why were the Indians in the country to-day? It was the fault of the people because if they did not support them they would not be here.—(hear, hear.) No matter what Government came into power, as long as the people continued to support the Indians, they would remain here.—(applause.) The speaker referred to the preamble of the Act, at which town, in 1902, there was but one Asiatic trader; but to-day the position was reversed: there were only two white traders left. The others had all gone, and the men they employed, where were they? It might be perfectly true that those people had been absorbed in other business, but the time was surely coming when hundreds of traders and tens of thousands of workers would be pushed out of business, and it was the working class—English and Dutch—who stood to suffer from the penetration of the Indian into the country. It might mislead some of them to know that there was not a single Indian lawfully residing in Potchefstroom outside his location or bazar. In 1885, the wisdom of

THE OLD VOORTREKKERS

decided that no Asiatics should be allowed to reside in towns excepting in places specially set aside for them. That law was on the Statute book to-day; it had never been repealed, but he did not know of a single case where the people of the Transvaal had endeavoured to enforce it. Was it not time that they started to do so?—(hear, hear.)

The wisdom of our legislators of 1919 had been to relax the residential qualification in Government townships on the Reef. There should be no more talk of socialism in South Africa; there was room for

ONLY ONE RACIALISM

and that was the protection of the white race.—(applause.) Referring to the statement of Sir Walter Barnes that the Act passed in May was irreconcilable with an undertaking given by Mr. Burton, Minister of Railways, at the Imperial Conference in 1918, the speaker said that according to General Smuts, no such undertaking was given by Mr. Burton, and he (Mr. Phillips) preferred to believe General Smuts than to accept the statement of any member of the Indian Government. His firm conviction was that if they convinced General Smuts that they were in earnest, he believed the Prime Minister was strong enough to say that the views of the majority of the white people of South Africa must prevail.—(applause.) Regarding the social aspect of the question, Mr. Phillips said he had been told by a doctor in Pretoria that he knew of instances of white women living with Indians in this district as their wives. If that was true

IT WAS A DISGRACE

to every white man to have to contemplate the possibility of the daughter of another white man living with an Indian. They had to contemplate what it might mean to their own daughters in the future, and what the native would think when he saw other coloured people privileged above himself. Whatever else they might forget they must remember they were the trustees for posterity and if they were not to fail cravenly as cowards to their children, they must see to it that they handed down their heritage unsoiled and unimpaired.—(applause.)

Mr. W. J. Holmes pleaded with those present on behalf of the 100,000 white children of the Transvaal. Thousands of Indians were doing the work of whites at present, and unless they did something, and that speedily, there would be no work for their children.

Their forbears had made this land a white man's country, and had sacrificed much for their ideals. Let them tell the Government it was impossible for them as white people to live together with the Asiatics, and that they were not prepared to give way an inch. It was for the welfare and salvation of their children that they were fighting, who would curse them in the years to come if they now proved untrue to their trust.

IS THE ORANGE FREE STATE

Mr. Michael Koenig said they in the Transvaal ought to do what the Free State did 35 years ago, namely, pass a law giving the Asiatic twelve months in which to sell out, and make it illegal for anyone to take an Asiatic in his service. He would be prepared to make the time limit three years and to compensate the Indians for reasonable loss, which he was convinced the commercial community of South Africa would be willing to pay. The great cause of the Asiatic's progress in this country was that people persisted in buying from them. If they refrained from so doing the Indians would disappear in six months. As a farmer, he wanted to leave his farm to his children, and it was the same with the business man. It had pained him very much recently to see a Town Councillor of Potchefstroom and his wife enter an Indian Store. With such people they should have nothing whatever to do. With complete co-operation they could achieve their object, and now that they had a higher status no one could interfere in their internal affairs.

Mr. Hunter explained the objects of the League, stating that was as intended to work on the lines so successfully employed in America in connection with the prohibition campaign, and so influence public opinion that the Government would have no alternative but to concede their demands. There would be a branch in every constituency, and every candidate would have to answer a plain question.

A proposal by Mr. Olen, seconded by Mr. W. V. Johnstone, to establish a branch of the League in Potchefstroom, was unanimously carried.—Condensed from the *Potchefstroom Herald* report.

"A BREACH OF FAITH"

THE ENQUIRY COMMISSION

The *Bombay Chronicle*, in its issue of the 30th October last, writes editorially, under the above heading, on the question of the long-delayed Commission to be appointed by the Union Government:—

The South African Enquiry Commission which was promised in May last has been indefinitely postponed. We never thought that the enquiry which was proposed as a matter of urgent necessity, would thus end in smoke. The people of India will regard the whole story of promise and non-performance with deep feelings of grief and consideration. When the Anti-Asiatic Trading Bill was discussed in the Select Committee there was such a volume of unreasoning hostility on the part of European members that Mr. Malan, who stood for moderation, agreed to re-open the question by the appointment of a Commission. The Acting Premier urged that both sides of the question had not been looked into and pleaded that the House should not interfere with anybody's rights without the most careful scrutiny. In the proceedings of May, 19, we see that "Mr. Malan promised the House that a Commission would be appointed during the recess to go into the whole question and he trusted that the assurance coming from him as a responsible Minister, would be accepted by the House." What are Indians to think of the promise now? The sentence of death imposed on Indians cannot be allowed to remain as it is. The decision to postpone the enquiry indefinitely would amount to recognition, on the part of Government, of a measure which they, on their own admission, regard as having been passed in haste and without full considera-

tion of both sides of the question. The position is intolerable. The subsequent assurances of responsible ministers are also discarded by the decision of postponement. We do not agree with the laboured explanation issued by the Secretary of State for India, because it is in contradiction with the story of negotiation and promise. The Secretary of State now says, without the slightest evidence of ruffled equanimity, that the appointment of the Commission has been postponed and, what is worse, his undertakings were misinterpreted by the public. After full two-months of his pronouncement, he speaks of mistaken inferences. Let us recall the facts. On August, 28th, the deputation of Indians and Europeans led by the Hon. Mr. Suren-dranath Banerjee waited on Mr. Montagu. The Secretary of State gave a sympathetic reply in which he called upon all friends of India to help the Commission of Enquiry. Mr. Montagu said:—

"We have suggested not a domestic but an imperial enquiry, one upon which not only the good relations of the members of the Empire will depend but upon which the sincerity of the welcome the Dominions gave to the representatives of India at the Imperial Conference will be decided by the world. I have therefore asked the Indian Government to be directly represented on the Commission by one official and one non-official. Both will be chosen from those most competent to make a good case—a case upon which we have set our heart upon winning as soon as possible. I think that that is the most hopeful method."

Mr. Montagu's effort was towards the institution of an Enquiry imperial in its character. To say that the people chiefly interested in it, were going to be given representation on the Commission, was to promise that part of the personnel of the enquiry—which was not to be domestic—would be Indian. Subsequently we had indirect information that the Hon. Mr. Sastri and Sir Ernest Low were chosen for the purpose. There was no official announcement, and, therefore, we shall leave out of account the private negotiations connected with that report. We are now told that the term "upon the Commission" has been misconstrued in "a limited sense." We put it to any impartial critic to tell us the meaning of the assurance. The construction of Mr. Montagu's words, which he left uncorrected till Tuesday, was not in any "limited sense"; for his words were accepted in their legitimate sense. We refuse to be gulled into the belief that the deep disappointment of Indians has come about through a tangle of misunderstandings. "It has been mistakenly inferred," says the communique "from a passage in the Secretary of State's recent speech that a request has been made that the representatives of India should sit as members of the Commission. No such request has been made to the Union Government." What then is it that the Secretary of State has achieved in the interests of India for the Imperial Enquiry? Nothing, except that the Union Government has been asked to tolerate the presence of two Indian representatives and submit to being "pressed" for a sympathetic consideration of the Indian case. What is this great requested concession worth? It is just a supplication to be heard and it is not a valuable boon. The courtliness of any local committee gentlemen—that is what it is—could be depended upon for getting the favour of an audience. General Smuts, replying to the Indians who welcomed him on his return to South Africa, referred in sympathetic terms of their status and the passing of the Trading Act. He said: "The Union Government has decided to appoint a Commission to enquire into the whole matter. India will be represented on the Commission to watch over the interests of the Indians, so that no stigma might attach to them." Mr. Montagu is trying to create an ambiguity out of clear expressions, in order to cloak the defiance suddenly evinced by the Union Government. It is hard to believe that after Mr. Montagu's assurances, he pursued the eccentric course of not asking for the association of Indians on the Commission; if no such request was made, it is Mr. Montagu who is the victim of mistaken inferences, because he openly eschewed the idea of a narrow domestic enquiry.

Mr. Malan's undertaking related to the status of Indians. There are, however, to be noticed consistent attempts in South Africa to whittle down the scope of the Commission of Enquiry. The subject of investigation was reduced to the issue of trading licences to Indians; the Commission was turned to a local Committee; and now with the restrictions closing upon the proposal, the enquiry itself has disappeared. Lord Chelmsford pleaded for calmness and moderation in India. He added:—

"I feel too there is ground for hoping that calmness and moderation will not be wanting in South Africa in dealing with this question, for we know that the late General Botha and General Smuts returned there after discussing fully questions akin to the present one with the distinguished representatives of India whom we sent to the Imperial Conference. The Union Government, as you know, are appointing a Commission to examine the whole question, and we have asked that our interests should be represented."

Instead of examining the whole question of economic rights, the enquiry has been narrowed down—and shelved. To provide for the contingency of some sort of "enquiry" taking place, Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu are keeping Indian representatives in trim. One of such representatives is Sir Benjamin Robertson, the other an Indian,—because "the Government of India and the Secretary of State are agreed as to the great importance of associating an Indian with Sir Benjamin Robertson." What is the use of giving up the essentials of a problematical enquiry, and speaking in burlesque vein about the great importance of associating an Indian with Sir Benjamin Robertson? We do not want a mock-investigation with spectacular accompaniments for the stating of the Indian case. What they now promise is a parochial enquiry, by a bench of partisans, at some unknown date in the future. We are afraid that all this is not the result of mistaken inferences; if a Royal Commission is not appointed immediately, what we have to infer is that there has been a breach of faith. The hopes of relief, which were roused, have been dashed to the ground. The Imperial Government must, if they are interested in India, intervene on behalf of the weak and persecuted party,—and press General Smuts to keep the promise of his predecessor which later he himself repeated.

A BRUTAL CONFESSION

SHOOTING OF AMRITSAR RIOTERS

EVIDENCE AT INQUIRY

HOW GENERAL DYER TREATED REBELS

London, Dec. 15.—The full story of the shooting of 2,000 Indians at Amritsar during the disturbances in the Punjab last April, as unfolded before the official Committee of Inquiry at Lahore, has reached here from India, and has caused a big sensation.

The position at the time was of the gravest nature. The mob had burned the bank, murdered the manager and his assistant, looted several places and cut the railway lines. General Dyer arrived at Amritsar in response to a request for help, and proclaimed martial-law. He warned the people that if they assembled they were liable to be dispersed by force of arms. Later he found the rebel crowds being addressed by agitators. In his evidence he said he felt that his orders were disobeyed and martial-law flouted, and considered it his duty to disperse the crowd by rapid fire.

In answering questions, General Dyer said: "I think it quite possible I could have dispersed the crowd without firing, but they would have returned and laughed at me, and I would have made a fool of myself. I looked upon the crowd as rebels and considered that it was my duty to fire, and fire well."

Lord Hunter (Chairman) asked whether there was any other course.—General Dyer: "No. I looked upon it as a duty, a most horrible duty."

General Dyer admitted that as soon as he arrived on the high ground above the crowd of over 5,000 people, he placed his men, and in 30 seconds ordered that fire be opened. The shooting lasted 10 minutes. Between 450 and 500 were killed and 1,500 wounded.

"A MERCIFUL THING"

Asked if it was not a form of "triflingness," General Dyer replied: "No. It was not. I think it was a merciful thing. I thought I should shoot well and strong so that I should not have to shoot again. There was no medium course. The one thing was force." He continued firing till he was out of munitions.

Asked if his idea was to strike terror, he said he meant to punish the Natives and give them a lesson. His idea was that, from a military viewpoint, it would make a wide impression through the Punjab. He had received a wire from Lahore saying: "Your action was correct. The Lieut-Governor approves."

Asked if he took any measures after the firing to attend to the wounded, General Dyer said: "No. It was not my job. The hospitals were open and they could have gone there."

Another extraordinary episode which was recounted before the Committee was that which took place the day following the shooting. An order was issued ordering all natives to crawl through a certain street, where an English woman, Miss Sheridan, was assaulted. General Dyer explained that the woman had been brutally assaulted and said he decided that if Indians passed along the street they must do so on all-fours.

Natives were also flogged in the street?—General Dyer said: "They were not flogged for assaulting Miss Sheridan though everybody knew they had assaulted her. Any offence under martial-law sufficed."—*Natal Advertiser.*

Original Correspondence

The Editor, INDIAN OPINION.

MR. C. F. ANDREWS VISIT

Sir,—In reference to the proposed Commission by the Union Government to enquire into certain questions affecting Indians, and to the visit of Mr. C. F. Andrews to Natal in connection therewith, one is able to gather from the latest Indian papers that a welcome is to be extended to Mr. Andrews on his arrival here, and that the Natal Committee of the S.A. Indian Congress, "which has the arrangements in hand," is calling for information regarding Indian trading rights and ownership of land. As is generally the case, Durban has got into the bad habit of doing things "on her own," without consulting the other centres in the least. From the name the Committee has styled itself, is it to be supposed that all the members of the Natal Committee, which was appointed at the 2nd S. African Indian Congress, have been consulted, and or communicated with and are in accord with the work, however estimable it may be, the "Natal Committee" has taken upon its shoulders? Or is it the case that only a few members of the Natal Committee, who happen to be residing in Durban, arrogating to themselves the function of the whole Committee? One would like to know.—Yours etc.,

S. R. NARDOO

545 Loop Street,
Pietermaritzburg,

15th December 1919.

[We understand that a general meeting is being called next Sunday in connection with the above matter.—Ed. L.C.]

PEACE CELEBRATIONS AND THE KHALIFAT QUESTION

MR. GANDHI'S VIEWS

Mr. M. K. Gandhi has addressed the following letter to the Indian Press:—

Several friends have enquired what should be the position regarding the forthcoming Peace Celebrations. On the Khalifat day I know that resolutions were passed at some meetings to the effect that Mahomedans could not participate in the celebrations if the Khalifat question was not satisfactorily settled. There can be no peace in Indian estimation so long as the great question remains unsolved and the Mahomedan sentiment is in danger of being lacerated and millions of Mahomedans remaining in suspense or grief. It is hardly possible for the Hindus, Parsis, Christians, Jews and others, for whom India is the land of their adoption or birth, to take part in the forthcoming rejoicings. I venture to think that His Excellency the Viceroy can, if he will, tell His Majesty's Ministers that Indians cannot participate in the celebrations so long as the Khalifat question remains unsettled and I do hope that His Majesty's Ministers will recognise the necessity of securing and publishing an honourable settlement of the question before asking us to take part in the Peace Celebrations.

"NEED FOR TRUTH AND ACTION"

MR. GANDHI'S MESSAGE

Delhi, October 29.—The Inquiry Committee had a preliminary private sitting to-day. So far nothing seems to have transpired as to the exact proceedings of the Committee, but it is surmised that only the preliminary points of procedure were discussed. Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Andrews have come up from Lahore to place the demands of the Congress Sub-Committee before the Inquiry Committee.

At a public meeting, Swami Shradhanandji presiding the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

"That this public meeting of the citizens of Delhi is respectfully of opinion that for proper adjudication of points to be brought before the Committee it is necessary that there should be representation before a Committee of various interests by counsel subject to the right of cross-examination under reasonable safeguards against undue prolongation of the Committee's proceedings and that the principal leaders now undergoing imprisonment in the Punjab should be released on bail if necessary pending the duration of inquiry in order to enable them to collect and lead evidence before the Committee. This meeting is further of opinion that as the revision of judgments and sentences passed by summary and other courts in the Punjab are part of the inquiry, one of the two revision judges should be a lawyer of distinction from outside the Punjab, and known to this independence and that the judges should have power to receive further evidence when the record is found to be insufficient or where evidence was unreasonably prevented by the original court."

Mr. Asaf Ali proposed and Dr. Ansari seconded. Lal Shankerlal and Maulvi Saranlal of Amritsar supported the resolution. Copies of the resolutions have been forwarded to H. E. the Viceroy, Sir Edward Maclagan and Lord Hunter.

Before conclusion Mahatma Gandhi was specially and unanimously requested to address a few words.

He said that he was unable to stand up owing to indisposition. Again he was quite sick of making and hearing speeches. There was need for action and truth not for speeches. His only message to the people was that they should insist on truth for untruth had induced cowardice among Indians. They seemed to be afraid of telling the truth before the authorities.

That was a grave defect of character in India. Only truth and action were needed. Tremendous enthusiasm prevailed after the announcement of the Mahatma's presence at the meeting. Large crowds followed his car a long distance shouting Mahatma Gandhi-ki Jai almost deliriously. His entry into Delhi was strictly private. A Common member of the audience desired it to be announced that he would regard it a great honour if Mahatma and his friends would kindly accept his invitation on behalf of the Moslems of Delhi to dinner.—*Bombay Chronicle*

THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMISSION

WHAT MR. GANDHI THINKS

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who was recently on a short visit to Delhi was interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press of India on the subject of the South African Commission. Asked what he had thought of Mr. Montagu's announcement, he said:—It is a matter of very great regret that Mr. Montagu's message to the Viceroy so materially alters the position. I do however feel that any agitation arising upon the appointment of the Commission of Indian representatives may damage our case which is so overwhelmingly strong. If a representative like Mr. Sastri is appointed along with Sir Benjamin Robertson to put before South African Government, and the forthcoming Commission the Indian case, it would be the next best thing. In my opinion our effort should be concentrated upon securing a proper reference to the Commission in place of the very narrow one. We are led to believe that this is likely to be suggested by the Union Government. The *Times of India* is really rendering a great service in moulding and consolidating public opinion on this question irrespective of class or race. It is not enough merely that the trade question is referred to the Commission. The whole of the Law of 1885 must come under review leaving aside, for the time being, the question of the political status. Our goal must be the restoration of full trading and property rights of Indians lawfully settled in South Africa. This is what even Australia has allowed, although it was Australia which led the *Anti-Asiatic* cry. We must also guard against the Commission whittling down any of the rights already being enjoyed by the settlers. By no canon of justice or property can rights be taken away from the Indian settlers, but if we do not take care and provide beforehand there is every danger of such a catastrophe happening. It actually happened with the Select Committee of the Union Parliament whose findings produced the new legislation we so much deplore.

The *African World*, a London weekly paper writes:—That the Asiatic problem in South Africa is not in its entirety a purely local one we have often maintained, and do maintain in face of opposition; that this vexed question has its difficulties from the Imperial point of view is equally obvious, when it is considered from the standpoint of an Empire with vast territories in Asia—and it should be borne in mind even by South Africans who not unnaturally in a certain sense, feel bitterly on the matter. None the less, in ordinary justice the other side of the case must be given before the whole issue can be fairly considered. It has been adequately voiced by Mr. J. Hunter, secretary of the Transvaal Merchant Tailors Association, and it cannot be ignored that because of the difference in manner of living between white competitors and Asiatics, the latter are the victors in the trade war. The Asiatic works longer hours in defence of the Factory Act, employs children, and lives on 12 less wages in a month than his white rival can exist upon for a week. It needs no master minds to solve the problem without an aftermath of either bitterness or hatred, and worse.

Mr. H. G. Mackeytan, South African Party candidate for the Poona Division of Durban, in the course of an electrifying speech, delivered himself thus on the Indian question:—

As to the Asiatic, they had to thank the sugar industry for that problem. Serious endeavours must be made to solve it. The question was to be dealt with by a Commission to be appointed next year at the instance of the Anti-Asiatic League. They should await the result of that. Everyone should put their views in front of that Commission, but he felt that insofar as he knew the question, the solution was—restriction of further Asiatic immigration. Most rigorous restriction. That they should, as far as possible, group the Indians in their own communities as areas, both in town and country, to allow them there to develop on much the same lines as he suggested relative to a native. That Asiatic trading be relegated to and confined to those areas. May be, it might be necessary to consider the expropriation of Asiatic businesses.

Mr. C. P. Andrews' Arrival

A Mass Meeting will be held on Sunday 28th December 1919 at 2 p.m. in Rawal's Big, Victoria Street to form a Reception Committee.

Every Indian should make it his bounden duty to be present.

The cause needs you, so make some sacrifice in your own interest.

L. GABRIEL

ABDUL HACK KAZI,

Joint Secretaries, S.A.I. Congress Committee.

BOOKS FOR SALE

To be obtained from the *Indian Opinion* Press, Phoenix, Natal. Postal Order to be made payable to Durban. We have just received the following books from India. The prices given include cost of postage.

	Price	Postage	Total
Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings—1896 to 1917	2	2	4
Mr. Annie Besant — A Sketch of her Life	1	1	2
Tales of Mirinda Ramas	1	1	2
The Song-Law Ahmad	1	1	2
Maijeyi	1	1	2
Tales of Raja Birbal	1	1	2
Essentials of Hinduism	1	1	2
Aspects of the Vedants	1	1	2
Glimpses of the Orient To-day, by Saint Nihal Singh	1	1	2
Indian Industrial and Economic Problems, by Prof. K. L. Datta	1	1	2
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Sri Sankaracharya	1	1	2
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Speeches of John Morley	1	1	2
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Sri Madhucharya	1	1	2
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The Governance of India, by Govinda Das	1	1	2
India's Untouchable Saints	1	1	2
Aggressive Hinduism	1	1	2
Gokhale's Speeches	1	1	2
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Vivekananda's Speeches	1	1	2
King George's Speeches	1	1	2

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Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Rabindranath Tagore, M. K. Gandhi, Babu Surendranath Banerjee, Mahadevi Tanyaji, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, The Right Hon. Syed Amir Ali, H. H. Shri Sayaji Rao Chakravarti, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, H. H. the Aga Khan, Swami Rama Tirath, V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Kristo Das Pal, Dewan C. Rangacharia, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerjee, A. M. Bose, Behramji M. Malabari, Kavi Varma, Lala Lajpat Rai, Kashinath Trimbek Telang, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Swami Vivekananda, Tolu Dutt, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Sir Salar Jung, V. P. Madhava Rao, Dr. E. Wacha, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, Rahimuddin Mohamed Sayani, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, Nawab Munsim-ul-Mulk, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Lal Mohan Ghose, Raja Ram Mohan Roy	each 0 7
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The Indians of South Africa, by H. S. L. Polak	1 6

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We have the following supplements on art paper for sale at one shilling per dozen, post free 1—

The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. V. A. Chettiar (Chairman, Tamil Benefit Society of Johannesburg), Mr. Bodree (Vice President of the Transvaal Indian Association), The Late Mr. Narayanasamy, South African Indian Stretcher-Bearer Company, Hon. Mr. Gokhale's visit, taken at Heidelberg station, Mr. L. Hans Raj B.A. (Hon. Principal D. A. V. College, Natal Labor Arya Samaj), Mr. Imam Abdul Kadir Bawa, Mr. Omar Haji Amod Johari, Mr. Joseph Royeyppen B.A. (Natal born Graduate Passive Resister), Mr. Royeyppen (A Natal Hawker), Indian Volunteer Stretcher-Bearer Corps, The 1907-1908 year ladies of passive resisters (Mrs. Sivaram, Miss Rajee and Mrs. Somar), Mr. Amiroodin Fajandar, Mr. Mehtab, Asiatic Ordinance (A Class play Cartoon) In Loyalty (Cartoon), The Late Sir Pherozshah Mehta, J. Tata, Mrs. B. M. Sodha, Sir William Wedderburn, Bt., Settlers of Tolstoy Farm, The Late Count Leo Tolstoy, The Late Rev. Joseph J. Doke, The Late Mr. S. Nagayyan, The Right Hon. Lord Amphil, G.C.I.E., The Triumphant Arch outside Park Station (Mr. Gokhale's Visit), Shri Sanyasi Swami Shankermand, Mr. Sorabji Shapurji of Adajan, Hanifa Bibi, H. H. The Amir of Afghanistan, Mr. Kallenbach, Mr. Kallenbach as seen walking from the Tolstoy Farm to Johannesburg, Mr. Henry S. L. Polak, Picnic Party at Tolstoy Farm, The Late Mr. M. H. Nazar, Shri Gopal Lal Hindu Temple Verulam, The Late Miss Valliamah Moodaliar, Sons of the Empire (Indian Soldiers), The 60 Indians Deported to India by the Transvaal Government, The Indian Monument in Johannesburg, The Late Mr. Hajee Hoosen Dawad, Indian Merchants who suffered imprisonment at Standerton, Babu Rabindranath Tagore, The late Hon. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., Right Hon. Syed Amir Ali, C.I.E., Sir Benjamin Robertson and Staff, Some of the Addresses presented to The Hon. Mr. Gokhale, Vrededorp Proprietors, The Late Mr. Abdoola Ladij Adam, Indian Strikers in Durban, (Three Pictures).