

Indian Opinion

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INDIANS MUST STAND UNITED

DR. ABDURAHMAN'S MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICA

"ALL INDIA BEHIND US"

RAWAT'S Bioscope in Victoria Street was crowded to the doors on the afternoon of Wednesday March 24 when the Indians of Durban gathered there to accord a welcome to Dr. Abdurahman, one of the delegates to India who has just returned to this country.

Mr. J. W. Godfrey took the chair supported by a number of the leading Indians of Durban and in opening the proceedings said they were all glad to see Dr. Abdurahman back again looking so well. The doctor, they would remember, was a very busy man in Capetown but when the call came he responded and did his duty for his countrymen. He forsook all that he held dear and came to Natal and joined this deputation to India, and most of them would remember that when he came here there were some differences of opinion amongst the Indian community because some wanted to send two deputations instead of one. It was due to the Doctor's influence that the forces became united, and it was to the doctor due also the credit for the major portion of the work in preparing the statement to the Viceroy. Those who saw this statement in India thought it an excellent document, and that was indeed the best way to express it. If it had not been for the doctor, the work in India would never have reached the magnificent dimensions it had. The Indian community owed a great deal to Dr. Abdurahman's presence with the deputation, and he hoped in the near future his work would be recognised in some tangible and substantial form (hear, hear), so that posterity would remember the work he had done for the Indian community.

At this point the Doctor was garlanded, and a similar honour was accorded his fellow-delegate Mr. Mirza who was on the platform, and after a few words by Mr. Khan, the Doctor rose amidst loud applause and addressed the gathering. He said:—

Needless to say I am glad to be back in South Africa and I must thank you Mr. Chairman, for having welcomed me so heartily on behalf of the Indians of South Africa, but I do not think you should thank me in such generous terms for the little work I have been able to do with the co-operation of the other delegates in India. I realised the responsibility when I responded to the call and I knew it would be no easy task, but I also knew that whatever little differences there might be amongst Indians in the end there would be unanimity on this great question, because the subject that drove us to India, the anti-Asiatic Bill, is to my mind, the quintessence of injustice, and taken in conjunction with the Colour Bar Bill and the Liquor Law Amendment Bill, the whole lot amount to nothing but sheer daylight robbery. (Applause.)

In my opinion there is no difference between these bills and the other anti-Asiatic laws which already besmirch the Statute Book of South Africa. They are all cold-blooded murder. When you say to a man you are going to rob him of what he has earned during the whole of his life, and that you

are going to prevent him and his offspring from earning an honest livelihood as the Colour Bill does, then I say you are condemning him to starvation and death and that is nothing but murder. (Shame).

I am glad I landed in Natal. Natal is the patriotic Colony. It understands what British traditions are, and is very proud of them. The people of Natal fought at Spionkop to maintain British traditions. They fought because Englishmen wanted the franchise. If the Britishers could shed their blood only to get the franchise, to what extremes will the non-Europeans go if they know that for the future they and their children will be deprived of their rights in South Africa. South Africa does not know what she is doing. I know what she is doing and I am convinced that she is courting disaster.

The blacks of Africa know what is going on in South Africa, and if there is a rule whose name stinks in the nostrils of the blacks it is the rule of the British in South Africa. What would the British section do to maintain the British Empire? Everything in the world, and what are they doing to-day? They are doing everything to burst up the British Empire. In India they accuse me of being too loyal. Yes, too fond of the British Empire, because I still believe that it is possible for black and white to live harmoniously within the British Empire. I think it is still possible, but South Africa is bursting it up. South Africa has proclaimed to the world that the non-European must occupy an inferior position in this world. The non-Europeans will never occupy or continue to occupy the position they are occupying to-day. It is against human nature and against the laws of social evolution. It is against all equity, fairplay and justice, and what most disheartens one is that you cannot attack these laws on any ground whatsoever. Attack the Europeans on the question of equity and they have not a leg to stand on. Attack them on the point of justice and they cannot defend themselves, attack them on the question of Christian principles, and they cannot answer. What would the Europeans do if Christ came again, not as a native of Judaea, but as a native of India? Would they still remain Christians, and did God only make one good Asiatic, the Son of God, and the devil all the others? That is how we are treated here.

I want to warn South Africa, and this patriotic, loyal and ultra-materialistic Colony that they are doing more to burst up the United Empire than anybody. Thank God the whole of India is behind the Indians (Applause), and, Mr. Chairman, what would South Africa do to-day if India was a free and independent country? ('Burst up'—applause and laughter). How would they receive India if she was free and independent and had battleships at her command? Would they dare to do what they are doing to-day? They would not dare. They would find a means of adjusting the differences between the two. Wherever there are apparently irreconcilable elements, honest men, honourable men and educated men will sit together and find a way out of

the difficulty. That is why we went to India, not to raise an agitation for Swaraj, as had been suggested, but because the Union Government had refused a round-table conference. We wanted the Indian Government to use its influence to bring about a conference. If the South Africans had right on their side, why did they refuse a conference? I still contend that unless as the result of the Select Committee on this Bill it is dropped completely and a round-table conference is not held, it will be the beginning of the downfall of the British Empire. (Applause.) Who has made the British Empire in the East? It was India that was the strength of the British Empire, and the strength of the British Empire even to-day is India. (Hear, hear.) It is owing to India that the British Empire is what it is in the East, but South Africa has created an anti-South Africa feeling throughout the continent of South Africa. Speak to the blacks and ask them what they think. I wish some of the Europeans would paint their faces black and go and mix with the blacks and they would hear the truth and to me it is painful, because I am a South African. What I want to say is this that it was not myself who did this work in India. How could I without the co-operation of my fellow-delegates? How could we have the sympathy and support of the whole of the Indian nation unless we had a just cause? How could we have the support of the Viceroy, or the European Press of India, or the European members of the Indian Government unless we had a just cause? This is therefore not due to me at all. It is because we have a just cause that it has been taken up by every section of the community in India. One of the biggest meetings I addressed was to some 6000 people who assembled at Cawnpore. They came from all parts of India. The result was that wherever we went after that our cause was already half-known, and one of the finest meetings I ever addressed was at the Jallian Wallahbagh at Amritsar where the Indians were murdered by General Dyer. You could have heard a pin drop, and when I had finished the Sikhs asked: "Is there no means of getting over to South Africa?" I said, "No, because there will never be any necessity for you to come to South Africa," because I think that whatever the Europeans are doing to-day the time will come when they will become startled and look back and feel ashamed of their work in the past and come to reason, and probably in the end do the right thing towards the Indians and the non-Europeans in South Africa. The Viceroy is whole-heartedly with us, the Mussulman, the Hindu, the Parsee and the Christian are all with us, and all of them have passed resolutions supporting us. The Metropolitan Archbishop of Calcutta and all the leaders of every section are unitedly for us. Never in the history of India has there been such unanimity as there is to-day. Every political party, however much it may differ from other parties comes on the same platform on the South African question. In the meeting at Bombay leaders of the Independent Party and leaders of the Swaraj Party and every other party came on the same platform, and everywhere it was the same. I think either to-day or to-morrow our resolution ought to be in the House of Assembly, and that resolution which will be carried, amounts to this, that a round-table conference is necessary for the discussion of the whole of the Indian question. The feeling is that the Imperial Government in exercising its power under the 65th clause of the Act should assist it. (Applause.) Some people say it should not be so. If it should not be used, then they have tricked us and lied to us when they drafted the Act of Union and put the clause in to protect the people of this country against any harm. It has been put there to be used and if it were not to be used in cases like this in legislation that amounts to sheer robbery, we have been tricked.

I thank you for the very nice reception you have given me and may I say I have finished with the deputation and I have spoken not as a member of the deputation, but as Dr. Abdurahman. The Indians cannot be held responsible for what I have said. I am alone responsible and I say this so that small men may not perhaps use my words and take some revenge on the Indians. (Applause.) There is still much work to be done and I do trust that as long as this Indian question is unsettled, there will be no division among Indians. (Hear, hear.) If there was no division in India to-day they would have responsible Government to-morrow. It is the politicians who keep the sections of the people apart, and if the people of South Africa wish to do anything they will see that there is no division. Your cause is too serious. There should be no division but complete unanimity among Indians though the whole of South Africa. Already you can see that Indians are to be put into a water-tight compartment, natives in another, Malays and Coloured people in another. You can see the trend of the legislation of this country, and the man who will accept that is a fool and a traitor to his own country. To my mind there should be no division between black and white and the sooner we make common cause in South Africa and stand as a solid block as non-Europeans in South Africa, the sooner we will get our grievances remedied. The Indians have suffered and they will suffer more in the future than they have in the past, but as truly as there is a God in Heaven, so surely do I know that in the end the non-European cause will win. (Applause.) The non-Europeans have the power here. Industrial progress in a country brings together large masses of workers and there is inherent power in that which only needs organisation and direction and guidance and pure care, and if you can do that all your troubles will vanish like the snow before the sun. What we have to do in this country is to preach one thing only and that is that we are all South Africans, white and black alike, and if the European insists upon making a line and in relegating the non-Europeans to unskilled work, the unskilled workers should take a lesson from the sweepers in India who are to-day the best organised workers in India, and then I have no fear for the result. I am not anti-white. I realise that we owe the European a good deal, though perhaps not the European in this country. I owe England a good deal, and I should like to see the Empire maintained intact and its people working in harmonious co-operation and I believe this is possible if the Europeans will only be reasonable and sensible and allow non-Europeans to live in South Africa and help to make it a great country, in which every man, white and black will be able to live in decency. If the Europeans cannot or will not do it, it is our duty to do it and use the power we have as non-Europeans and show the Europeans not that we have any hatred against them, but that we are determined to see right and justice done in South Africa. I do not wish to instil any hatred or ill-feeling or resentment towards the Europeans. What I hate and loathe is the injustice, not the man himself, and it is the injustice we ought to get rid of, and for that we must organise, and if we get rid of the injustice I trust it will not be very long before South Africa will be a home in which both white and black can live together in peace and harmony. (Loud applause.)

Dr. Abdurahman spoke for about half an hour, and after a few concluding words from the chair, cheers were raised for the doctor and the meeting closed.

Mahatma Gandhi's Easter Message

THE latest mail from India has brought copies of Mahatma Gandhi's *Young India*. The issue of February 18 contains a leading article headed "The Topic of the Hour" which we reproduce below as Mahatma Gandhi's Easter message to Indians in South Africa:—

By the time this is before the public the majority of the South African deputation will be on the waters on their way back to South Africa. Before sailing Messrs. Amod Bayat, James Godfrey, Pather and Mirza paid me a visit and discussed the situation as it is developing from day to day. They expressed themselves satisfied with the splendid welcome extended to them wherever they went and the support received from all parties in India not excluding European Associations. But they were not, I am glad to say, deceived into any false sense of security by the support. They realised that India was willing but not equally able to help.

The Colour Bar Bill is making steady progress. On principle it is just as bad as the Asiatic measure and therefore just as open to objection as the latter. Its progress evidences the Union Government's intention and determination about the Asiatic Bill. It is becoming daily clearer that the Union Government intend if possible to stiffen the measure rather than relax it. The proposed amendment of section 10 gives no relief worth the name and the inclusion of the Cape has roused against the Bill even a section of the South African press so much that one paper goes so far as to insinuate that it is probably out of spite against Dr. Abdurahman's doings in India that the S. A. Government seek to include the Cape in the scope of the Bill. Let us hope that whatever else that Government may be guilty of, it is not guilty of the littleness ascribed to it. Be that as it may, there is no doubt about the mind of that Government. It is this root and branch policy that the Indian settlers have to face and combat. They can do so successfully, if they have a strong backing from the Imperial and the Indian Governments. This they will not have. The Indian Government is a shadow of the Imperial. The latter is neither feared nor respected by the present Union Government. On the contrary it fears the Union Government lest South Africa may secede from the Imperial partnership. It is the case of the tail wagging the dog. The Imperial Government would never assert itself against South Africa unless there was fear of losing India. The apparent collapse of non-co-operation has given the Imperial Government a new hope about India's helplessness. At the crucial moment therefore the weight of authority will be thrown on the side of South Africa unless the unexpected happens this side of the Indian Ocean. The ultimate passing of the Bill, even though it may be postponed for the present session, is thus assured.

What are then our countrymen in South Africa to do? There is nothing in the world like self-help. The world helps those who help themselves. Self-help in this case, as perhaps in every other, means self-suffering, self-suffering means Satyagraha. When their honour is at stake, when their rights are being taken away, when their livelihood is threatened, they have the right and it becomes their duty to offer Satyagraha. They offered it during 1907 and 1914 and won the support even of the Government of India indeed the recognition of the Europeans and the Government of South Africa. They can do likewise again if they have the will and the courage to suffer for the common good.

That time is not yet. They must, as they are doing, exhaust every diplomatic remedy. They must await the result of the negotiations the Government of India are carrying on with the Union Gov-

ernment. And when they have explored and tried every other available channel and failed to find a way out, the case of Satyagraha is complete. Then it would be cowardice to flinch. And victory is a certainty. No power on earth can make a person do a thing against his will. Satyagraha is a direct result of the recognition of this great Law and is independent of numbers participating in it.

Terms of Satyagraha are imperative, admitting of no exception. There should be no violence in any shape or form. There must be an irreducible minimum—a minimum that would commend itself to any reasonable and impartial judge. We may be justly entitled to many things but Satyagraha is offered for things without which self-respect, or which is the same thing, honourable existence, is impossible.

They must count the cost. Satyagraha cannot be offered in bravado or as a mere trial. It is a measure of the depth of one's feeling. It is therefore offered because it becomes irresistible. No price is too dear to pay for it i.e. truth. Success comes when it is least expected. It is undertaken, not from a belief in human aid but it is based upon an unquenchable faith in God and His justice. And God is both gentle and hard. He tries us through and through to the last suffering point but He is so gentle as never to test us to the breaking point.

Why Is the Asiatic Disliked? Are His Vices Or Virtues Objected To?

(BY T. G. ROGERS IN THE 'NATAL WITNESS')

In South Africa we hear a great deal of talk about racialism by people who have no conception of what racialism really means. All the talk about racial antagonism between the English and Dutch is a sheer misuse of terms, for the simple reason that these two peoples belong to the same race. The antagonism, in so far as it exists at all, is not racial and never was. It is national. The way in which most people races with nations by regarding them as synonymous is altogether inexcusable. A very little knowledge and reflection will show that all modern nations are composite amalgamations of races.

Even with regard to the greater number of the Indians in Natal the racial differences are not so great as most people think. Possibly a case could be made out against the Arab, on the ground of race, if it was of any importance, but not against the majority of the people from India who are now here. They are, it is as well to remember, a branch of the great Hindu-European family, to which we also belong. Everyone who has taken the trouble to observe our Indians must have been struck by their resemblance to Europeans in structure and feature. There are great differences between the two peoples, difference of colour, speech, manners and habits, but these are not racial. They are national and climatic.

The "Menace"

It is necessary to clear away as much of this extraneous prejudice as possible in order to arrive at the real grounds of objection to the Indian. So long as we allow ourselves to be blinded by colour and national prejudice we shall never be able to deal justly with the so-called Asiatic menace.

What, after all, is the European objection to these people? It is admitted that they possess practically all the virtues that Europeans are supposed to prize. They are industrious and law-abiding, frugal and thrifty, intelligent and painstaking, and they are on the average about as honest as the majority of Europeans. Can it be possible that it is not their vices but their virtues that we object to?

The principal objection to the Indian, as formulated by the active exponents of the Anti-Asiatic movement, is that they live upon a lower standard and that their competition may draw down the European population to their

level. And the two remedies suggested are repatriation and segregation.

Repatriation

Of these repatriation does not call for much comment, because in the first place South African born Indians cannot be repatriated to a country (India) where they do not belong. Their "patrie" is South Africa, and we cannot send them "back" to a country from which they never came. It is true we might "deport" them to India, but in that case the Indian Government would, in all probability, return them with considerable promptitude. Moreover, in a very few years, assuming that no more Indians are admitted, the Indian from India will no longer exist. So much for the South African born, and with regard to the remainder, compulsory repatriation has not so far been suggested, by any responsible South African politician, probably because they realise that it would lead to Inter-Dominion complications of an extremely serious nature. Finally, there is the voluntary repatriation, which is now in operation but which meets with very small success. Most Indians require a very substantial bribe to induce them to leave these shores.

Segregation

The other remedy, segregation, is just about as impracticable, but of course, for different reasons. The people who advocate this plan are not always agreed as to just what they mean by segregation. They never make it clear as to whether they want all the Indians segregated or only the storekeeping class, nor do they ever tell us how they propose to deal with the wealthy Indian merchants. There is a strong tendency on the part of the Anti-Asiatics to try and accomplish two opposite things simultaneously. They desire to retain the services of Indian workers and at the same time pack them away in some undefined place, the locality of which they cannot determine. They complain that the Indian lives on a low standard, and instead of trying to assist and encourage him to improve his standard, they want to drive the Indian workers out of industry, and the small storekeeper out of business. As to what would happen if this could be accomplished they do not appear to have given any thought. But it is quite clear it would not bring the Indians any nearer to a European standard, which is the only thing that will lessen the competition of which they complain.

An Economic Question

The question is not so much racial as economic, or rather it is economic supplemented and exacerbated by colour and national prejudice. Most anti-Asiatics agree that this is the case, but they do not shape their policy in accordance. What is needed is a levelling up, but how many white trade unionists would really favour such a solution? Few engineers or printers, for example, would be willing to work beside Indians even if the Indians were as skilled as themselves, and were receiving the same remuneration. And it is extremely probable that white storekeepers would still object to Indian traders, even if they were not underselling, and were paying their assistants white standard wages, and complying with white conditions generally. Until this prejudice and bad feeling, which are the result of a mistaken idea of race superiority, can be eliminated there is little hope of the problem being solved satisfactorily. It is a hard saying, but none the less true, that the only thing wrong with the Indian workman is that his pay is too small. It will be difficult to convince employers of Indian labour of this fact, and still more difficult to induce them to believe that the Indian must be paid more before he is worth more. All the while the Indian is paid miserable wages he will give miserable results. It is only by increased remuneration and a consequent improvement of the physical standard of comfort that increased efficiency can be obtained. On the other hand, it will be just as difficult to convince white people who deal at Indian stores that the only thing the matter with such stores is that the goods are sold too cheaply. Just

as the short-sighted employer regards the cheapness of Indian labour, as its principal merit, so that section of the public who shop with Indians think only of the cheapness of the goods they buy. Both are equally mistaken. It would pay employers better to pay their workers better, and it would pay the consumers to pay a better price for the goods they use.

Intelligent Self-Interest

The whole thing is an illustration and a proof of the truth that nearly all evil is brought about, not by downright wickedness but by short-sighted selfishness, and that the greatest good results not from disinterested altruism, but from intelligent self-interest. Grasping people grasp at too much, and often fail to obtain what is within their grasp.

It is unlikely that the Asiatic question will ever be settled by direct means, and certainly not by the means at present advocated. The anti-Asiatic agitation is based on the idea that the more the Indian receives the less there will be for the European. It overlooks the fact that people engaged in the production of useful commodities, or in essential distributive work, are not taking anything from anyone. They are increasing the country's wealth, and performing necessary social services.

The people of South Africa have a big task before them, and will need all the assistance they can obtain to develop the natural resources, and to build up the industries of the country, to the end that the prosperity and happiness of all our people may be increased. And it is in the steady and persistent execution of this task that a solution of nearly all our problems is to be found.

India and the British Socialists

The Indian Advisory Committee of the British Independent Labour Party have published a report on the conditions in India and an outline of their policy in connection therewith in the form of a pamphlet named "India To-day," (Price 6d. 14 Great George Street, London, S.W.). The following is a summary of the conclusions of the I.L.P. Indian Advisory Committee:—

Part I.—Political

India is denied the rudiments of self-government. Constitutionally, the British Parliament is still responsible for the administration of India. The Governor-General and his Council are appointed by the Crown, and act under the orders of the Secretary of State for India in London.

The powers and representative capacity of the two national legislative bodies are strictly limited. The Council of State has a permanent Government majority, and one-third of the members of the Assembly are nominated. The Council of State has the power to veto the measures of the Assembly, and the Governor-General to put any proposal into force, even though the Assembly has rejected it. Only property owners and university graduates are enfranchised. Out of a population of 247,000,000, the voters for the Council are less than 20,000 and for the Assembly less than 1,000,000.

Only three per cent. of the population have votes for the Provincial Councils. The Councils have no power over Law and Order, Revenue, Finance, Forests (except in Bombay), and Irrigation, and these subjects have the foremost call on the revenue. Communal representation has a divisive effect.

The Civil Service and the judicial organisation in criminal matters is in British control. The army is under British authority, although its cost is borne by India. Freedom of speech, press, meeting, and person is denied. Only 7.2 per cent. of the population can read, social reform is resisted by the Government, and health measures are inadequate.

Irrigation and roadway construction, however, have been well developed.

The Afridis and Burmese have been brought within British India against their wishes. Though some of the Indian (Native) States are, in such matters as education, ahead of British India, there are practically no representative institutions in most of them.

Indians are practically forbidden entry to Australia and New Zealand, while in Canada and the Union of South Africa, and the Crown Colonies (except British Guiana) they are denied rights on the basis of colour.

India's delegations to the League of Nations are nominated, not by the Indian Legislative Assembly, but by the Secretary of State, on the recommendation of the Viceroy.

POLICY FOR THE I.L.P.—The I.L.P. recognises the full right of the Indian people to self-government and self-determination. Should they elect to belong to the British Group of Nations, it must be on the basis of equality and freedom.

The Government of India Act contains provisions for its own revision in 1929. Labour should press for immediate revision.

The British Government should announce its readiness to end the external British control; withdraw immediately all repressive measures; declare an amnesty for all political offenders; withdraw Indian troops from non-Indian territories; separate Burmah from India; abolish all disabilities on Indians in countries under its control; use its influence to secure equality for Indians in the Dominions and other countries; and place the appointment of India's representatives to the Assembly of the League of Nations in the hands of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

At the same time the British Government should respond to the proposal of the Legislative Assembly that it should appoint a Convention submit a scheme of Indian self-government for immediate adoption. The Convention should include adequate representations of the Indian working-class and peasants, and of the various races. Such a Convention could consider, should it so desire, the draft of the Commonwealth of India Bill, which has, however, not been accepted by several of the most important and representative bodies in India. (Basil P. Howell, D. Graham Pole, and John Scurr dissent to this paragraph. They consider that the appointment of a round-table conference by a Conservative Government is unnecessary and would inevitably delay self-government in India. They prefer that the Commonwealth of India Bill, already introduced into the House of Commons by the Labour Party, should be passed.)

Whilst whole-heartedly supporting the claim of the Indian people to self-government, we recognise that the present Indian Parties pressing this claim largely represent the middle and upper classes and that there is little political hope for the working masses of India unless they are enfranchised and from their own Party. Immediate effect should be given to the Universal and Compulsory Education Acts passed by the Provincial Councils, so that the workers may take a full part in the political life of the country.

Part II.—Economic

GENERAL POVERTY.—The state of poverty in India is appalling. According to Sir William Hunter, forty millions of the people pass through life with only one meal a day. According to Sir Charles Elliot, one half of the agricultural population (that is 70,000,000) never have one square meal during the whole year. Prof. Gilbert Slater estimates that "a reasonable estimate of money income per head would be, for the present day, somewhere about 4½d. a day. The death-rate per 1,000 is 30.9—the highest in the world. The average length of life of an Indian is 23.5 years, compared with 53.5 years of an

Englishman. In Bombay the infant mortality rate is 572 and in Calcutta 386, compared with the British rate of 206.

Agricultural Conditions

India is mainly agricultural. Only 10.1 per cent. of the population live in towns. The Government is the proprietor of the land, but the large landholders extract high rents from the small tenants to whom they sub-let. The small tenants and the landless proletariat, numbering 40,000,000, are in a chronic state of poverty. The peasants are largely in the hands of the moneylenders.

Necessary Reforms

Attempts should be made to ensure a more equitable opportunity to use the land. There should be security of tenure and the landholding middlemen should be eliminated. The ownership of the land should be transferred to the Indian nation.

Agricultural and co-operative banks should be established, and co-operative institutions to secure and loan scientific implements and to ensure better marketing should be encouraged. Agricultural colleges with travelling lectures, should be developed, and an opportunity given for peasants to learn practical agriculture. Communal farming through the Village Panchayats might be attempted.

The terms of reference of the Royal Commission, which has been announced on agricultural affairs, should be extended so as to include the root question of the land tenure. It should represent all the interests concerned, particularly the tenants and peasants.

Industrial Conditions

The general conditions of the industrial workers are equally pitiable. An enquiry by the Labour Office of the Government of Bombay indicated that an average working-class family of 4.2 persons (including dependents living outside Bombay) had an income of 17s. 1d. per week. The average earnings of men were 14s. 1d., of women 5s. 7d., and of children (half time), 4s. 7d. About 97 per cent. of the working-class families live in single rooms.

On the other hand, huge profits are made. The average dividend during the past ten years for all jute mills is 90 per cent. The average dividend of the leading cotton mills in 1920 was 120 per cent.

Some of the worst evils of the Indian industrial system are found in the "plantations." In most, the conditions are disgracefully inhuman. The average weekly wage is 3s. 4. for a man and 1s. to 3s. for a woman. The overcrowding and promiscuous conditions give rise to an extensive degree of immorality.

The legal limitations on the exploitation of the workers are meagre.

There is no Truck Act to prevent the imposition of fines (a common practice), and there are no provisions to meet the needs of unemployment, sickness, old age, or maternity. There is no prohibited period for the employment of women before or after child-birth.

The inability to pay contributions, the lack of education, and the shifting population, make the organisation of the workers into trade unions very difficult. An heroic effort is being made to overcome these difficulties in Bombay, Madras, and other centres. The total active membership of the trade unions is about 250,000, out of a little under 2,000,000 workers coming under the Factories and Mines Acts.

WHAT IS REQUIRED?—Efforts should be made to raise the minimum conditions allowed by law in regard to hours, wages, child labour, and women's work. The staff of factory inspectors should be increased and improved. Legislation should be passed for unemployment, sickness, old age, and maternity. Housing should be developed.

But in the long run the improvement of the conditions of the people and their emancipation from

the evils and servitude of Capitalism must depend upon the education and organisation of the working masses themselves. The International Labour movement, and particularly the British Labour movement, should give the Indian workers the fullest possible assistance. Apart from the call of working-class solidarity, it is imperative to do this in the interests of the standard conditions in more highly developed countries. The sweated "coolie" labour of the East is a serious menace to the better-paid labour of the West.

Monetary assistance is important, but still more important is consultation and advice and training in methods of organisation. Special steps should be taken to enable the All-India Trades Union Congress to affiliate to the International Federation of Trades Unions and contact should be maintained between the headquarters of the Labour and Socialist International and those who are seeking to form a political Labour movement. The Internationals might consider the possibility of establishing a training college in the East, with its centre in India, with a view to equipping Indians and other Eastern workers, for the duties of trade union and political development. Common action should be taken with the object of steadily raising the standards applied to Indian conditions under the regulations of the International Labour Office.

These proposals should be the immediate concern of the British Labour movement. There should be direct official contact between the headquarters of our trade union and political movements and the headquarters in India. Special efforts should be made to inform the British workers of conditions in India. British Labour representatives should occasionally visit India, and Indian representatives should be invited to this country to study methods of organisation. Prior to the establishment of a Labour College in India, it might be possible to make special arrangements for Indians to attend our Labour Colleges, and for a British trade unionist of judgment and experience to go to India, for a time, in an advisory capacity.

The I.L.P. should itself maintain the closest possible contact with the Indian Labour movement, and its members should press forward the above proposals in the Trade Union movement, the Labour Party, and in the International.

The National Council's Resolutions

The National Council of the I.L.P. has tabled the following resolutions for submission to the Annual Conference of the Party (April 4th to 6th):—

The I.L.P. demands the immediate withdrawal of all repressive measures in India, the declaration of an amnesty for all political offenders, and the recognition of the right of India to self-government and self-determination, by acceptance of the proposal of the Indian Legislative Assembly that a representative Indian Convention should prepare a constitution for India and by using British influence to secure the withdrawal of the disabilities from which Indians suffer in the British Empire and other countries.

The I.L.P. urges upon the British and International Labour movements the necessity of assisting the workers of Asiatic and African countries which are passing under Capitalist control to organise industrially and politically for their protection and for their ultimate emancipation. It recognises that the interests of the workers throughout the world, of whatever race, colour, or creed, are one, and that International Socialism cannot be fully realised until the workers of the world have united for their political and economic liberation.

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Transvaal Indian Soccer

The fourth annual general meeting of the Ranger's Football Club was held at Jeppe Arcade, Commissioner Street, Johannesburg recently, there being an excellent attendance of officials and members.

The Secretaries (K. Naransamy and Himdad Khan) submitted the financial statement and annual report, both being eminently satisfactory, were unanimously adopted.

Thereafter the chairman Mr. M. B. Francis commented favourably on the progress and achievements of the Club and congratulated the members on having young players who were shaping so well.

The following were elected officials for the ensuing season:—Patron Mr. Mustapha Hassim, Vice-Patrons Messrs. Jacob Morgan, B. Pencharz, Jacobson, C. I. Effune, F. M. O. Pattie, L. Weinberg; President Mr. M. B. Francis, Vice-Presidents I, Leveton, J. E. Sacks, E. Jamal, K. G. Pillay, I. I. Hazaree, J. M. Peters and K. Savjee; Captain L. Alfred, Vice-Captain, K. Naransamy, Joint hon. Secretaries, T. K. Garach and B. K. Naidoo; hon. Treasurer K. Vengatas Singh, Delegates to the Transvaal Indian Football Association Messrs. Himdad Khan and K. Naransamy.—Contributed.

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