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No. 40

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

These, however, were matters which were not solely under the control of the Government of India, and therefore they cannot be held solely responsible for the unsatisfactory results of their efforts. But this cannot be said with regard to the Punjab disturbances, on which the Viceroy's defence is singularly unconvincing. He says that during the passage of the Rowlatt Bill certain honourable members "gave him warnings of an almost minatory character" and this, he imagines, was connected with the rioters who "thought that it was necessary to make good this threat." Now, so far as we remember, there was not even a single accused in all the Martial Law cases who had said such a thing! This 'minatory' warning was even given by the Hon. Mr. Shastri; and can the Viceroy imagine that his Moderate followers, for it is only the followers who can think of making good their leader's threat—were among those who had made good this threat? So far as we can see there is absolutely no connection between the minatory warnings of certain honourable members and the deplorable events, and the reflections that is apparently cast upon the followers of the honourable members by the Viceroy's speech is therefore quite unwarranted. The Viceroy again imagines that the public have minimised the gravity of the disorders. We say they have not. Disorders there were, and the public deplored them. But what they resented most was their christening as "rebellion," and the unnecessarily stern measures

used to cope with them by the Punjab Government. That the measures were disproportionately harsh has been proved not by the words of agitators but by the considerate actions of the Bombay Government. Murder, arson, cutting of telegraph wires, and uprooting of railway lines there were in this presidency also. Disorders, such as have occurred at Lahore had occurred even at Bombay. But here order was restored by the judicious policy of minimum interference with the public. Mr. Gandhi was also allowed to approach and pacify the enraged mob, and all that could possibly be done by peaceful means was allowed to be done by our Government. This the ex-Punjab ruler did not do and he at once resorted to measures which were out of proportion to the gravity of the disorders. He did not allow that angel of peace, Mr. Gandhi, to go there to pacify the people. He did not allow even harmless barristers like Mr. Norton, Mr. Roy and others to proceed to the Punjab to defend the defenceless and innocent men like Mr. Kalinath Roy. He instituted proceedings against men like Lala Harkisan Lal and others, and the whole Punjab was aflame with his repression. The tribunals again have inflicted such outrageous and cruel punishments, often without sufficient proof as in the case of Lala Harkisan Lal and of Jogannath and Karamechand, that the whole of India, and even the Punjab Government of Sir Edward Maclagan, are staggered to hear. Now in view of this contrast between

the considerate action of the Bombay Government and the insensate repression of that Punjab exsaptap, whose name all India shudders to utter, can the Viceroy say that the public are at fault for condemning Sir Michael O'Dwyer? We again repeat that the public have not minimised the disorders.

But they have neither exaggerated them as did the then Punjab Government, and here lay the crux of the whole situation. If the ex-Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab had not been seized with panic, and if he had not given a free hand by the equally panic-stricken and credulous Viceroy, then, like Bombay, the Punjab would have been saved from the red terror that was spread by the dire repression of the ex-ruler of that province. But the Viceroy blundered in being over-credulous, and he unwaveringly supported the frenzied policy of the then Punjab Government! Any other man in the Viceroy's position would by this time, have admitted his mistake in having taken such a step. The wonder however is that the Viceroy, instead of repenting for the mad policy in defending it before the public!

A word about the promised inquiry and the forthcoming Indemnity Bill. The inquiry will be held by a committee, and it is to report to the Governor-General in Council on "the causes of, and the measures taken to cope with, the recent disorders in Delhi, the Punjab and the Bombay presidency". We have no doubt that the Committee will investigate into the causes and the repressive measures, and we

come to a certain decision. But supposing that it finds that the various measures were quite unnecessary, and the officers invoking them were absolutely wrong. What then is to follow such a decision? An impeachment, a prosecution, or court-martialling of the officers concerned? No! Nothing of that sort. The Viceroy says that he will pass an Act "indemnifying those officers of Government who were called upon to undertake the onerous and ungrateful task of restoring order and the *validating* of such acts as the stress of circumstances required?" And further he says "*what ever the findings of the commission may be, such a measure would be necessary, and in justice to our officers we are bound to indemnify them at the earliest convenient moment.*" So notwithstanding the unfavourable decision of the Committee, the officers will be saved from any consequences of their unjust and arbitrary measures, and their acts will be validated! Pray why for then the farce of an inquiry?

A silver-lining to this darkest cloud is the Viceroy's decision "to lay deep and sure the foundations of the new industrial development" in India. Sir Thomas Holt and is now discussing the whole question with the State Secretary and within a few weeks we are promised a despatch from the India Office. Similarly the question of improving higher and Secondary education will also receive a definite shape and the Dacca University Bill will indicate the future line of improvement. These boons may come in the fulness of time. For the present nothing but grief and humiliation is our lot.

(The Mahratta)

Government of India.

Reform Bill Amendment.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Essential Features Little Altered.

London, Nov. 20.—The India Reform Bill has just emerged from the Point Parliamentary Committee considerably increased in bulk but little altered in its essential features.

The "Times," in the course of comment on the Bill, pays a tribute to Lord Selborne's services as chairman. It points out that the Joint Committee confirmed the principle known as "Dyarchy," or legislature. This decision was arrived at after the Committee had examined and rejected various alternatives.

The "Times," while still sceptical, accepts

the Committee's finding as conclusive. It supports the Committee in declining to impose safeguards against the possibility of mistakes by Indian Ministers. It also supports the Committee in its only modification of the more advanced proposal of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme.

According to the Committee's proposal the postponement of changes in the scheme should be for ten years instead of five after its institution.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Tribal Trouble.

On Indian Frontier.

British Terms Generally Accepted.

London, Nov. 21.—Reuter is informed that the majority of the Waziris tribe, on the Indian frontier, have accepted the British terms. One section, however, in the recent meeting with the British representatives; consequently aerial operations against them will be commenced forthwith. The attitude of two sections is at present uncertain.

The effect of the air bombardment of Masud villages is already noticeable, and they have begun to put out feelers with a view to negotiating for peace.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

British Terms Accepted.

By Waziri Tribe.

London, Nov. 24.—All actions of the Waziri tribe, who hitherto have stood aloof, have now without reservations accepted the British terms which the majority had already accepted.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Amritsar Congress.

SWAMI SHARDHANAND has been elected Chairman of the Reception Committee of the coming session of the Congress. A better choice could hardly be made. His services to the cause of the distressed people of the Punjab are simply invaluable. The Reception Committee will find in him selfless leader to guide them at a critical time like this.

Notes and News

LONDON, November 28 (delayed). Reuter, Berlin, telegraphs that Lattland and Germany are officially at war.—Reuter's Special Service.

London, Nov. 24.—Isolated disturbances are reported from various parts of Ireland. A raid was made by armed men on the residence of the Deputy-Lieutenant of

County Clare. A fierce struggle took place between six masked men and the proprietor. The latter was finally knocked down by a blow from a club, and the raiders escaped after taking a quantity of arms and ammunition.

A party of armed men with revolvers attempted to hold up the mail train from Dublin to Cork at Gould's Cross, County Tipperary. The police patrol fired on the assailants, and a running fight followed. The raiders eventually fled and disappeared in the darkness. The Irish Prisons Board has issued an announcement that in future hunger striking prisoners will not be released under any circumstances. The authorities decline to accept responsibility for consequences of such strikes.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

India Before America's Senate.

an Appeal To The Foreign Relations Committee.

The following Representation has been submitted through Mr. Dudley Field Malone, on behalf of the people of India to the Senate Committee which body have received it:—

The Hon'ble Members of the Foreign Relations Committee, the U. S. Senate,—Sirs,—Under instructions from representative Hindu organisations in this country having a membership of Hindus and Americans, I have the honour to submit the following brief for the favorable consideration of your Hon Committee in connection with the ratification of the Peace Treaty now pending before you.

India is a dependency of the British Empire. Its Government is by a statute of the British Parliament vested in the Secretary of State for India at Whitehall. London as one of the many departments of the British administration. The civil and military Government of India is delegated to a Governor General in Council, appointed and nominated by the said Secretary of State without any reference to the people of India. The Secretary of State is the final authority in all matters, executive, administrative, and legislative, and even judicial, in so far as he or the Governor General of India, under him appoints all the presiding officers of the courts of justice in India. The Legislative function of the Government of India, is vested in a Legislative Council of sixty members, the majority of whom are the servants of the Crown, appointed by the Secretary of State or the Government of India. Thus no legislation can be introduced or finally carried in that assembly which is not approved or accepted by the Secretary of State. The Government of India

is only the agent of the Home Government. That the Government of India is an "absolute" despotism has been admitted in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report issued by the authority of the British Parliament in 1918 (see Articles 7 and 34).

By virtue of her services during the War, the Peace Conference at Paris accepted India as a "belligerent power with particular interest" entitled to be separately represented by "two delegates in addition to the representation of the British Government by the Panel system." But the Government of India does not represent the people of that country, not being elected by them nor being appointed by their consent, owing no responsibility to them. India was at the Peace Conference represented by two nominees of the British Government. Thus India's representation at the Peace Conference was a representation of the Indian Nation through properly elected ministers or representatives. Consequently the Indian National Congress, the unofficial Parliament of India, in its session held at Delhi in December last, passed the following resolution: "That this Congress urges that in justice to India it should be represented by an elected representative or representatives to the same extent as the Self-Governing Dominions, at any Conferences that may be held to deliberate or settle the terms of peace or reconstruction." In view of the shortness of time and in anticipation of the request being acceded to by His Majesty's Government this Congress elects as its representatives Lok Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mr M K Gandhi, and Mr Sayed Hasan Iman."

In pursuance of this resolution Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, one of the representatives appointed by the said Congress applied for permission to attend the Peace Conference. But he was refused passports. Consequently under rule 11 of the regulations promulgated by the Peace Conference he submitted a written representation to the President of the Peace Conference to be laid before the Conference for favourable consideration. Paragraphs 3, 4 of the said representation run as below. It is necessary for me to dwell upon the imperative importance of solving the Indian question for the purpose of ensuring the future Peace of the World and the progress of the People of India. India is self-contained, harbours no design upon the integrity of other States, and has no ambition outside India. With her vast area, enormous resources and prodigious population she may well aspire to be a leading Power in Asia, if not in the World. She could therefore easily be a powerful steward of the League of Nations in the East for maintaining the peace of the world and the stability of the British Empire against all aggressors and

disturbers of the peace, whether in Asia or elsewhere. But with India politically enchaind it is impossible for her to occupy her proper place among the Nations of the world; or to develop and realise her potentialities, so as to be able to render decisive assistance to the League of Nations in enforcing the supreme object of its creation, viz the Peace of the World. Apart from this consideration India herself may become an "apple" of discord among the Great Powers of Europe, and there is every reason to anticipate that, in future, Europe will have keen competitors in Asia and in America, if not for the conquest of India, at least for the probe of India, occasioning jealousies and rivalries culminating in wars. This will happen so long as India has no power to determine her internal and commercial policy without interference from Whitehall, an interference which is viewed with suspicion in India, in Europe and in Asia. From the point of view of the peace of Asia, and from point of view of the piece of the world it is, therefore, absolutely necessary that India should be self-governed internally, and be made the bulwark of liberty in the East. There can be no doubt that such an objective is worthy of the highest and noblest statesmanship, accords with the principle of right and justice, and harmonises with the declared aspirations of the people of India.

Internally there can be no contentment or peace amongst a fifth of the population of the globe unless the people are free to carve out their own destiny.

After this world-wide War for liberation of mankind from the menacing domination of Germany, and the dawn of a New Order, it is superfluous for me to urge that no civilised nation should be governed by any other nation without its consent, upon theories of trusteeship propounded ostensibly for the benefit of the ward. India therefore demands as her birth-right the application of the principle of Self-Determination, or the purpose of empowering her people to tackle and solve the complex problems of India according to the genius of her people. The task is beyond the capacity of aliens. However talented and benevolent they may be, Governors, saturated with ideals of Western civilisation, without real and genuine sympathy with Indian civilisation, are unfit for, and should not undertake the guidance and destiny of the great Indian people. The Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, two political institutions recognised through out India as the most representative spokesmen of British India,

have preferred this demand in the following resolution passed at Delhi in December last:—

"In view of the pronouncement of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen that to ensure the future peace of the world the principle of Self-Determination be applied to all progressive nations, be it resolved that this Congress claims the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as one of the progressive Nations to whom the principle of Self-Determination should be applied."

There can be no justification whatever for withholding the application of this principle to India. The plea of unfitness, usually advanced by ignorant people or vested interests, is untenable and untrue. The civilisation of India is admittedly much more ancient and venerable than that of Rome or Athens. British statesmen themselves have often declared that India was civilised centuries before the modern nations of Europe emerged from barbarism. Indian society has been held together for thousands of years without foreign aid or intervention. Peace, order and good Government existed in India for hundreds of years, and its annals compare favourably with any period of European history. Even democratic forms of Government flourished in various parts of India centuries before Alexander the Great invaded Hindustan. All educated Indians passionately protest against the imputation of unfitness as a calumnious libel upon their capacity for Self-Government on democratic principles. I am thoroughly convinced that the pressing problems of the poverty of India, physical degeneration, industrial regeneration, economic development, technical and primary education, and delicate questions of caste and custom can never be solved by men exclusively wedded to Western civilisation, but can be successfully surmounted by Indians alone. I submit Europeans are disqualified for the task; Indians alone are fit for it.

To be Continued

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No. 41.

INDIA BEFORE AMERICA'S SENATE.

AN APPEAL TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Covenant of the League of Nations has been signed for India by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu and H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, neither of whom derived any authority from the people of India, who have never been consulted about the constitution of the League of Nations. Any decision therefore arrived at by the League of Nations will not be binding on the Indian Nation.

The people of India refuse to attach any weight to a League of Nations which does not provide for the application of the principle of Self-Determination to the nations that are held in subjection by the signatories of the Covenant. The Covenant of the League of Nations, as at present settled, makes no provision for requiring its signatories to apply that principle to their own dependencies. The British Government has refused to apply that principle to India, now or hereafter, by the announcement of their policy made on August 20, 1917. They still adhere to that policy. That announcement is directly opposed to the principal object of the War, and to the main purpose of the League of Nations. The announcement runs as follows:

"The policy of His Majesty's Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the

progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance, as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the views of local Governments, and to receive him with the suggestions of representative bodies and others."

"I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, to whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility."

"Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament."

The Indian National Congress and

the All-Indian Muslim League have protested against the language of this announcement in the face of which the inclusion of India as a member of the League of Nations can be of no benefit to her or to the world. The Government of India has been so far administered in the interest of the British Empire to the neglect of purely Indian interests, and the Constitution of the League of Nations provides no guarantee that it would be otherwise in the future. Only recently J. Austin Chamberlain admitted that in the past she had been a drawer of water and a hewer of wood for the rest of the Empire. Consequently, it is respectfully urged for the consideration of your Hon. Committee that the Covenant of the League of Nations be so amended as to make it obligatory upon all its signatories to immediately recognise the right of India and other dependencies of the British Empire like Ireland and Egypt to determine their own form of Government.

The Constitution of the League as settled in the Peace Treaty leaves several important matters vital to the peace of the world unprovided for. It makes no provision for the settlement of disputes between the people of India and the people of Great Britain. The Government of Great Britain and the Government of India identical there can never logically be any dispute between India and Great Britain which could be referred to the League of Nations or to the International Court Justice contemplated by the Covenant of the League of Nations. The people

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THE DHARMA VIR.

Friday, 12 December 1919

INDIAN HOME RULE.

The Government of India Reform Bill third reading was passed unanimously by the House of Commons. Though we have not before us the full text of the bill, we make bold to assert that its effect could not be far reaching. We make this assertion from the fact that it was passed unanimously. Indians will not be satisfied unless the bill as passed compares favourably with the joint proposals of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League. We regret that Indian women have not been enabled by the bill to take part in the governance of India, though Indians on the whole are keenly desirous of their co-operation. The uplift of a nation is only possible if the mothers of the nation take an intelligent part in its concerns. While all over the world the claim of women is being recognised, it is grievous to observe how Indian women have been treated. To secure the passage, even of this bill, much spade work had to be done. Lokmanya Tilak and other Indian leaders now in England had to labour their utmost to get a shadow of reform in the Government of India. The divergent views of the Indian leaders must have necessarily hampered the success of the Congress League scheme. Unity in our demands might have carried us further than the present bill. The bill is conceived in a spirit of mistrust and suspicion and the powers of the popular representatives in consequence is considerably restricted. The government of India will be very difficult under this bill on account of the reservations provided for therein. Agitation for a full measure of Self-Government will, therefore, never cease. For whatever has been obtained under this bill all those who laboured for them are entitled to the lasting gratitude of the Indian Nation.

Bolshevism in Asia.**Demonstrations at Tashkent.****Afghanistan and Russia.**

London, Dec. 3.—An authoritative report from Turkestan reveals significant details of the Bolshevik activities in Central Asia.

Extraordinary Mussulman demonstrations took place at Tashkent on the occasion of the commemoration of the anniversary of the Bolshevik rule. Processions a mile long, comprising tens of thousands of Russians and Mussulmans, with bands playing revolutionary airs, paraded the city. Thirty Moslem proletarian organisations took part in these celebrations, also ten thousand Mohammedan children, carrying pictures of Lenin and Trotsky.

Similar demonstrations took place at Moscow, where the so-called Afghan ambassador declared in favour of an alliance between Afghanistan and Soviet Russia.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Government of India.**Bill Passes Third Reading****Tariff Question.**

London, Dec. 5.—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 not 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 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.

The third reading of the Bill was passed unanimously.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Government of India.**Creation of an Electorate.****Surrender of Trusteeship.**

London, Dec. 3.—The House of Commons in Committee discussed the Government of India Bill.

Mr. Montagu, Secretary for India, in the course of the debate, said it was hoped to have the elections in India next November, and the first Legislative Assemblies would meet in January, 1921. The Government intended to ask Parliament gradually to surrender its trusteeship in favour of the Indian electorate, but that electorate had to be created. When once the Bill was passed the progress of India to complete self-government was irresistible, but the ship must not be overloaded by doing this all at once.

A Labourite amendment for the inclusion of Burmah in the scope of the measure was withdrawn after Mr. Montagu had stated that he agreed that Burmah must get self-government analogous to India, subject to local differences.

Another amendment in favour of the enfranchisement of the women of India was rejected by 202 votes to 67.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

The *Natal Mercury* dealing with the exchange problem generally states *inter alia* in a leaderette as follows:—

The extent of the tax may be gauged from the fact that the exchange charge on a sack of rice imported into South Africa at the present moment totals over £1, and rice which is selling on the Calcutta market to-day at 25s. per bag (taking the rupee at par) cannot be landed here at less than £3.

of India are no part of this League and the Government of India is only an agent of the Government of Great Britain. Thus India, although a member of the League of Nations, is practically in a worse position than the territories to be administered by the mandatories of the League. While the people of the latter can legitimately complain to the League of Nations for the redress of the wrongs, for the change of the mandatory, or for the recognition of their independence, India can never do so against any action of Great Britain in India or relating to India. Thus while theoretically India is politically independent in the meaning of article 10 virtually her position is worse than that of the countries to be administered by the mandatories.

What, then, is the meaning of the expression "existing political independence" in Article 10 in relation to India? Suppose there is a dispute between India and Canada. How can that dispute be brought before the League of Nations, when both India and Canada are under Great Britain? India, being governed by Great Britain can never place any of her disputes before the League of Nations independently of Great Britain. India's existing political status is nil. But her inclusion as an original member of the League of Nations entitles her to claim that the question of her political status is not a domestic question of Great Britain but one between her and Great Britain. India is thus entitled to point out to the signatories of the League of Nations that she cannot perform her duties as a member of the League, nor accept any obligations, as such, without the League helping her to an independent political existence. Viewed in this light the question can very fitly be considered by your Committee. India, being an original member of the League, cannot be considered to be a territory under the control of Great Britain within the meaning of clause B, Art 23.

India made very substantial contribution to the success of the War. She sent 1,457,000 men, contributed about a billion dollars in money, besides untold

quantities of stores, provisions and equipment, so far that she was bled white to her own loss. Even in normal conditions about a half of the Indian people (i.e. 150 million) are insufficiently fed, not getting "a full meal a day" vide Lord Sinha's statement made to the Overseas Press in 1918. But on account of the War drain the sufferings were terribly multiplied. The vitality of the people was so low that during the concluding months of the War she lost 6 millions from influenza alone, while her war casualties amounted to 100,000. Many Hindus enlisted the U. S. Army and fought to free other nations in Europe. They respectfully urge upon your Hon. Committee that their own country to be allowed the privilege of Determination.

Considering the average annual income of an Indian (\$10), India is a very poor country. Her poverty has increased considerably by reason of her economic exploitation by the British Nation. She not only suffers from taxation without representation, but also from the burden of a huge military army which is being maintained mainly for Imperial purposes. In 1884 India's military expenditure was only 57 million dollars; in 1915-18 it was over 125 million; in 1918-19 it was 145 million dollars and for 1919-20 it has been fixed at 206 million dollars, which is 1 per cent of her total revenues, while the Government expenditure on education has never exceeded more than 20 million dollars. The industrial backwardness of India has been testified to in mournful language, both by the Montagu-Chelmsford report and the report of the Industrial Commission only recently issued.

That the British Government is not prepared to apply the principle of Self-Determination to India is also proved by recent events. Since the armistice fresh coercion laws have been enacted in spite of the unanimous protest of the Nation, and when the people organised a Nation wide strike in connection therewith they were put down by the military using machine guns and throwing bombs from aero-

planes, resulting in the death of hundreds and injury to a still larger number. Martial Law was proclaimed, which has sentenced, up to June 20, 72 persons to death, 147 to transportation for life and 204 to rigorous imprisonment. Most of these are prominent men of the Punjab, which province contributed the largest number of soldiers. A number of citizens were flogged in the streets. Many papers have been suppressed and the security deposits on many others have been forfeited.

America joined the war in order to destroy Imperialism and militarism, and to establish Democracy all over the world. The main object of the League of Nations is the same, because peace cannot be established without it. Under the circumstances the people of India respectfully point out that not only the present constitution of the League fails to secure that object, but on the other hand it practically guarantees the perpetuation of Imperialism and despotism which America's participation in the War was intended to destroy and the restoration of which the League of Nations is intended to prevent.

Dudley Field Malone,
on behalf of the People of India.
New York City, August 29, 1919.

Concluded

London, Nov. 21—Reuter is informed that the majority of the Wazir-is tribe, on the Indian frontier, have accepted the British terms. One section, however, deliberately refrained from taking part in the recent meeting with the British representatives; consequently, aerial operations against them will be commenced forthwith. The attitude of two sections is at present uncertain.

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No. 42

INDIA BEFORE AMERICA'S SENATE.

We give below from "India" the full text of the speech made by Mr. Dudley Field Malone on August 29, in presenting the famous Memorandum published recently in our columns setting forth India's case for self-determination, before the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate in session at Washington:—

Senator Lodge and gentlemen of the Committee, I am very grateful to you. I have an imperative court engagement on Tuesday and cannot return.

I come here, Sir to-day not as counsel in any technical or legal sense to speak for the people of India. I come as an American citizen; I come, however, as their chosen representative, largely because it has been decreed, I understand, by this Committee that only American citizens are to come here as representatives.

The Chairman: That is in conformity with the Senate rule.

Mr. Malone: Otherwise, I should ask you to hear the most distinguished citizen of India in this country, Mr. Lajpat Rai, who is here to-day. So if my discussion of Indian affairs is inadequate, it is due to the fact that I have only the casual understanding that an American citizen could have of affairs in India.

However, I speak to-day for a people who represent one-fifth of the population of the world, who are 350,000,000 in population, and who have a territory about two-thirds the size of the United States. And there is no question of political expediency, of advantage to America, and at the present time surely no question of commercial advantage to America, and at the present time surely no question of commercial advantage to America. So that the plea that I make is based upon the humanitarian purpose for which we are supposed to have gone into the war, and the humanitarian purpose which is allied to be the purpose of the covenant of the League of Nations, and I do respectfully submit that if the covenant in its present form is passed it may break the

hearts of the world. The hearts of 350,000,000 people in India and millions in Ireland and millions in Egypt will be broken if it is passed in its present form, and we come here with a specific request and that specific request is this, that this distinguished Committee so amend the League of Nations as to make it obligatory on every signatory to the covenant and to that treaty to provide democratic institutions for the people who live under the government of any signatory. Ireland, Egypt, and India are very much in the same position with relation to Great Britain in these circumstances, and yet, though as a man of Irish origin I regret to say it, India has a strategic position superior to that of Ireland in this respect, that England asked—and the request was granted that India should be permitted to sign the treaty; and England designated Mr. Montagu and an Indian citizen to act as signatories for India. Therefore, India is one of the nations whose signature is on the treaty. Therefore, India is in a better position, strategically, than Ireland or Egypt, who do not appear on the treaty.

Now I have no illusion about England wishing to grant any democratic advantage to India in giving her this distinction. I am persuaded that England merely wanted to get out of her six votes down on a document, and India provided one of the six. I cannot speak for England for many reasons, but I believe that she wished to get the vote, and vote and she did not ask India to choose the representatives to sign the document. The Government of India is only the agent of the Government of England. In the Montagu-Chelmsford report, issued by the authority of the British Parliament in 1919, it is specifically admitted that the Government of India by England is an absolute despotism. The chief body which actually represents the people of India is the Indian National Congress, which, of course, under the circumstances, is unofficial. It met, however, very completely and very fully but unofficially last December after England had appoint-

ed two representative and passed the following resolution (reading):—

That this Congress urges that in justice to India it should be represented by an elected representative or representatives, to the same extent as the self-governing Dominions at any conferences that may be held to deliberate or settle the terms of peace or reconstruction.

(To be Continued)

Indian Train Attacked.

Waziris Capture Guns.

London, Dec. 9.—(Reuter learns that on Dec. 1, a body of 500 Waziris attacked a train near Thal, on the North-West Indian frontier. Thirty-six of those off the train were killed, and 50 wounded. The Waziris captured a number of rifles and two Lewis guns belonging to the escort of the train.

Retaliatory measures are being taken. (Reuter's Special Service.)

Exchange Rates Fluctuate

Position in India.

Bombay, Dec.—12.—The fluctuation in the exchange rates continues, and the price for the rupee for 90 days' currency at one time reached 2s. 13-16d. The rate for telegraphic transfers on Dec. 1 stood at 2s. 3-16d. On the 3rd it fell to 2s. 2-11-16d. Then an upward movement again set in, and each day a rise was recorded, the price again reaching 2s. 2-16d. on 10th.

Today the Indian Council fixed the price at 2s. 4-16d., and it is expected that for 90 days' currency the price will reach 2s. 8d.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Government Of India.

Bill Passed in the Lords.

London, Dec. 12.—The House of Lords unanimously passed the second reading of the Government of India Bill. —(Reuter's Special Service.)

THE DHARMA VIR

Friday, 19 December 1919

RECEPTION TO REV. ANDREWS.

We understand that the so-called Provincial Conference Committee held a meeting recently at Mr. Parsee Rustomji's (the Field Street Store keeper's) premises and decided to receive Rev. Andrews at a public reception. It is stated that at this meeting only half-a-dozen persons were present who felt themselves quite entitled to make such arrangements as they deemed fit and proper for extending a welcome to our distinguished visitor. We have often remarked in our columns that some persons always display keen desire to figure in social functions while they pay little or no heed or regard to seek for the redress of our grievances. If it is a question of welcoming persons in authority they are to the fore, but, if it is a question of sacrificing and labouring for the removal of a grievance they offer the very plausible excuse of being much pressed for time. We have personally invited some of these gentlemen to take up such minor questions as the humiliating differentiation based on supposed racial inferiority in the payment of witness fees and in our exclusion from using some of the ordinary and necessary conveniences of life within the borough of Durban. They displayed no alacrity in such matters beyond passing resolutions from their arm-chairs. We venture to ask this great half-a-dozen what right they had in making this question of welcoming a distinguished servant of humanity all their own? Why did they deem it advisable to exclude the general public? Why should not the general public have been asked to cooperate in extending a welcome to Rev. Andrews? We hope wisdom will yet prevail? If not, we can promise them with the utmost confidence that they will look small before Rev. Andrews. In the meantime, we ask our readers to remem-

ber that this so-called unimportant Provincial Committee's first public act ever since its constitution is the proposed reception. What a record of public activity?

Coloured Slavery in South Africa.

African Europeans not fit to rule

A scathing indictment of the treatment of the coloured population in South Africa, especially since the creation of the Union Government, is contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* (July) by Mr. W. C. Scully, who claims that he writes with the experience of half a century lived in South Africa. As Chairman of a Select Committee he travelled through all the principal native territories in 1917-18, and found that the oppression of the natives had grown much worse during the war, and that the problem will inevitably become most acute. "The very existence of many South African communities," he asserts, "depends upon the labour of natives" but they are persecuted by a penal code that is a disgrace to the British flag.

In the Free State both natives and coloured people are disfranchised and are subject to inconvenient and degrading disabilities. They have to carry passes when moving from place to place, and are not permitted to hire grazing from European farmers. No girl of the age of 16 is permitted to live, even with her parents, in a location unless she be in European service. In the Free State all females over the age of 16 have to take out passes, for which a substantial charge is made. . . . The municipal locations are unspeakably wretched places, as a rule the miserable huts are built upon such plots, and are thus huddled grievously together. Yet in many of these locations any native found outside the door of his hut after nine p.m. is liable to arrest, fine, and imprisonment. If a stranger arrives seeking work, he is only allowed to remain for 48 hours. If unsuccessful in getting a master, he has to move on. . . . These

regulations point to a thinly-disguised system of slavery—slavery in which there are many masters instead of one, and in which there is no individual responsibility for the slave or for his maintenance when decrepit.

The disabled classes accept the situation with meekness. But this acceptance has a very adverse effect upon the prosperity of the country. The skilled labour upon the Rand is now invariably performed by Dutch South Africans, who are paid very high wages. One result of the embargo on skilled black and coloured labour in mining is a serious restriction of the gold output. There are very large areas of low-grade reef which are unpayable in terms of the high rate of wages which European labour demands, but which would pay handsomely under the reasonable rates at which black and coloured skilled and semi-skilled labour could be employed.

At a native recruiting meeting held in Pretoria in June, 1917, one native speaker said: "We are not against the King of England; in fact, he is our only hope. But as for the Union Government it has thrown us away like filthy rags."

Reform or even investigation of native conditions in the Transvaal is made almost impossible by the law which enacts that—

If any person shall be found to meddle with the natives in any way—or in any way to meddle or interfere with affairs respecting the natives without having been specially authorised thereto by the Government—he shall be liable to a penalty, for the first offence, of a fine of £200 or one year's imprisonment with hard labour; for the second offence, to a fine of £500 or two years' imprisonment with hard labour; and for a third offence, to three years' imprisonment with hard labour.

India," says Mr. Scully, "is governed mainly in the interests of the native Indians." But in South Africa the whole system of Government is based upon the principle of keeping the native popula-

tion in a state of slavish subjection. Mr. Scully urges the Imperial Government to refuse firmly to hand over to the Union any of the territories—Basutoland, Swaziland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate—of which the administration is vested in the High Commissioner. "It would be unpardonable to hand over 6,700,000 human beings to inevitable exploitation by a race which has not yet proved its fitness to rule the millions already subject to it."

Empire and Brotherhood.

SIR H. JOHNSTON ON THE COLOURED PROBLEM

Sir Harry H. Johnston, G.O.M.G., the great traveller, put to the Conference what might be called the brutal facts regarding subject races.

Living under the British flag, he said, are 376,028,000 people with coloured skin. They are dominated by 62,000,000 white people, who enjoy financial advantage by representing capitalised wealth amounting to £100,000,000,000 against the £1,000,000,000 owned by the others. "Has this ascendancy always been to the advantage of the Asiatic, the Mongol, and the Polynesian?" Asked Sir Harry, replying to his own question with a decided "Yes."

HINDOO DELEGATES' PROTEST. Hindoo delegates protested audibly, but Sir Harry silenced them for a time by saying that he probably had a greater visual knowledge of the wide world than any of his audience.

It was with regard to Africa, Malaysia, and India that the problem was arising of how we can maintain within the Empire, the people whose inferiority to the white man as regards physique, learning and wealth is gradually disappearing. At present they are retained by force. Could that force be maintained? Or could the brown-skinned races be convinced that it was better for them to remain freely within the Empire?

"We must, by our behaviour," said Sir Harry, "show these native races that the Empire is resolved to protect their right? We must bind them to us by ties of self-interest. To govern them we must study them, know their customs and beliefs. The rulers of the Empire must study anthropology of all sciences.

"Brotherhood must be based not on surface emotion and gush, but on education."

AN INSULT TO INDIA—MR. PAI'S PROTEST.

What a later speaker called "this Typical English philosophy" could

not apparently be accepted by some of the delegates. One of them, Mr. B. C. Pal of Calcutta, a picturesque reverend figure in a black cloak of robe-like lines and a vivid orange turban, mounted to the pulpit and delivered, extempore, a passionate plea for India's national aspirations.

"This interesting anthropological paper," he said, "should perhaps have been studied in your study circles. It should not have been thrown in our teeth here at a religious conference."

"But," he continued with spirit, "we take it as an insult to be classed with the native races. We all have our conceits, but conceit is not the monopoly of the people of any colour. It has been said that the British Empire has done good to us. There is a mixture of good and evil in most things. It would not be true to say that the British Empire has not done good to us. Nor would it be true to say that India has not benefited the British race.

"So long as you did not press your claims on our gratitude we were grateful. But when you present the bill and demand the perpetual continuance of political serfdom to meet it, then we begin to examine that bill.

"We are all for remaining in the Empire. But 'Empire' is not only a political formula. It ought to be a larger formula, including human fellowship and brotherhood. The freedom of the nations inside the Imperial federation is my idea of Empire."

There was warm and sympathetic applause for this advocate of a new Imperialism when he resumed his seat, and also later in the day for Mr. Harendranath Maitra, who spoke of the embracing religions of the East, and said that Jesus Christ was an Asiatic who gave the West the true genius of Western ideas.

A Society's Thanks

The officials and members of the Hindu Young Mens' Association, Pietermaritzburg, beg to gratefully thank our brothers in the Transvaal for the generous response made by them to an appeal by the representatives of H. Y. M. A., who have recently been in the Transvaal, for donations. Special thanks are due to Mr. S. V. Pillay, Mr. P. K. Naidoo (Secy British Assn) Mr. S. P. Singaravelu Pather and others who had assisted the collections throughout. Mr. Pillay provided board and lodging to the representatives and showed manly kind favours.

Cash donations received to date amount to £136: 18: 4.

Bolsheviks in Asia.

Attack Through Afghanistan.

London, Dec. 12.—"The Times" says disclosures from an authoritative source, foreshadow the possibility of the Bolsheviks ultimately abandoning European Russia, and establishing themselves in the heart of Middle Asia.

It is pointed out that the Bolsheviks hold a large part of Trans-Caspia and Central Asia, and are about to attack Krasnoyarsk, on the eastern Caspian shores. Furthermore, they are establishing intimate relations with Afghanistan, and their emissaries at Kabul are advocating an attack on Britain, through India. It is reported that hundreds of Hindus have been trained in Bolshevik propaganda at Moscow, and some are already journeying to India supplied with considerable sums of Bolshevik gold.

"The Times," in a leader, points out that Deniken and Kolchak are fighting the Empire's battles, because, in the event of their defeat, the Soviet armies could be diverted to Afghanistan, with a view to attacking India. "The Times" expresses the opinion that the consequences of such defeat would soon be felt on the Indian frontiers.

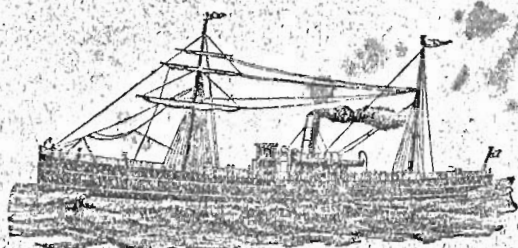
Meanwhile, the Bolsheviks are in close negotiations with the Turkish rebel, General Mustapha. The Kemelins in Asia Minor are supplying funds to the Young Turks and inciting Georgia and the mushroom Mahomedan Republic of Azerbaijan to ally themselves with the Turkish revolutionaries. (Renter's Special Service.)

Mr. Narain Moolchand sailed for India by S. S. Karoon on the 4th. He has been a consistent supporter of this journal. His absence will be deeply felt by his many friends as well as ourselves. We hope for his speedy and safe return. Mr. Moolchand was accompanied by Mr. Manchu, son of Mr. Bhana Parsotram.

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क्या आपको सुख तथा चैनपूर्वक देश जाना है ? तो कृपाय इस लाईन से जाइये ।

नाटाल डायरेक्ट लाइन

स्टीमर अमफूली

उपरोक्त लाईन की सर्व वर्गों के पासिजरो के लिये सुख पूर्वक स्वदेश ले जाने वाली स्टीमर "अमफूली", यहां से तारीख २९ दिसम्बर १९१९ को बम्बई के लिये प्रस्थान करेगी । यह स्टीमर दरेक वर्ग के पासिजरो के लिये सुखकारी है । बाल बच्चों सहित स्त्री पुरुषों के लिये तो ये स्टीमर अति उत्तम लाभकारक है, जिसमें पानी, स्नान स्थान, टटी वगैरह का पूरा र बंदोबस्त रहे है । डेक पण लकड़ी का है, पासिजरो लायक बिजली की बस्ती और देशी खलासी तथा ओफीसर सभ्य है । इस लाईन की स्टीमर सबसे उत्तम है ।

नीचे लिखे पतेसे अधिक खुलासा करने की कृपा करें ।

सी० ए० बासा

१२२, १२४, १२६ कमरशीयल रोड दरबन

किंग एन्ड सन

एंगलो अफ्रिकन हाउस
स्मिथ स्ट्रीट दरबन

The Dharmma Vire

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN ENGLISH AND HINDI.

VOL 4.

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No. 43

INDIA BEFORE AMERICA'S SENATE.

Pursuant to that resolution, the Congress appointed three men to represent the people of India at the Peace Conference. One of them applied for passports, and England refused the passports. Then this representative of the three delegates appointed by the National Congress for India and the Indian people, wrote to the President of the Peace Conference, M. Clemenceau, which letter, it may be said in passing, received no reply. In that letter he had a paragraph that I think is cryptically significant of the whole situation. He says:—

It is unnecessary for me to dwell upon the imperative importance of solving the Indian question for the purpose of insuring the future peace of the world and the progress of the people of India. India is self-contained, harbours no design upon the integrity of other States, and has no ambition outside India. With her vast area, enormous resources, and prodigious population she may well aspire to be a leading power in Asia, if not in the world. She could, therefore, easily be a powerful steward of the League of Nations in the East for maintaining the peace of the world and the stability of the British Empire against all aggressors and disturbers of the peace whether in Asia or elsewhere.

And if there be anything to the suggestion of a "yellow peril" at any time, a happy, contented, self-governed India, an India that has proved her worth to civilisation in the present war, would have a stabilising influence if she had her institutions self-chosen. (Reading):—

But with India pontically enchained, it is impossible for her to occupy her proper place among the nations of the world or to develop and realise her potentialities, so as to be able to render decisive assistance to the League of Nations in enforcing the supreme object of its creation, viz., the peace of the world.

Gentlemen, India will be either stable, contented, and happy and a bulwark against any possible yellow peril—if there

be such a thing, which I doubt very gravely—she will either be that or else continue discontented, with growing poverty, with growing suffering. Six million Indians died in the last three months of 1918 from devitalisation and from influenza because of the exploitation of India by England, not for India but for England, the drawing of resources out of India making it impossible for her to maintain an adequate food supply.

We face the world to-day with two alternatives, either a stable, happy nation, a bulwark against any menace, or a discontented India, the basis of future exploitation. And then there will be turned upon a region about India, God knows how many wars that she may have, because I remember in one of the liturgical hymns there is a description of war, which, when translated literally, means a desire for cattle. The coinage of India at that time was cattle, and the native population very literally in describing war gave the definition of war as a desire for cattle.

Now, if there should be a desire in the minds of the growing nations of the world to use India as a ground of exploitation, India, discontented, unstable, unhappy, and unfree, will provide a fine field for future trouble.

Now, gentlemen, it has been said publicly and privately that the question of India is a domestic question for England to decide. No question, gentlemen to my mind, of any nationality, of any people, whether they be 1,000,000 or 350,000,000 can be a domestic question, if the whole world is called upon in more or less common council to decide upon it, and it has the machinery which will make the liberty of mankind not a domestic but an international question.

But in the second case, specifically the case of India cannot be a domestic question since England has made India a signatory to the treaty. Therefore, the Government must consider their situation. Now, either she is to be an honest-to-God

signatory to the treaty or she is not. If she is, what is her position? Why, gentlemen, her position is good as my country under a mandatory. I do not know just exactly what a mandatory is, I have not been able to find out, but it is supposed to be some kind of a trusteeship, a guardianship, for other people until they are able to stand on their own feet and govern themselves. But if India is a territory—is to be looked upon as a territory, not a mandatory—she is a territory and not a mandatory because she can never speak under present conditions except through England. If she had a dispute with Canada she could not appear and appeal to the machinery of the League in its present form, because she could speak only through England. She is merged in England. She could not speak except through England. So if she had a dispute with Canada, England could if she wished have her appeal before the council under the present machinery, but India herself could not do it. So she is neither fish nor fowl in the present circumstances. She was signed to that treaty for English, not for Indian purposes.

But we wish to take advantage of the strategic position which England has given her to claim the rights of an honest-to-God nation that has signed the treaty, and it does seem no extraordinary thing in America after the war that we should ask that every nation signed to the treaty with the altruistic purposes which those nations claimed to have should free every people serving, living and trying to live under their government.

I am not here in any anti-British spirit, I surely am not. Mr. Chairman, I am not here making any arguments against the English people. I am making arguments against the present Government of England over 350,000,000 people.

I should like to point out in conclusion what India did during the war. India gave 1,475,000 men to the war. She

Continued on page 3.

THE DHARMA VIR.

Friday, 26 December 1919

RICE SCARCITY

The supplies of rice are once more getting scarce not because of any scarcity in India or elsewhere, but on account of the fiendish greed of merchants who desire to keep the prices inflated by having stocks of supply much below the demand. At present, many of them have cancelled orders with this object in view, and one finds it very difficult to secure rice at a reasonable price. As we have written numerous times, the Union Government have been only playing with the question so far, far from making any serious and genuine endeavour to relieve the distress among the poorest section of its citizens. The decision of the Government to use its fleet of three steamers to import wheat from Australia to cheapen the price of bread is absurd and preposterous, when the importation of Indian foodstuffs ought to be its first consideration in view of the scarcity of such things in the country, its high cost and the chill penury of Indians. Indian foodstuffs have lately increased in prices to such an extraordinary extent as to make life intolerable and unless the Government play the game the consequences will be serious. The people are to be much blamed for the apathy of the Government. If the position is to be improved it will be absolutely necessary to evince greater activity than in the past.

Press Act and Mr. Montagu.

Mr. A. Rungaswami Iyengar is doing valuable work in England as a member of the Press Deputation. He addressed some meetings, submitted representations to Government, and interviewed Mr. Montagu on the hardships of the Press Act, and had the satisfaction that his agitation had had some effect upon the state Secretary. He says in his letter to the *Hindu*:

"Meanwhile, the original cablegram sent by us as well as the subsequent proceedings taken after my arrival here, have had the effect of moving the Secretary of State for India to ask for some information and suggest a relaxation of the severe oppression set on foot by the Viceroy over the Indian Press. At the interview I had with him, I was able to gather the gist of the cablegrams which had passed between him and the Viceroy on the subject. Mr. Montagu asked for a report on recent action against

the Press, expressing his apprehension that extended use of the Press Act may have the effect of driving normal political agitation underground and that the better course would be to start a counter-publicity campaign and organisation on behalf of the Government. He called for a report on this suggestion, and the Viceroy in his reply stated that out of seven daily newspapers recently proceeded against under the Act, two had stopped publication, and that the action was necessitated by the recent political situation in the country, but that he was consulting the local Governments on the policy of the publicity campaign suggested, and would report to the Secretary of State on the result. It is something to have moved the authorities at all. In this respect of course in this as in far graver matters,—it is possible that the bureaucracy might block matters finally; yet there seems to be a disposition on the part of many here to think that when Mr. Montagu is freed from his pre-occupation and he wants to make the best of it when it becomes law and is put into operation, he would do something which would alter the present repressive policy as pursued both under the Rowlett Act and its progenitors as well as that under the Press Act."

Extract from speech made by Senator James A. Reed in the Senate of the United States on May 26, 1919.

I can give you a picture of India in a word. She has a population of 294,361,056. She has been held in thralldom by a little English army, and has not had the spirit to rise and break her chains. Such a people mark and brand themselves at once as not only unfit for the government of others, but as almost unfit for their own government; yet would not deny that right to the lowest of God's creatures if he lived off with others like himself and wanted a government of his own.

Amongst those 294,000,000 people there is no excess of superstition to which they have not gone; there is no shadow of intellectual night so black that they have not wrapped their souls in its sable folds; there is no species of caste, by which men have sought to divide themselves and to keep oppressed by power and priestcraft their fellowmen, that has not been rife in India for centuries of time.

Again, a dying race, a country in which there are 147 distinct languages where in religion there are 207,000,000 Hindus, 62,000,000 Mahomedans, 9,000,000 Buddhists, 2,195,000 Sikhs, and various other religions.

A singular fact in relation to them is that the chief article of their revenue is a duty laid upon opium, and in the fumes of that drug what is left of the living soul of India is expiring. This little chattel of Great Britain, this pawn of the British Empire, is brought in here and given a vote equal to the vote of the United States. Yet here, when some of her people emigrated to California, the people of California protested, and when they emigrated to Canada, the people of Canada rose and drove them out as a polluted and dangerous people—dangerous to their civilisation and ruinous to the wages of labour. Now, it is proposed that this nation, that Great Britain says rule herself, shall sit in the council, with her chains upon her wrists, a slave to Great Britain's power, and shall cast her vote equal to the vote of the United States! But it is written in the League of Nations, and hence it is a sacred thing.

Notes and News

London, Dec. 15.—An Englishwoman who was resident at Amritsar during the riots and the shooting affair, writes to the "Morning Post" describing the condition of disorder and murder, and the burning of four Englishmen and the maltreatment of a lady missionary. She says: "Amritsar ran with living blood." She concludes: "The city gates were shut in with fire ready to burst out. Was it a time for gentle questionings or mild argument and persuasion?"

"General Dyer saved us in Amritsar. Col. Frank Johnson, in the home of terror and death saved us in Lahore; and Sir Michael Dwyer saved us in the Punjab."

"With the spirit of John Nicholson they dealt with the menace—riots that would have turned into a general revolution. What are the blood-stained jasmynes in the garden of Amritsar compared to the vengeance which would have had to be taken if the massacre of all the white people in the Punjab had been accomplished?"

London, Dec. 13.—Reuter understands that the air bombardment of the hostile villages on the Indian Frontier has not had the full effect expected of compelling surrender. It will probably be necessary to march troops into the heart of the Mahad country. The oper-

ations are expected to last five or six weeks.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Continued from page 1

contributed dollar 1,000,000,000 in money, more than any other Dominion of England. Besides untold quantities of stores and provisions, she suffered war losses of 100,000 men. The vitality of the people was so low, as I said that during the last three months of 1918 she lost 6,000,000 people.

The average income of an Indian citizen is Dollars 10, and his taxes are Dollars 1.60. There is not much opportunity for accumulating wealth in India under these conditions, with an income of Dollars 10 and taxes of Dollars 1.60, virtually 20 per cent.

That the British Government is not prepared to apply the principle of self-determination to India is proved by recent events. The system which England has already spoken of as the system of democracy which she proposes for India is not even a fiscal autonomy for India. It is not even a provincial autonomy for India. And while the forms are highly altruistic, the substance is very practical and leaves India just exactly where she is.

The people of India ask that having served in this war substantially, having given billions of their resources, having suffered death on the battlefield and death at home, and having believed that the purpose of the Allies was democracy, we shall stand in the International Court of Equity all of us with clean hands and that we of America who meant what we said shall see that England stands also there with clean hands. And the specific request that we make of this honourable Committee is that there be such a change in the covenant as will make it specifically imperative on every signatory to the document that all people under each signatory shall be provided with democratic institutions.

I beg to read a resolution which Mr. Rai has handed me, and which I omitted, passed by the Indian National Congress in December last, (Reading):—

"In view of the pronouncement of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen, that to ensure the future peace of the world the principle of self-determination be applied to all progressive nations be it resolved that this Congress claims the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as one of the progressive nations to whom the principle of self-determination should be applied."

There can be no justification whatever for withholding the application of this principle to India. The plea of un-

fitness usually advanced by ignorant people or vested interests is untenable and untrue. The civilisation of India is admittedly much more ancient and venerable than that of Rome or Athens. British statesmen themselves have often declared that India was civilised centuries before the modern nations of Europe emerged from barbarism. Indian Society has been held together for thousands of years without foreign and or intervention. Peace order and good Government existed in India for hundreds of years and its annals compare favourably with any period of European History. Even democratic forms of Government flourished in various parts of India centuries before Alexander the Great invaded Hindustan. All educated Indians passionately protested against the imputation of unfitness as a calumnious libel upon their capacity for self-government on democratic principles. I am thoroughly convinced that the pressing problems of the poverty of India, physical degeneration, industrial regeneration, economic development, technical and primary education and delicate questions of caste and custom can never be solved by men exclusively wedded to Western civilisation but can be successfully surmounted by Indians alone. I submit Europeans are disqualified for the task, Indians alone are fit for it.

Gentlemen, you know what is said: There are so many accusations that India is not fit for self-government. India is not, under those circumstances, fit for self-government such as the English or Western civilisation would impose upon her. But India is fit for self-government, for governing her own institutions, her own people, speaking through England, if you will, an England which would recognise the culture, the conditions, and the diversity of institutions of India. The only barrier to self-determination, Mr. Chairman, in India, is the continued rule such as India has been given. The fact that men speak different languages is no barrier to self-determination of India through self-chosen institutions. That does not prevent their coming together in a country, in a desire for political freedom. The wonderful work that has been done in the Philippine Islands in 20 years by the United States in preparing that people substantially for self-government makes the present treatment of the people of India, with their thousands of years of culture and art and character, untenable.

And, gentlemen, I submit that this is not a fiction—this argument. You deal with a concrete situation. You are now at a critical time and may I say,

Mr. Chairman, that I am at least one American who sees no reason whatsoever why a piece of machinery like the League of Nations, which it is hoped by its chief advocates will provide the machinery for the peace and the liberty and the comfort of the millions of mankind for centuries, should be rushed through without a complete discussion by the people of every nation; surely not by this country, who asked to do our share toward the completion of that covenant without regard to any political considerations.

We should see that this document and every provision in it is thoroughly discussed, completely opposed and argued for. A year or two years spent on the discussion of a piece of machinery which is supposed to guide mankind for centuries would not be long, and we can then pause and think it over and stop to consider the meaning of it. I have asked to-day merely the consideration of this Committee—and you have been very generous in your time, sir—to the one problem of India. Will there be an India content, and free under democratic institutions, which shall be demanded and required by our nation, or will it be an India open for future exploitation, for wars, and for graveyards for her sons?

I wish to leave briefs for all members of the Committee.

NOTICE.

Mr. C. F. Andrews' Arrival.

A Mass Meeting will be held on Sunday 28th Dec. 1919 at 2 P.M. in Rawat's Bio 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
Abdool Hack Kazi,
Joint Honry Secretaries
S. A. I. Congress

The above was left at the "Indian Views" Office, Durban. How it was expected to reach us we fail to understand. We may however inform the senders that we have a postal address and a half penny postage stamp tacked on the envelope will be the easiest way of matters reaching us (Ed.).

The council of the All-India Muslim League have decided to hold the next session of the League at Amritsar on the 29th, 30th and 31st December.

3/10/19. Anglia
1/8/19 Bhawani Dargah
29/8/19 BD Mohomed.