

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

REUTER from Capetown, in a message dated June, 10, states:—Mr. Boydell (Greyville, Labour) asked the Minister of the Interior in the House of Assembly, what steps the Government had already taken to give effect to the recommendations contained in the interim report of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission, dated May 12, 1920, in respect to (a) the organising of return passages to India to those Indians who are most anxious to go; (b) the relaxation of the restrictions in the export of gold, so far as allowing returning Indians to take their legitimate savings and jewellery with them.

To this the Minister is reported to have replied thus:

(a) An officer who is not connected with the staff of the Protector of Indian Immigrants has been appointed to organise the return of the Indians, and will undertake these duties next week; (b) the restrictions have been relaxed to a certain extent to facilitate the repatriation of those Indians who desire to return to India.

The Union Government are shewing wonderful activity in the matter of the voluntary repatriation of Indians. It will be seen that an officer has already been appointed to undertake the duties of superintending the embarkation arrangement and that the restrictions in regard to gold and jewellery have been relaxed especially in favour of those who take advantage of the governments offer.

The Government have not so far announced their intention of offering any cash allowance to those returning. As we have said before, the Government ought to assist these returning emigrants and place them in a position to start life afresh in a country which, to many, has become a strange one.

Reuter, Simla, in a message dated June 8, states:—

During the autumn session of the Viceroy's Council non-official proposals will be introduced creating a small committee of elected members to advise the Government of India on all questions in connection with the League of Nations, also in favour of legislation controlling the immigration of British subjects from the self-governing Colonies and Dominions on the basis of reciprocity.

Capetown, June 15 (Reuter).—In the House of Assembly this afternoon, Sir Abe Bailey (Krugersdorp, Independent) presented a bulky petition from various bodies in his constituency praying that, in view of the determined evasion by the Asiatics of the laws of the Union, an enforced system of segregation be applied in order to ameliorate the position which has arisen.

Capetown, June 9 (Reuter).—The Bill providing for the transfer to the Government of the powers, duties, functions, assets and liabilities of the Indian Immi-

gration Trust Board of Natal further provides that "The Governor-General may constitute a Board of so many members as he, from time to time, deems desirable to appoint; to advise as to the administration of those laws of Natal relating to Indian immigrants which were, prior to the commencement of this Act, administered by the Indian Immigration Trust Board, and as to matters incidental to such administration." The Board will be governed by the regulations, and may be dissolved by the Government when no longer necessary.

We take the following interesting paragraph from a recent issue of the *Bombay Chronicle*:—

THE IMPERIAL "WE."

Thus the "Natal Mercury", in the course of an editorial on the new Government of India Act:—

"The Act that now comes into force did not have its genesis in any widespread protests against administration of the Raj. Rather is it the outcome of a claim to privileges, that we ourselves had taught India to expect, and for which we have been training her to qualify. Responsible action must now take the place of irresponsible fault-finding; it now remains for Indians to prove themselves capable administrators. They climbed into the seats of the mighty with remarkable rapidity, and it rests with them to make the most of the chances offered them. The eyes not only of the East, but of a far wider world, will be upon them, as they set themselves to the boldest experiment that has ever been made in the annals of the British Empire."

We do not know (says the *Chronicle*), what to admire most, the impudence of the South African cosmopolitan adventurer in claiming that "we ourselves" had taught India to expect and that "we" have been training her to qualify for the new privileges, or the complacency about "the boldest experiment that has ever been made in the annals of the British Empire." Posterity will no doubt appraise at its true value the "boldness" of the vision of British statesmanship in venturing upon the "perilous" experiment in India, after a century of cautious preparation. There is no doubt also that any American or French experiments in the same direction, in the Philippines and so on, will pale into insignificance beside the "boldest experiment" of British statesmanship.

The Government's Bill to abolish the Indian Immigration Trust Board is a necessary step in the new policy of encouraging Indians to return. The Board existed for the definite purpose of recruiting indentured labourers and repatriating them at the termination of their contracts. There is now no longer any necessity for keeping up this institution, as it has become obsolete.

We have to inform the subscribers of "INDIAN OPINION" that owing to shortage and exceedingly high price of paper and other printing material we have been obliged to increase the subscription to 13s. 6d. for South Africa and 15s. 6d. for Overseas.

INDIAN IMMIGRATION TRUST BOARD

PROPOSED TRANSFER TO GOVERNMENT

A special message from Capetown to a Johannesburg paper states:—

A Bill, introduced by the Minister of the Interior, to provide for the transfer of the powers, duties, functions, assets and liabilities of the Indian Immigration Trust Board of Natal to the Government, and further to repeal certain provisions of the laws relating to Indian immigration into Natal has been set down for the second reading in the House of Assembly for Monday, June 21.

The Bill provides that the Indian Immigration Trust Board of Natal shall cease to exist from the amendment of this Act. The Government of the Union shall possess the functions and privileges which under any law in force in Natal relating to Indian immigrants thereto were, immediately prior to such commencement, exercisable or to be performed or were possessed by the said board. All assets and rights in respect thereof are to be transferred and vested in the Government, and the Government shall assume and be subject to all liabilities as the board had lawfully assumed.

It is further provided that the Governor-General may of so many members as he from time to time deems desirable to advise as to the administration of those laws of Natal relating to Indian immigrants and as to matters incidental to such administration and may dissolve such advisory board as soon as the conditions relating to Indian labourers in Natal render the existence of such Board unnecessary.

TRANSVAAL ASIATIC LICENCES

SUPREME COURT JUDGMENT

POTCHEFSTROOM MUNICIPALITY

In the Supreme Court, Transvaal Provincial Division, judgment was recently delivered by Judge President de Villiers, Mr. Justice Mason, and Mr. Justice Curlew, in the case of Suliman Tayob v. Municipality of Potchefstroom.

In giving judgment in this matter the Court held there was no other ground for the refusal of the grocer's licence to the applicant by the Municipality of Potchefstroom than that the applicant belonged to the Asiatic class and that this was not a substantial reason for this refusal. In considering the application, the Municipality did not take into account the merits or demerits of the applicant, but discussed in a broad and general way the methods of trading by Indians, their mode of life, the small rate of remuneration paid to employes, and the danger of possible impropriety towards unprincipled Indians and low class European women.

The Court therefore directed the Magistrate to order the Municipal Council of Potchefstroom to grant a grocer's licence to the applicant. Dr. Krause, K.C., and Mr. Rosenburg appeared for the applicant; Mr. Roos for respondents.

KRUGERSDORP

Krugersdorp, 9th June 1920.—Dr. F. E. T. Krause appeared on behalf of eleven Chinese traders before the Krugersdorp Magistrate (Mr. L. Bingley) yesterday, (says the *Star* correspondent), when appeals were made against the decision of the Krugersdorp Municipal Council, which had refused to grant the appellants general grocer's licences on the ground that they were not desirable persons. Eight of the applications were for licences on unproclaimed ground in the district township, Naude's ground, Burgershoop and Burgershoop township, and the three others were for licences on proclaimed ground in Krugersdorp.

After considerable argument, following the well-defined lines, the Court granted the appeals for the licences in the district township and Naude's ground.

In the case of two applications for Burgershoop, on proclaimed ground, the chief point which arose was whether the quarter was a Government township and taken over by the Municipality under a Crown grant.

Judgment was reserved in this instance, as well as in the case of three other applications for licences on proclaimed ground in Krugersdorp and Luipaardsvlei, the Magistrate remarking that he would take time to consider the matter, and he hoped some finality would be reached in the long-pending Asiatic and Chinese litigation in regard to Municipal licences.

Appeals were also heard on behalf of six Asiatics, who had been refused general grocer's licences within the township of Krugersdorp and at Burgershoop.

Mr. A. G. Blake appeared for the appellants.

The Magistrate pointed out that the appellants were all protected Indians, and he ordered the Municipal Council to grant the licences.

JOHANNESBURG MALAY LOCATION

RENOVATION AND REORGANISATION CONTEMPLATED

WHITES ANGRY WITH TOWN COUNCIL

On the authority of Mr. C. F. Bourdon, of the Suburbs Committee and Advisory Board, (says the *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg), four of the North-Western townships of Johannesburg are on the verge of revolution, namely, Mayfair, Brixton, Fordsburg and Vrededorp. The trouble has arisen through the published report that a very large building programme is contemplated by the Town Council—the renovation and re-organisation of the Malay location, the creation of a coloured man's sports ground at Vrededorp, west of the location, and the laying out of a native park.

"We should like," said Mr. Bourdon "to know what is the meaning of this presumptuous movement? For 22 years we have been agitating for the removal of the black slum which is a menace to the health of the white population and the cause of several riots."

Messrs. Bourdon, H. McLean, Landrum and Symonds have just returned from Capetown, where they have interviewed the Prime Minister and handed in a petition to Parliament on behalf of their Association for the removal of the Malay location. They do not want it either renovated or re-organised; they want the district to be populated by whites.

Either the coloured people will have to quit the location or the Europeans the surrounding townships, which, according to the petition, are becoming more and more intolerable and unbearable to live in, owing (1) to the danger to health on account of the unclean habits of the population; (2) the danger to life owing to drunkenness and lawlessness of the same people; (3) the danger to morals, and (4) that the public of Johannesburg and surrounding districts have to pass through the location when attending funerals at the new cemetery.

PLACE FOR WHITES

The history of the location was placed before General Smuts, and he, according to the deputation, did not disapprove of the proposal of the ground occupied by the location being used by the white population under the general scheme of the Housing Bill.

The grievance of the Association against the Town Council is that the Council proposes to send more money on the location while the question of its removal is under the consideration of the Government.

"We are determined," said Mr. Bourdon, "and by 'we' I mean the 13,000 inhabitants of the suburbs to have this slum removed from our midst. If the Council forces the public to take the law into its own hands—we don't want to threaten—on whom will the responsibility rest for our being law-breakers and the subsequent trouble? The Council is undoubtedly attempting to compel us to revolt."

Mr. Bourdon emphasised that the question of the

ownership of the ground had been raised before the Prime Minister, and it was stated that it was vested in the Town Council. If the location were removed there was nothing to interfere with the township being allocated to white people only.

Public meetings of the inhabitants of Mayfair, Vrededorp, Brixton and Fordsburg are being held during the week-end and early next week for the purpose of protesting against the suggested action of the Town Council, when member of the Council will be asked to give an explanation.

Dr. Visser, L. Geldenhuis, M. Kentridge and W. R. Kees will support the petition when it is presented to Parliament.

ASIATIC AND TAXI DRIVER TOWN COUNCIL WRONGLY SUE

In the Supreme Court, Transvaal Provincial Division, before Judge President de Villiers and Mr. Justice Mason, (says the *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg), exception was taken in the case of Shaikh Ahamed v. Municipal Council of Pretoria, to a declaration in which the plaintiff sued the Municipal Council of Pretoria and O. W. Beard, a taxi driver, on the ground that Beard had refused to carry him in his taxi and that he stated as the reason for this refusal that the municipal by-laws would not allow him to carry coloured persons. The Municipality excepted on the ground that the declaration disclosed no cause of action against it.

Mr. R. Gregorowski appeared for the Municipality to support the exception. Mr. Davis was for the respondent.

It was argued that the declaration did not state that the municipal by-laws prohibited taxi drivers from carrying coloured persons. What it stated was that the second defendant, Beard, said that the by-laws contained this provision. The only by-law set up in the declaration was to the effect that a cab driver was bound, on request, to carry any lawful number of passengers to any point within the municipality. No reference to coloured persons was made, and there was therefore no cause of action against the Municipality. The exception was upheld, with costs.

AN AFFRONT TO THE INDIANS

The London correspondent of *The Servant of India* writes:—

One of the most outrageous pieces of carelessness and ignorance that I have ever observed in this country on the part of organisations pretending to a sense of responsibility, has just come to my notice. Mr. E. D. Morel, a prominent writer for the *Daily Herald*, and an authority of African peoples in the Congo region, besides being a well-known pacifist who suffered for his convictions during the war, has evidently a deep-seated sense of injury against France, for reasons that are somewhat obscure. A fortnight ago, he wrote some articles in the *Daily Herald*, in which he charged France with deliberately sending back African troops to Frankfurt, in order to work their will upon the women of the occupied territory, as part of her policy of revenge and humiliation upon Germany. Anything more horrible it would be difficult to charge, in time of peace, against any civilised nation. There is no doubt that this episode, whether real or imagined, has been used for propaganda purposes very widely, for it would seem that there is to be a public meeting at the Central Hall Westminster, next Tuesday, advertised in the news columns of the *Herald* as follows:

The *Daily Herald* and the Women's International League are holding a protest meeting in Central Hall, Westminster, on April 27th at which the following resolution will be moved:—

This meeting calls upon the League of Nations to prohibit

the importation of Asiatic or African troops into Europe, for warlike purposes, and their use anywhere except for purposes of the police in the country of their origin.

In urging this policy three considerations are of supreme importance:—

(1) The establishment of good relations between white coloured peoples in Asia and Africa.

(2) The prevention of the possibility of interference in European labour disputes by means of Asiatic or African troops.

(3) The security of European women from outrage by Asiatic or African troops.

Other societies co-operating in the meeting are: The Women's Co-operative Guild, the National Federation of Women Workers, the Federation of Women Teachers, the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, the Independent W. S. P. U., and the Standing Joint Committee of Women's Industrial Associations.

The Indians Overseas Association and the Britain and India Association immediately took exception to the injurious character of the proposed resolution, and the latter Association promptly addressed a letter of protest to the various bodies participating in the proposed meeting, calling their attention to the harmful nature of the proceedings, and urging suitable modification of the resolution, so that, at least so far as India was concerned, it should contain no cause of offence. The Britain and India Association objected to the resolution as advertised on the following grounds, which it embodied in a resolution of its own:—

"The League of Nations is called upon to prohibit the importation of Asiatic troops into Europe for warlike purposes, and their use anywhere except for purposes of police in their country of origin, without a corresponding demand for the prohibition of importation of European troops into Asia or Africa for similar purposes or their use anywhere except for police purposes in the country of their origin. The Britain and India Association objects to the demand upon the League of Nations, because *inter alia* (a) it is calculated to create the general impression that the degree of civilisation of Asiatic and African peoples is approximately the same and that in the case of Asiatic peoples it is lower than that of European peoples; (b) it is thereby calculated to frustrate the establishment of good relations between white and coloured populations in Asia and Africa; (c) to prevent the possibility of interference in European disputes by means of Asiatic or African troops without taking corresponding steps to prevent a possibility of similar interference by European troops in Asiatic or African disputes is calculated to give rise to feelings among Asiatic or African peoples of an intense racial character; (d) to desire to secure European women from outrage by Asiatic or African troops and to refrain from expressing a desire to secure Asiatic or African women from outrage by European troops is calculated, in the first place, to create the assumption that Asiatic, including the Indian troops, are prone to the commission of such offenses, which is untrue, and, secondly, that, in the opinion of those responsibly connected with the meeting, the security of European women is of greater importance than that of their sisters in European or African countries. The Britain and India Association strongly and emphatically protests against resolutions of this character being put forward for adoption by British audiences at a time when everything possible should be done to remove the suspicion in the mind of non-European peoples that strong racial and colour prejudice exists among the British people." To have passed such a resolution as that proposed by these organisations in sheer ignorance of its implications would have been an affront of an unforgivable character, especially when, as the Indians Overseas Association has pointed out, New Zealand troops have been used to intervene in an Indian labour dispute in Fiji. By the way, it would be interesting to know by what authority Dominion troops are removed from their territorial confines in time of peace, and used for such purposes in a Crown Colony whose jurisdiction is entirely under the Impa-

rial Government and not of that dominion at all. However, to return to our immediate subject, it is interesting and encouraging to know that, as a result of the representations that have been made, the promoters of the meeting in question, having reconsidered the matter, have decided to withdraw the objectionable resolution, and to substitute another of an innocuous character and with far narrower implications.

INDIANS IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA

(Continued from page 188)

British East Africa contains 245,000 square miles of area of which less than 3,000, according to the best official estimate, are under cultivation. The Upland (or Highland) area is about 25000 to 30000 square miles. In the highlands, where there are no crop and other diseases, the best crops can be grown, whereas in the disease-ridden lowlands only poor crops can be had.

In 1912 the Mining Ordinance was passed in B. E. A. by which Indians have been prohibited to acquire any rights in mining lands. In 1915 the Crown Lands Ordinance was passed. This was the time when the Martial Law Regime, which inflicted heaviest penalties upon Indians was in full swing. By this Ordinance the Governor was empowered to veto the land transfers between persons of different races, and this power has been chiefly exercised when an Indian is a party to be benefited. In 1918 the Rules for Segregation of races were passed by which (with certain exceptions) a person of one race cannot reside in the location reserved for another race although the former may have his property there.

There is an anti-Asiatic body known as the Convention of Associations or the settlers' Parliament or the Europeans' Congress. The chief motto of this body is "no Asiatics in E. A. and no franchise for them." This is the motto of every European, whether he be a Government official, or a private individual. Even the Governor is not an exception to it. I ask is this fair? 1919, in the session of this Association, H. E. the Governor expressed his view that he was one with the convention of Associations.

Major General Sir Edward Northey K. C. M. G., C. B., the present Governor of B. E. A., had stated at the time of his arrival into that Protectorate that he was neither an anti nor a pro-Indian. But a welcome dinner was given to him by the Convention of Associations under the presidentship of the then President of that body, Major E. S. Grogan (a signatory to the Economic Commission's report), and there the latter delivered a fiery speech for about a couple of hours, in which he plainly dictated to H. E. Sir Northey that he should not yield to the Indian demands, and he prescribed a strong anti-Indian dose which changed H. E.'s views totally. This is corroborated by the fact that in his short regime of about ten months, not less than four decades anti-Indian ordinances have been passed. When representations were made to him for the redress of Indian grievances he said that there was a band of agitators amongst Indians who were doing the mischief by exaggerating the grievances which were not even in existence. This body referred to by him is the Indian Association.

This Governor has gone to England in last November to discuss with the Colonial Secretary the B. E. A. Indian question, and to finally decide the fate of the B. E. A. Indians; Lord Milner has gone to England at the end of March, and the question will be decided finally in England very shortly.

At present there are in England Major Grogan and Mr. Cobb, two of the signatories of the Economic Commission's report, and these persons will advise Major Northey in England on Asiatic question. Looking to the attitude of Major Northey, and the advice which the above two will give him, it can be well

conceived what the fate of B. E. A. Indians will be. But let us wait for the result.

The Imperial Government has stated that the Secretary of State for India will defend the B. E. A. Indians at the forthcoming Milner—Northey discussion. No body knows how? And what papers has he got to defend the Indian cause? So far as I know the said Secretary of State has no papers other than the B. E. A. Indian Memorial and a few telegrams and letters. It is true that the Government of India have, on many occasions, stated that they have no official report on this subject. It appears from this that the former possesses no authentic information, whereas Major Northey will argue his case very strongly and Mr. Montagu will find himself in hot water to stand against Milner—Northey combine.

The Government of India have stated that they are not going to do anything further till they would receive the report from Sir Benjamin Robertson who is to visit B. E. A. on his return to India from South Africa. I think he will not be able to present his report at least before a couple of months, during which time the fate of B. E. A. Indians will be decided in England. And it would be very difficult to settle the question again by amicable adjustment. Is not then prevention better than cure? It was again thought from the statement in the Imperial Legislative Council that Sir Benjamin Robertson was to go to East Africa as the Representative of the Government of India. But the public of B. E. A. has been led to believe from the statement which Sir Benjamin Robertson made to the Zanzibar Association that he was to go to East Africa as a visitor or a traveller and not as the Representative of the Government.

A matter of fact a thorough enquiry is needed, and if we in India shall not rouse public opinion on this question, Indians in B. E. A. will be compelled to come out of that country. For this reason I request all my brother-Indians to commence holding mass meetings in every city for praying to the Government of H. M. the King to

- (1) Repeal all anti-Indian Legislation in B. E. A.
- (2) Issue instructions that in future no anti-Indian Legislation be passed in B. E. A.;
- (3) (a) appoint a Royal Commission immediately to inquire into the grievances of B. E. A. Indians, and to suggest remedies for their redress and (b) to postpone the final decision in England regarding the B. E. A. Indians, which otherwise will be arrived at shortly between Milner and Northey, till the report of the Royal Commission is received by the Government.

NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT IN INDIA

HOW TO WORK IT

Mr. Gandhi writes the following article in *Young India* dated May, 5:—

Perhaps the best way of answering the fears and criticism as to non-co-operation is to elaborate more fully the scheme of non-co-operation. The critics seem to imagine that the organisers propose to give effect to the whole scheme at once. The fact however is that the organisers have fixed definite, progressive four stages. The first is the giving up of titles and resignation of honorary posts. If there is no response or if the response received is not effective, recourse will be had to the second stage. The second stage involves much previous arrangement. Certainly not a single servant will be called out unless he is either capable of supporting himself and his dependants or the Khilafat Committee is able to bear the burden. All the classes of servants will not be called out at once and never will any pressure be put upon a single servant to withdraw himself from the Government service. Nor will a single private em-

ployee be touched for the simple reason that the movement is not anti-English. It is not even anti-Government. Co-operation is to be withdrawn because the people must not be party to a wrong—a broken pledge—a violation of deep religious sentiment. Naturally, the movement will receive a check, if there is any undue influence brought to bear upon any Government servant or if any violence is used or countenanced by any member of the Khilafat Committee. The second stage must be entirely successful, if the response is at all on an adequate scale. For no Government—much less the Indian Government—can subsist if the people cease to serve it. The withdrawal therefore of the police and the military—the third stage—is a distant goal. The organisers however wanted to be fair, open and above suspicion. They did not want to keep back from their Government or the public a single step they had in contemplation even as a remote contingency. The fourth i. e. suspension of taxes is still more remote. The organisers recognise that suspension of general taxation is fraught with the greatest danger. It is likely to bring a sensitive classes in conflict with the police. They are therefore not likely to embark upon it, unless they can do so with the assurance that there will be no violence offered by the people.

I admit as I have already done that non-co-operation is not unattended with risk, but the risk of supineness in the face of a grave issue is infinitely greater than the danger of violence ensuing from organizing non-co-operation. To do nothing is to invite violence for a certainty.

It is easy enough to pass resolutions or write articles condemning non-co-operation. But it is no easy task to restrain the fury of a people incensed by a deep sense of wrong. I urge those who talk or work against non-co-operation to descend from their chairs and go down to the people, learn their feelings and write, if they have the heart, against non-co-operation. They will find, as I have found, that the only way to avoid violence is to enable them to give such expression to their feelings as to compel redress. I have found nothing save non-co-operation. It is logical and harmless. It is the inherent right of a subject to refuse to assist a government that will not listen to him.

Non-co operation as a voluntary movement can only succeed, if the feeling is genuine and strong enough to make people suffer to the utmost. If the religious sentiment of the Mahomedans is deeply hurt and if the Hindus entertain neighbourly regard towards their Muslim brethren, they will both account no cost too great for achieving the end. Non co-operation will not only be an effective remedy but will also be an effective test of the sincerity of the Muslim claim and the Hindu profession of friendship.

There is however one formidable argument urged by friends against my joining the Khilafat movement. They say that it ill becomes me, a friend of the English and an admirer of the British constitution, to join hands with those who are to-day filled with nothing but illwill against the English. I am sorry to have to confess that the ordinary Mahomedan entertains to-day no affection for Englishmen. He considers, not without some cause, that they have not played the game. But if I am friendly towards Englishmen, I am no less so towards my countrymen, the Mahomedans. And as such they have a greater claim upon my attention than Englishmen. My personal religion however enable me to serve my countrymen without hurting Englishmen or for that matter anybody else. What I am not prepared to do to my blood-brother I would not do to an Englishman. I would not injure him to gain a kingdom. But I would withdraw co-operation from him if it became necessary, as I had withdrawn from my own brother (now deceased) when it became necessary. I serve the Empire by refusing to partake in its wrong. William Stead offered public prayers for British reverses at the time of the Boer

was because he considered that the notion to which he belonged was engaged in a n unrighteous war. The present Prime Minister risked his life in opposing that war and did everything he could to obstruct his own Government in its prosecution. And to-day if I have thrown in my lot with the Mahomedans a large number of whom bear no friendly feelings towards the British, I have done so frankly as a friend of the British and with the object of gaining justice and of thereby showing the capacity of the British constitution to respond to every honest determination when it is coupled with suffering. I hope by my 'alliance' with the Mahomedans to achieve a three-fold end—to obtain justice in the face of odds with the method of Satyagrah and to show its efficacy over all other methods, to secure Mahomedan friendship for the Hindus and thereby internal peace also, and last but not least to transform ill-will into affection for the British and their constitution which inspite of its imperfections has weathered many a storm. I may fail in achieving any of the ends. I can but attempt. God alone can grant success. It will not be denied that the ends are all worthy. I invite Hindus and Englishmen to join me in a full-hearted manner in shouldering the burden the Mahomedans of India are carrying. There is admittedly a just fight. The Viceroy, the Secretary of State, the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha have testified to it. Time has arrived to make good the testimony. People with a just cause are never satisfied with a mere protest. They have been known to die for it. Are a high-spirited people the Mahomedans expected to do less?

THE ASIATIC QUESTION

ANALYSIS OF VITAL PROBLEM

(By C. F. ANDREWS)

IX.

In the bare and incomplete outline of the caste system which I have given, I have intentionally omitted all reference to the manner in which certain clans or tribes became separated off for special functions, such as Brahmin, for priestly functions, etc. This development in the caste system in no way militates against its original racial basis. Caste started with the one object in view of race segregation. Everything was directed to that end; and, in the final segregation of the aboriginal or pariah races of India from the so-called higher races, it has fatally succeeded. The sixty millions of untouchables are as segregated from the high-caste Indians to-day as human ingenuity and religious bigotry and priest-craft could make them. This segregation has degraded, in a terrible manner, the whole field of Indian life.

CASTE AND RACE

What, then, has been the final verdict of history upon this racial segregation as practised in India for so many centuries with such relentless thoroughness? The plain verdict is, that it has almost completely broken down, even in respect of its own narrowly limited objective. The races have not really remained side by side unmixed, however terrible the penalties against mixture. But far beyond this narrower limit, the consequences of segregation in the wider spheres of human life—the social, the political, the national, the ethical—have been nothing less than disastrous. It is a common-place, which few scholars would dispute, that the divisions and the inhumanities of the caste system have been, in every single century of Indian History, the bar to progress.

SEGREGATION NO SOLUTION

I have entered so fully into this question and have ventured to bring forward at some length the unique historic warning from Indian civilisation, because I

can understand how the policy of segregation attracts even the most thoughtful South African minds, by reason of its partial resemblance to the policy of native "reserves." But I cannot state too emphatically that this resemblance altogether breaks down when put to the test of practice.

This is really no analogy whatever between the two cases. The Indian is in an entirely different category from the Native. His position in South Africa is, and must necessarily continue to be, within the civilisation introduced by the European—not outside it. He has the intelligence to use that civilisation more and more freely; he does not stand apart from it. With educational facilities, he is able to take this inner position more and more naturally and to make the Western civilisation his own. It does not dwarf his own powers and capacities, as only too often happens in the case of the raw native when he comes within the European sphere. I trust, therefore, that, with more careful and accurate thinking, the fallacy of the analogy between a Native "reserve" and an Indian "location" will be universally recognised, and that these two essential different policies will be entirely separated and judged accordingly.

CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

In conclusion, it may be useful to return to the statistics relating to population, and to consider, over again, whether, after all, the Asiatic problem is as serious as people have imagined.

The Free State may clearly be left out of the reckoning. There are probably less than a hundred Indians there to-day, and even that number will decrease.

The Cape Province will probably have no Indian problem worthy of notice in fifteen or twenty years, because the number of Indians there, at the present time, is only 7,000, and the door is shut. This small population is declining, and must still further decline.

The Transvaal may take a little longer to settle its own Indian problem, because the numbers are slightly greater than those of the Cape Province. But there is no possible chance of any increase under existing conditions, and there is every likelihood of an actual decrease, similar to that at the Cape, in the next twenty years. The stories of a large number of Indians being smuggled into the Transvaal are mythical.

Natal is an entirely different proposition. Natal is the only province with which the higher statesmanship of India and South Africa is ultimately concerned—however large the Transvaal issue may loom to-day. I have pointed out already that a marked emigration of Indians back to India from Natal has set in since the settlement of 1914. Furthermore, looking at the Natal situation from the Indian standpoint, it has appeared probable to me that this emigration back to India could be still further assisted with great benefit to Indians themselves. I have stated that I shall be prepared, in the lights that I have gathered personally, to recommend to the Indian Government that the Indian labourers who have been exploited for so long, might be financially assisted to return to their own native soil. If anything comes of this, it may help considerably toward the solution of the whole Natal problem. I regard it, therefore, as probable that, in the years to come, the emigration back to India from Natal will considerably reduce the proportion of Indians to Europeans. I have pointed out that a "segregation" policy for those Indians who remain in Natal is fatally shortsighted, because, among many other reasons, it would necessarily lead to those slum conditions—the conditions of the medieval "Gh-tto"—which always increase the birth-rate and spread a physically weak and inferior, but prolific, population.

My own whole-hearted approval goes out, on the other hand, towards what I have called the policy of assimilation (such as has been practised with success in America)—the policy of taking in hand, from infancy upwards, the colonial-born Indian children and

giving them the best possible English education. This policy, I pointed out, would tend to diminish the birth-rate. It would be both the standard of Indian living, on the one side, and the natural increase of Indian population, on the other, much more in accord with those of the European. If, in this way, the Indian birth-rate diminishes, then the European population is bound, in the next twenty years, to forge rapidly ahead—because, for the European, the door of fresh immigration is always wide open, while for the Indian it is always closed.

THE PROBABLE OUTCOME

Assuming, therefore, that wiser counsels prevail during the next few years, and a liberalising policy is pursued, what will be the probable outcome, twenty, fifty, or a hundred years, hence?

In Natal, I do not think it likely that the Indians will ever become merged in the general population. They will not, on the other hand, increase their present numbers to any great extent. These may even be diminished. Extreme poverty will no longer exist, as it does at present, side by side with the ever-accumulating wealth of a few rich men. Indians who are in a lower position, will be more able to protect themselves and will be more protected by law against all forms of exploitation.

Under a tolerant Administration, I look upon the Indian community in Natal as likely to occupy a somewhat similar position to that which the Parsis hold in India. Indians in Natal, in the future, will always be a small population, but they will receive a good education and will be commercially prosperous.

Colonial-born Indians are likely, in time, to abandon almost entirely their national dress and most of their national customs, but they will remain as proud as ever of the fact that they are Indians.

In the new era of air-transport and rapid intercommunication between the different countries of the world, racial prejudices and antipathies will diminish. Asia, with its vast population of two-thirds of the world's inhabitants, will come far more closely into touch with the smaller populations of Africa, Europe and America. The industrial reconstruction of India and China will be one of the greatest events of the first half of the Twentieth Century.

India will become, in time, one of the largest purchasers of goods from the South African markets. Its immense population will make India's industrial development (which is now only just beginning) of world-wide importance; and South Africa, which is India's neighbour across the Indian Ocean, is likely to receive profit from it economically in every direction.

In political matters, the recent raising of the status, both of South Africa and of India, to that of separate, self-governing nations, will encourage direct dealing and discourage continual reference to the Imperial Parliament in London. This is likely to diminish friction. But it needs to be plainly and bluntly stated that those, in South Africa, who still, to-day, refer to Indians as "coolies," will be obliged to consider that, to insult a friendly nation, which only desires South Africa's good-will, is a thing to be done softly or lightly. In the new relations of India and South Africa, such insults are bound to bring their own Nemesis with them. To put the matter on the lowest ground, a young nation of six or ten million people cannot afford to treat with contempt a much older nation of 300 to 350 million people.

Intellectually, it is to be ardently desired that the greatest change of all will come about. I have found nothing more deplorably disappointing and disheartening in South Africa than the ignorance of the average men about India and Indian affairs. And this ignorance appears to me to have gone beyond the average man to the higher circles of South African culture. It may surely be hoped, that, when Bombay is eight days' journey from Durban (as it soon will be),

some serious attempt will be made in the rising South African Universities, to understand the civilisation of India. It is strange indeed that, when distant America has established chairs for the study of Sanskrit literature in almost every one of her modern Universities, South Africa (which is India's next-door neighbour) should not even, as far as my knowledge goes, have broached the question at all.

I have dealt, in these articles, with the broader principles underlying the Asiatic question as a whole, rather than the narrower details of trade and licenses and land purchase. I am not an economist, and I have, therefore, left the economic sphere almost entirely untouched. This writing has been undertaken in spite of the difficulties of travel from place to place. I am obliged to leave for India before seeing it through the press and correcting the final proofs with my own hand. At the same time, I trust that, in spite of minor inaccuracies and obscurities, the main purport of what I had to say has been made clear.

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