

# Indian Opinion

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## NOTES AND NEWS

☉ NCE, more the Natal Municipal Consolidation Draft Ordinance. His Honour the Administrator, in his opening speech in the Provincial Council, said:—The consolidation of the municipal laws has long been under consideration, and a promise was given to the Council that if the Draft Ordinance was not forthcoming the Administration would assume responsibility for it. A stage has now been reached when the Natal Municipal Association has placed the materials for the new law in the hands of our legal draughtsman, and it is hoped that before the Council next assembles this very important measure will be ready for presentation. There is also the question of the amendment of the licensing laws, which is now somewhat involved in the Indian repatriation scheme, and it is desirable that before any revision is attempted we should know definitely what will be the future policy of the Government on the completion of the report of the special Commission of Inquiry into the status of the Indian community in South Africa.

A representative of the *Natal Mercury* had an opportunity of a few minutes' conversation with Mrs. Benson who has declared her intention of standing for Ward 9 at the next election for the Town Council. In the course of her remarks, the prospective candidate explained her views very fully on various municipal matters. She also touched on the matter of coloured passengers on trams, stating that no one could object to the presence of the better class Indian on the deck, but in many cases they were brought into contact with the dirty coolie. She emphasised the fact that the Council must take up this question, with the view of providing extra cars or trailers in the very near future.

Johannesburg, July 16 (Reuter).—Owing to recent Magestrial and Supreme Court judgments, the Health Committee of Krugersdorp Council is recommending that fewer Indians be granted general grocer's licences, under protest, and that the licences be endorsed to that effect.

The following appears in the Durban daily paper:—  
Have you joined up? If not, enrol to-day in the South African League to resist Asiatic encroachment in commerce, skilled trades, and European residential areas. Forms on application to Hon. Secretary, Durban and Coast Branch of the South African League, Post Box 615, Durban.

Reuter from Bombay states:—Mr. Gandhi has advocated a boycott of the Prince of Wales' visit to India, unless the Khilafat and Punjab grievances are remedied. He says that he would not be a party in allowing the Government during the Prince's visit to demonstrate to the world that India was happy and contented under her mistress.

Mrs. Besant, on the other hand, urges India to welcome the Prince as it welcomed his father, and to

appeal through him to the King-Emperor against his officers who, she says, abused their trust and ill-used and oppressed the people.

Simla, July 14.—The result of the debate in the House of Commons on the Hunter Report was received with mixed feelings. Europeans still openly sympathise with General Dyer, while Indians execrate him. The debate generally will increase racial feeling. Press opinions follow the racial cleavage, although the *Bombay Times* adheres to the view that General Dyer is entirely to blame.—Reuter.

Mr. Wynne-Cole, Repatriation Commissioner, will address a meeting of Indians at Kawat's Bio Hall, to-morrow (Saturday) at 3 p. m.

London, July 18.—Speaking at the meeting of the European Association of Rangoon, Col. Frank Johnson said his administration of martial law at Lahore had been bloodless, thanks to the action of General Dyer at Amritsar. He declared that the casualties at Amritsar had saved ten times as many casualties in the Punjab within a few days. Referring to the "present reign of terror" in the Punjab and the boycott of loyal Indians, Col. Johnson asked all the Europeans to urge the Government of India not to allow seditious agitators to usurp its functions. He declared that "India is suffering from a disease, which, unchecked, will have results as fatal as Russia's."

Reuter from Simla states:—A non-official member of the Imperial Council has given notice to move against a resolution in favour of legislation for regulating the entry into, and residence in, India of British subjects from the self-governing Dominions and dependencies on a basis of reciprocity.

Reuter, Abbottabad (Punjab) reports that an official announcement shows that a serious altercation occurred at the station at Kachagari. The British military police were endeavouring to evict from the train two Moslem emigrants bound for Afghanistan, who were travelling without tickets, when the crowd attacked the police, seriously wounding a British officer, and also injured two policemen. The troops fired two shots, one emigrant being killed and one of the attackers wounded. Excitement was also observed in Pashawar City, where the local Khilafat Committee exercised a restraining influence. An official inquiry into the train incident is proceeding.

Repatriation of Indians is proceeding slowly but surely, and on Friday (to-day) the last will be seen of a batch of 700, who are leaving by the *Umhott* says the *Natal Advertiser*.

Reuter, Bombay, states that the *Times of India* in discussing the position of the Indians in Kenya, demands that the Government should insist on absolute equality for Indians. A native meeting at Bom-

bay resolved to protest against the treatment of Indians in East Africa.

Discussing the question of embargo on gold in the Union Parliament, last week; Mr. Burton (Minister of Finance), is reported to have stated before the House that there was information that the embargo on the export of gold from India had been removed, but that was not the great question; the great question was the embargo on the import of gold into India—(hear, hear)—for they might depend upon it that once gold went into India they would never see it come out again.

#### "FOR THEIR OWN GOOD"

INTERVIEWED by the *Times of Natal*, Sir Benjamin Robertson is reported to have said, regarding the repatriation scheme, that, "for their own good, the Indians must be got out of this country, as they will never advance here." His reason for thinking so was that the Indian population of the Union was too poor and could never progress so long as they only had a bare acre or acre and a half of land each to cultivate. He again emphasised that the scheme recommended was not designed for any other purpose than the advancement of the Indians. One wonders, however, what is at the back of the Government's mind in putting forward their repatriation scheme. Is it because Indians are too poor, that they will never advance, or that they do not possess sufficient land? It will be remembered that the suggestion of Mr. Andrews that all those poor Indians who had become worn out by working for starvation wages and who desired but were unable to secure free passages to India, should be offered facilities and possibly a small grant of money to be paid to them on their arrival in India. We are afraid that the Government are not inspired with any of the feelings that prompted Mr. Andrews. During the last few months we have heard a great deal about Indians advancing too much—that they are too prosperous—that they are a menace to the European population. It has even been a matter of complaint that they reside in the best residential areas of the towns and endeavour to live on terms of equality with Europeans. It is also argued that they should not be allowed to own land at all. Sir Benjamin tells us that it is entirely for our own good that we are invited to leave this country. On the other hand, the politicians, egged on by certain interested parties, urge the repatriation of Indians, "lock, stock, and barrel," for the good of themselves. Try as we will, it is impossible for us to regard the Government's scheme as being a demonstration of how much they love Indians. It seems, rather, that the Government have caught hold of this straw, offered by the Asiatic Inquiry Commission to carry them over a difficult time. It is not improbable that the sugar planters and other combined employers will raise their voices to such a pitch that the sound of it will drown the United cries of all the South African Leagues established in the country. The Government will be told how invaluable the Indian is to all industries that rely on cheap labour. The consumers are already being threatened with a rise of one hundred per cent. in the price of sugar, whilst the tea industry is doomed to total ruin. This Hallabaloo will no doubt relieve the

Government's anxiety in other directions and silence to some extent the cry of the Anti-Asiatics. So far as the Government are anxious to assist those Indians who, of their own accord, wish to return to India, we have nothing to say against them. If Mr. Wynne-Cole, who has been specially appointed by the Government to organise the repatriation scheme, carries out his duties with the one object of assisting Indians and not as one who has been told to get rid of a pest, he will find his work smooth and pleasant, so far as the Indian community is concerned. We hope that the "Recruiters" he has mentioned will confine themselves to the work of interpreting the Government's offer and will not adopt their well-known methods of inducements. We would once more point out that we are in favour of facilities being offered for those who desire to go, so long as anyone accepting a free passage clearly understands the bargain he is making and deliberately decides, *for his own good*, to leave South Africa for ever.

#### MR. OSMAN AHMED'S DEPARTURE

##### FAREWELL PRESENTATION

Under the auspices of the Anjuman Esha-A-Tul Islam, a public farewell reception was accorded to Mr. Osman Ahmed Effendi, president of the Anjuman, who left last week for India after a long sojourn of over 25 years in the country. The reception was held at the May Street mosque, which was beautifully illuminated with electric lights. Mr. M. A. Jewa, vice-president of the Anjuman, presided over a large gathering, which included nearly the whole of the Muslim converts from King's Rest, Bluff.

Mr. S. Emmamally, secretary of the Anjuman, in opening the proceedings, paid a glowing tribute to the various activities of Mr. Osman Ahmed Effendi's association in political, social, religious, educational, charitable, and other Muslim organisations in which he always took a leading part. He said that there was not a single Muslim institution in the whole of South Africa in which he did not hold an honorary position. As for the Anjuman, he had been connected with it since its inauguration 12 years ago, and he had been chairman of the Council for many years, and president for the last three years, during which time he had rendered yeoman service to the Anjuman. The Anjuman's present series of activities and usefulness to the Muslim community, especially the poor, was a striking testimony of his leadership. In conclusion he, on behalf of the Anjuman, wished him "bon voyage" and a safe return.

Mr. Osman Ahmed Effendi was then garlanded by the chairman, and presented with a purse of gold raised by special subscriptions from the officers and members of the Anjuman only.

Mr. Ebrahim spoke on behalf of the Muslim converts, and said that Mr. Osman Ahmed Effendi had been a father to their community, and had for the last 25 years manifested a keen interest in their welfare. He instanced many acts of grace from which his community had benefitted, and presented Mr. Osman Ahmed Effendi with a gold medal as a mark of their deep sense of gratitude towards him.

Mr. Osman Ahmed Effendi, in reply, thanked the Anjuman and the gathering for the honour accorded him. He was glad that he had been of some use to his countrymen; indeed, it was the duty of every Muslim to assist each other in every walk of life. It was his intention to return within a year, and he donated various sums of money to the May Street mosque, Bluff mosque, and the Anjuman's Madressa.

## INDIAN REPATRIATION

## SIR B. ROBERTSON INTERVIEWED

Maritzburg, July 14.—Sir Benjamin Robertson, the representative of the Indian Government on the Asiatic Commission, passed through on route to Kenya Colony, and was interviewed by the *Times of Natal*.

Questioned in connection with the voluntary repatriation scheme given effect to by the Indian Government, Sir Benjamin stated that, as he was not an official of this Government, he would prefer not to comment upon the scheme, "but," he said, "it is based on a principle which I myself recommended. For their own good the Indians must be got out of this country, as they will never advance here."

Proceeding, he pointed out that the Indian population of the Union was too poor and could never progress so long as they only had a bare acre or acre and a half of land each to cultivate.

He wished especially to emphasise that the scheme he recommended was not designed for any other purpose than the advancement of the Indians themselves.

Sir Benjamin agreed that the question of the confiscation of gold was a very vexed one, but here again he was not prepared to say anything whatever regarding the policy of the Union Government.—*Natal Mercury*.

## AMRITSAR RIOTS

## FATE OF GENERAL DYER

## ANIMATED DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

London, July 8.—In the House of Commons to-day, the greatest interest was manifested in the debate on the Hunter report of the case of General Dyer and the Amritsar riots.

The House was crowded and excited when Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, rose to move a vote for £53,500 as a contribution for the cost of the Department of Secretary of State for India.

Mr. Montagu deprecated criticism of the personnel of the Hunter Committee, and he resented emphatically the criticism already offered.

Proceeding, Mr. Montagu declared that General Dyer acted during the Punjab riots on a theory of terrorism and subordination. General Dyer, by that theory, intended to teach the whole Punjab a moral lesson, and he embarked on a terrorism to which there was no end. (Opposition cheers.)

Mr. Montagu described the flogging order as "sheer frightfulness," and asked whether Great Britain was going to keep her hold on India by terrorism and racial humiliation, by subordination and frightfulness, or by the good will of the people of the Indian Empire?

It was, he said, no use passing a great Act of Parliament which proceeded on the principle of partnership for the Indian in the British Commonwealth, and then allow the Administration to depend upon terrorism.

"India," he declared, "is on your side in enforcing order. Are you on India's side in ensuring that that order is enforced with the maintenance of the love of the British Democracy?"

Mr. Montagu pointed out that out of 37 instances of firing during last year's disturbances, the Government had approved of 36, and only censured one because it impinged the principles which always animated the British Army—principles on which the Indian Empire had been built.

Amid considerable dissent, Mr. Montagu declared that there was a theory abroad amongst the critics of the Government that the Indian was only tolerable so long as he obeyed orders; that if once he became educated he was to be classed as an agitator. (Cries of dissent and cheers.)

Concluding, Mr. Montagu asked the House whether the theory of the rule of India was racial ascendancy and domination and subordination, or a partnership in the British Commonwealth? If the former, then it followed that that word must be used with increasing severity until great Britain was driven out of the country by the opinion of the united civilised world. (Cheers and dissent.)

The choice of the House was fundamental to the continuance of the British Empire and the connection between Great Britain and India.

Sir Edward Carson considered that Mr. Montagu's arguments were irrelevant, and urged the House to be fair to a gallant officer of 34 years' service without blemish, and he asked whether General Dyer was to receive was to receive a fair trial before being broket and sent to disgrace.

Sir Edward entered into a passionate plea for General Dyer, urging that the man ought not to be punished for dealing to the best of his ability with a situation for which he was not in the slightest degree responsible.

Mr. Churchill explained at considerable length the Army Regulations in reference to retirement, adding that the Army Council's decision was reached unanimously. Mr. Churchill, while assenting to the Council's decision, held himself free in the event of the Cabinet deciding to make further submissions to the Crown for the retirement of General Dyer from the Army. The Cabinet, however, accepted the conclusions of the Army Council.

Mr. Churchill described the Jallianwallaghbagh incident as a monstrous event—standing in sinister isolation—and he proceeded to lay down four broad lines for the guidance of officers.

Firstly, is a crowd attacking anything or anybody? Secondly, is the crowd armed? Thirdly, no more force should be used than is necessary to secure compliance with the law. Fourthly, an officer should confine himself to a limited definite objective.

Mr. Churchill laid down one general principle, namely, against "frightfulness," which could not be admitted in any form. He personally was of the opinion that General Dyer should have been placed compulsorily on the retired list.

Mr. Asquith pointed out that the judgment passed on General Dyer was supported by the Government of India and confirmed by the British Cabinet, and, independently, by the Army Council. Therefore he contended that General Dyer had had a full and fair hearing, and he severely criticised the abrogation of its functions by the civil authorities at Amritsar.

## LORD SINHA'S ADVICE

London, July 20.—In the House of Lords there was a large attendance of members and Peereses when Viscount Finlay brought up a motion deploring the conduct of General Dyer's case as unjust to him and as establishing a precedent which was dangerous to the preservation of order in the face of rebellion.

Lord Finlay contended that General Dyer was justified in firing on the crowd at Amritsar without warning owing to the defiant attitude of the assemblage and to the widespread insurrectionary movement in the neighbourhood.

He declared that General Dyer was condemned without trial and on a misconception regarding a soldier's duty.

Lord Sinha (Under-Secretary for the India Office), in reply, stated that he feared that the dangerous feud which had risen among the events in the Punjab would not end unless both parties dropped the question. He denied that General Dyer's action had saved the Punjab. Even if that were so he hoped their Lordships would not endorse the doctrine that the end justified the means.

He concluded with an appeal to his countrymen to dissociate themselves from the passive resistance

movement, or similar pernicious movements, which were started by Gandbi, called "non-co-operation," which could only lead to disastrous results. The more reasonable sections of the Indians, who are by far the largest majority, have already dissociated themselves from it.—Reuter.

### THE INDIAN IN AFRICA

The *Natal Advertiser* has the following interesting leading article in its issue of the 14th July:—

We announced yesterday the formation of a Natal branch of "the South Africans' League," which is a euphemism for the organised Anti-Asiatic movement born a year ago in Krugersdorp, and having for its President, Sir Abe Bailey. The manifesto of this League is an ingenuous document. It professes to breathe a lofty regard for the unchallenged supremacy of the white race. Actually it is inspired as much by the apprehension of shop-keepers as by any other consideration. The energetic Mr. Leo Macgregor, who is provisional Honorary Secretary to the Natal Branch, tells us that it is hoped to enroll one thousand members in the next couple of weeks. This should not surprise anyone, or indicate anything beyond the well-known fact that far more people are swayed by prejudice than ever confess the fact. He also hopes the League will meet with our sympathy and encouragement. In this he, it is to be feared, is doomed to disappointment. This paper holds no brief for any one element in this country over any other element, and certainly will not lend itself to the pogrom spirit towards any section of the community for slender reasons as those contained in the manifesto in question. We see no reason why the Asiatic should be chased out of this country merely because he is Asiatic. If in other ways he is undesirable, then it behoves Mr. Macgregor and his associates to say what those ways are. It is not sufficient to conduct a despotic smelling-out merely in order to get rid of the people who happen to show themselves apt pupils in trade and industry of those who first taught them when they thought they were only "exploiting" them.

It is very appropriate that the Indian question should be discussed at the present time, in view of the visit of Mr. Wynne-Cole is paying to Durban, and the effort he proposes making in furtherance of the Government scheme of voluntary Indian repatriation. Mr. Cole met yesterday a large number of employers of Indians, and explained what he proposed doing to bring the Government's scheme before the Asiatics in the Province. He was very severely criticised by those present. This is not surprising considering that most of those present represented the sugar industry. What may, however, strike our readers as surprising is the fact that, while we can find little to say for Mr. Leo-Macgregor's ramping, raging Anti-Asiatic crusade, we have quite as little to say in favour of the case put forward by the nominees of sugar. Mr. Macgregor's organisation is an organisation of special pleaders moved by trade considerations. He and his associates want to get rid of the Indian because he is a "menace." The sugar-growers want to keep him because he is an asset. Self-interest lies at the root of two divergent policies; and sectional self-interest is a very dangerous element in the discussion of national questions. The white trader admittedly has a point of view in the matter of the Asiatic. So, too, has the sugar planter. Both are interested parties. There is a third interested point of view which claims pre-eminence over both. That is the point of view of a nation as a whole. Even though the nation should only consider the Asiatic question from the stand-point of self-interest, nevertheless its point of view should prevail; for in practical politics there is little that matters beyond the welfare of the community.

Who is the Indian? He is not to be confounded with the native of South Africa. In colour he is dark,

and in social status far below the European. But in intelligence and habits of industry he more nearly approximates to the white man than to the black. In mental development, speaking generally, he is no more subject to arrestation than John Smith or Patrick Murphy. Politically and numerically he can never in this country constitute a menace, such as the black men potentially always does. He is an alien in this country in the same sense that a great many people here are aliens; and, with them, he is immeasurably above the aboriginal, whose country this is. He came here, it is true, to do a certain class of labour. He has done it well. He has rendered himself almost indispensable to this Province, and by his labour the wealth of the nation as a whole has been developed. To many people in Natal the Indian problem is chiefly insistent because of the social undesirability of the Asiatic. To other people, the problem is chiefly acute because the sugar plantations depend on him. To others again the problem is seen purely in the proportions of Arab traders squeezing out the white traders. To the nation as a whole, the Indian stands representative of an intelligent, industrious, and potentially civilised element which, rightly governed and wisely directed, can constitute a powerful rampart against barbarism, which is still—and will long remain—the supreme peril of Africa.

Mr. Cole yesterday told his hearers that "the Indian store-keeper is strongly supported by the Europeans, but the Europeans in the country districts especially have so much power in their hands that they could turn out eighty per cent. of the Indian trading class if they chose to do so." Mr. Macgregor, on the other hand, said that, "the unskilled Indian had been nothing but a benefit to the country in the development of industries which, prior to their advent, were non-existent." This is a true enough statement. We wonder how Mr. Macgregor and his thousand local members of an Anti-Asiatic League in Natal can reconcile it with their declared objective to eliminate the Indian from this country. If he is only opposed to the Indian trader, he has, as Mr. Cole says, the remedy in his own hands. If he is an "anti" who sees red wherever he meets a non-European, we fear there is no remedy at all in South Africa for his trouble. Here he will meet all races from now to the end of Time.

Some of the sugar magnates told Mr. Cole yesterday that if the Indian was repatriated, the price of sugar would go up. Mr. Hawkesworth went so far as to declare that the Government scheme of repatriation would mean that the country would be lucky to get sugar at one shilling per pound, "and probably would have to import every ounce." Arguments such as these no doubt are designed to make the Government stay its hand in the matter of repatriation. For our own part, thought we deplore the Government's surrender to anti-Asiatic agitation, Mr. Hawkesworth's point of view strikes us as being intensely objectionable. The average planter—there are honourable exceptions—has housed the Asiatic on the estates in a most deplorable fashion, and has made no attempt whatsoever to advance the Indian along the highway of social betterment. Where the Indian to-day creates a sense of antipathy in the breast of the white man is due generally to the fact that the employer has not given more than a passing thought to the well-being of those who enabled him to get rich quickly. If the average sugar magnate had viewed his Indian labourers in the past as anything better than human chattles, and had made any sustained efforts to guide the Indian "invasion" (created in the first place in an effort to help the sugar-grower) in right directions, we to-day might regard those who brought the Indian here as worth trusting in any future development of the Indian problem. The Government must not be deviated from their policy by the sugar planters' threat about soaring prices, any more than they should be intimidated by the clamour of Sir Abe Bailey's

Krugerdsorp organisation. What we want readers to appreciate is that, as we pointed out at the commencement, neither the sugar planter's nor the European trader's point of view is a national one, or, indeed, anything but a point of view inspired by the sheerest self-interest. The question, we submit, that statesmanship must answer is whether or not in our Asiatic population we have an element that, wisely encouraged and distributed, might not help very materially in building up South Africa. The Indian we repeat, is loyal, industrious and intelligent. Industry, intelligence and loyalty are the most clamant needs of South Africa to-day.

### KHILAFAT MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes the following article in *Young India* dated 2nd June:—

I have been overwhelmed with public criticism and private advice and even anonymous letters telling me exactly what I should do. Some are impatient that I do not advise immediate and extensive non-co-operation; others tell me what harm I am doing the country by throwing it knowingly in a tempest of violence on either side. It is difficult for me to deal with the whole of the criticism, but I would summarise some of the objections and endeavour to answer them to the best of my ability. These are in addition to those I have already answered:—

(1) Turkish claim is immoral or unjust and how can I, a lover of truth and justice, support it?

(2) Even if the claim be just in theory, the Turk is hopelessly incapable, weak and cruel. He does not deserve any assistance.

(3) Even if Turkey deserves all that is claimed for her, why should I land India in an international struggle?

(4) It is no part of the Indian Mahommedans' business to meddle in this affair. If they cherish any political ambition, they have tried, and they should now sit still. It is a religious matter with them, it cannot appeal to the Hindu reason in the matter it is put, and in any case Hindus ought not to identify themselves with Mahomedans in their religious quarrel with Christendom.

(5) In no case should I advocate non-co-operation which in its extreme sense is nothing but a rebellion, no matter how peaceful it may be.

(6) Moreover, my experience of last year must show me that it is beyond the capacity of any single human being to control the forces of violence that are lying dormant in the land.

(7) Non-co-operation is futile because people will never respond in right earnest, and reaction that might afterwards set in will be worse than the state we are now in.

(8) Non-co-operation will bring about cessation of all other activities, ever working of the Reforms, and thus set back the clock of progress.

(9) However pure my motives may be, those of the Mussalmans are obviously revengeful.

I shall now answer the objections in the order in which they are stated.

(1) In my opinion the Turkish claim is not only not immoral and unjust, but it is highly equitable, if only because Turkey wants to retain what is her own. And the Mahommedan manifesto has definitely declared that whatever guarantees may be necessary to be taken for the protection of non-Muslim and non-Turkish races, should be taken so as to give the Christian theirs and the Arabs their self-government under the Turkish suzerainty.

(2) I do not believe the Turk to be weak, incapable or cruel. He is certainly disorganised and probably without good generalship. He has been obliged to fight against heavy odds. The argument of weakness, incapacity and cruelty one often hears quoted in

connection with those from whom power is sought to be taken away. About the alleged massacres a proper commission has been asked for, but never granted. And in any case security can be taken against oppression.

(3) I have already stated that if I were not interested in the Indian Mahommedans, I would not interest myself in the welfare of the Turks any more than I am in that of the Austrians or the Poles. But I am bound as an Indian to share the sufferings and trials of fellow-Indians. If I deem the Mahomedan to be my brother, it is my duty to help him in the hour of peril to the best of my ability, if his cause commends itself to me as just.

(4) The fourth refers to the extent Hindus should join hands with the Mahommedans. It is therefore a matter of feeling and opinion. It is expedient to suffer for my Mahomedan brother to the utmost in a just cause and I should therefore travel with him along the whole road so long as the means employed by him are as honourable as his end. I cannot regulate the Mahomedan feeling. I must accept his statement that the Khilafat is with him a religious question in the sense that it binds him to reach the goal even at the cost of his own life.

(5) I do not consider non-co-operation to be a rebellion, because, it is free from violence. In a larger sense all opposition to a Government measure is a rebellion. In that sense, rebellion is a just cause, is a duty, the extent of opposition being determined by the measure of the injustice done and felt.

(6) My experience of last year shows me that in spite of aberrations in some parts of India, the country was entirely under control, that the influence of Satyagraha was profoundly for its good and that where violence did break out there were local causes that directly contributed to it. At the same time I admit that even the violence that did take place on the part of the people and the spirit of lawlessness that was undoubtedly shown in some parts should have remained under check. I have made ample acknowledgement of the miscalculation I then made. But all the painful experience that I then gained did not in any way shake my belief in Satyagraha or in the possibility of that matchless being utilised in India. Ample provision is being made this time to avoid the mistakes of the past. But I must refuse to be deterred from a clear course because it may be attended by violence totally unintended and in spite of extraordinary efforts that are being made to prevent it. At the same time I must make my position clear. Nothing can possibly prevent a Satyagrahi from doing his duty because of the frown of the authorities. I would risk, if necessary, a million lives so long as they are voluntary sufferers and are innocent, spotless victims. It is the mistakes of the people that matter in a Satyagraha campaign. Mistakes, even insanity must be expected from the strong and the powerful, and the moment of victory has come when there is no retort to the mad fury of the powerful but a voluntary, dignified and quiet submission—but not submission to the will of the authority that has put itself in the wrong. The secret of success lies therefore in holding every English life and the life of every officer serving the Government as sacred as those of our own dear ones. All the wonderful experience I have gained now during nearly 40 years of conscious existence, has convinced me that there is no gift so precious as that of life. I make bold to say that the moment the English men feel that although they are in India in a hopeless minority, their lives are protected against harm not because of the matchless weapons of destruction which are at their disposal, but because Indians refuse to take the lives even of those whom they may consider to be utterly in the wrong—that moment will see a transformation in the English nature in its relation to India, and that moment will also be the moment when all the destructive cutlery that is

to be had in India will begin to rust. I know that this is a far-off vision. That cannot matter to me. It is enough for me to see the light and to act up to it, and it is more than enough when I gain companions in the onward march. I have claimed in private conversations with English friends that it is because of my incessant preaching of the gospel of non-violence and my having successfully demonstrated its practical unity that so far the forces of violence, which are undoubtedly in existence in connection with the Khilafat movement, have remained under complete control.

(7) From a religious stand-point the seventh objection is hardly worth considering. If people do not respond to the movement of non-co-operation, it would be a pity, but that can be no reason for a reformer to try. It would to me be a demonstration that the present position of hopefulness is not dependent on any inward strength or knowledge, but it is hope born of ignorance and superstition.

(8) If non-co-operation is taken up in earnest, it must bring about a cessation of all other activities including the Reforms, but I decline to draw therefore the corollary that it will set back the clock of progress. On the contrary, I consider non-co-operation to be such a powerful and pure instrument, that if it is enforced in an earnest spirit, it will be like first seeking the Kingdom of God and everything following as a matter of course. People will have then realised their true power. They would have learned the value of discipline, self-control, joint action, non-violence, organisation and everything else that goes to make a nation great and good, and not merely great.

(9) I do not know that I have a right to arrogate greater purity for myself than for our Mussalman brethren. But I do admit that they do not believe in my doctrine of non-violence to the full extent. For them it is a weapon of the weak, an expedient. They consider non-co-operation without violence to be the only thing open to them in the war of direct action. I know that if some of them could offer successful violence, they would do to-day. But they are convinced that humanly speaking it is an impossibility. For them, therefore, non-co-operation is a matter not merely of duty but also of revenge. Whereas I take up non-co-operation against the Government as I have actually taken it up in practice against members of my own family. I entertain very high regard for the British constitution. I have not only no enmity against Englishmen but I regard much in English character as worthy of my emulation. I count many as my friends. It is against my religion to regard any one as an enemy. I entertain similar sentiments with respect to Mahomedans. I find their cause to be just and pure. Although therefore the view-point is different from mine. I do not hesitate to associate with them and invite them to give my method of trial, for, I believe that the use of a pure weapon even from a mistaken motive does not fail to produce some good, even as the telling of truth, if only because for the time being it is the best policy, is at least so much to the good.

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**TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION**

In terms of Section thirteen of the Constitution of the Transvaal British Indian Association the general election of the Office bearers will take place on the 15th August, 1920 at Johannesburg.

Nominations for the different Offices must reach the Hon. Secretary on or before the 8th August, 1920.

Due notice will be given where the election meeting will be held.

E. I. ASWAT, Chairman.  
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Box 6522,  
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