

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

LAST Saturday a deputation of Durban Indians waited on the Acting Assistant General Manager of Railways in regard to, among other matters, (1) congestion in reserved compartments, (2) reserved compartments standing off platforms with attendant risk and danger of accident to women and children, (3) Indifference to Indian passengers and (4) Insufficient sitting accommodation on platforms. The A. A. G. M. sympathetically discussed the several questions with the deputation.

At the meeting of the Indian Y. M. C. A. held on Wednesday last 'Is Socialism the only hope of the Worker' was debated, Mr. B. L. E. Sigamoney speaking for, with the Rev. Reuben Choonoo as his opponent. Mr. Easton presided. A very interesting discussion took place on the subject.

Mr. Parsee Rustomjee has acquired the library of the late Mr. V. R. R. Moodley for the sum of £375. The library holds many select books of reference on various subjects.

There was a street collection in Durban last Saturday in aid of the funds of the St. Aidan's Hospital.

The Under-Secretary for the Interior has informed the Durban Indian Market Stallholders' Association that the Government is not prepared to advise His Excellency the Governor-General to refuse his assent to the Durban Corporation Extended Powers Ordinance, 1920.

After a period of over sixteen years connection with this journal as manager and Editor Mr. A. H. West has now relinquished editorial work. He hopes, however, to occasionally contribute to our columns unofficially.

Mrs. A. H. Gool the wife of Dr. A. H. Gool of Capetown with her baby and the Misses M. and G. Gool have arrived in Durban last week. They are spending their holiday at the Phoenix settlement.

The time has come when Indians should be placed on a footing of equality with the inhabitants of the Colonies and be no longer considered as the pariahs of the Empire. A deputation (says the *Bombay Chronicle*), has been waiting on the Viceroy to ventilate the grievances of the Indians in British East Africa and in the territories captured from the Germans, for which Britain is wanting to exercise a mandate. The rights of the European settlers in those parts are adequately safeguarded, but there are ordinances which give the arbitrary power of deportation to the authorities in the case of "undesirable aliens"; the European minority in some cases obtains as many as nine seats on a municipal council, whereas the Indians who outnumbered the Europeans by three to one, are given only two seats with an extra one thrown in for the Goanese; and there is no redress for them

in numerous matters relating to currency, exchange and trade facilities. The Viceroy promised a sympathetic consideration of the grievances and counselled moderation. It is not easy to be moderate in view of the grave wrongs inflicted upon our countrymen in the Colonies which they have helped to make for the settlers who now deny them their common rights. The British Empire is behind even the Roman Empire in this matter for the latter, at a certain period of its history at least, extended the right of Roman citizenship to its subjects; whereas Indians see nothing but visions of "coolie-labour" and the blessings of Fiji in the British Empire.

ST. AIDAN'S HOSPITAL

DURING the early stages of the war, this Hospital was opened as the result of the initiative taken by Miss O. M. Cole who is in her labour of love attending the sick among the Indian poor realised the want of such an institution. She has shewn rare courage and faith in her mission among the Indian women and children. She has been doing for them what the Maternity and Child Welfare Society is out to do for Europeans. Under her care the institution has been truly serving to meet the safety and welfare of mother and child. It can serve no higher purpose. The work has developed, and with the growth of the institution, it has, equally with her, become an Indian household word.

In aid of this much deserving institution a street collection was made last week as reported elsewhere in this paper.

We would earnestly commend to the serious consideration of the well-to-do in the community the claims of an institution which affords, as much is humanely possible, relief and succour to the sick and the suffering and which by its sterling work has done much to remove the prejudice against hospitals.

FAREWELL MEETING IN DURBAN

Messrs. Abdool Hack Kazi, Dawad Bayat and Motala were the guests at the Farewell Meeting held in their honour in the Madressa Hall in Durban last Saturday by the Natal Indian Merchants' Association. Mr. Omar Havery presided and in the name of the Association wished the guests a pleasant voyage to India, a happy stay there and a safe return to South Africa. He referred particularly to the services Mr. Abdool Hack had in his several capacities in communal, religious and sports rendered to his countrymen.

The guests were garlanded. Messrs. E. M. Paruk, M.A., Motala and others also spoke.

Mr. Abdool Hack in replying thanked the Association for the kind sentiments expressed to him and his fellow guests. He warned them in the pursuit of

business not to lose sight of all that made life dear to man and urged them to take a lively interest in all movements that had for their object the betterment of the position of the Indian community in South Africa. Messrs. Motala and Bayat also replied. Light refreshments were served at the conclusion of the proceedings.

VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes in the July number of the *Modern Review* :—

The Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, in two leading articles, has commented adversely on the suggestion contained in my paper, published in the June number of the *Modern Review*, that ex-indentured Indian labourers in Natal, who have found it impossible to prosper, should be assisted to return to India by the offer of a small bonus in addition to the free passage already granted by the Natal Government. Mahatma Gandhi, up to a certain point, has given his support to the Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*. He objects to the forfeiture of domicile which is involved, and warns the people of India to look with the gravest suspicion on any 'voluntary repatriation' programme put forward by the South African Indian Commission. He advises suspension of final judgment, until we receive the exact proposals embodied in the Interim Report of the Commission, about which we hear the Union Government is likely to take immediate action.

I would at once separate my own very modest proposal,—which was made after much consultation with the leaders of the Indian community in Natal,—from any large schemes of 'voluntary repatriation' such as would involve either thinly veiled compulsion, or what may be roughly described by the name of 'liberty'. If the Commission puts forward any schemes of this kind, I need hardly say that I shall do my utmost to prevent their accomplishment. My words in South Africa itself, on that point, were as clear as my words could be. I said as follows :—

"Now to-day, after sixty years' settlement of Indians in South Africa, there is wild talk, on the part of irresponsible persons, about repatriation. But, in the Twentieth Century of the Christian Era, we cannot act in the manner of Assyrian despots in the year 800 B. C. To bring over, for purely selfish reasons, a whole population first of all: then to use this population in order to build up prosperity and wealth; and then, last of all, when wealth is established, to banish the labourers who produced the wealth,—such a policy is neither sane nor just."

I have, then, most carefully guarded myself against admitting any form of repatriation which has in it the element of compulsion. I shall continue to urge the Indian public here in South Africa itself to have nothing to do with such a scheme, if it is ever offered by the South African Commission.

But if by voluntary repatriation is meant the provision immediately of more shipping accommodation for the very large number of Indians, who have wished,—some for many years past,—to return to India, but have been unable to do so on account of the war; if, that is to say, the Natal Government, (and also, I would add, the Fiji Government; for the problem is the same there) are willing to provide such shipping accommodation, I shall only be too thankful. I have pressed this matter of providing steamer passages for poor Indian labourers upon the Natal Government and the Fiji Government and the Government of India, till I am tired of doing so any longer. And when the British and Dutch Guana delegates communicated with me about labour from India, there only two questions, which I put to them, (i) "Have you cancelled all indentures and (ii) Have you provided ships to bring back Indians home?"

If again voluntary repatriation relief means, that, through the advice and suggestion of the Commission, the present cruelly stringent and oppressive 'gold law' operating against Indians is relaxed, and Indian men and women are allowed to take back their savings in jewellery and in gold, without losing nearly half their hard-earned money in a ruinous exchange, I shall again be only too thankful. I was present at the confiscation of watch chains and jewellery on board the s.s. *Karagola* before she sailed: at one moment, I nearly came to blows, I was so indignant with the treatment I saw. If this confiscation,—which I should like to call by a harder name,—is stopped, the relief to poorer Indians can hardly be estimated. It is of these very poor Indians I am thinking all the while.

Thirdly, if it means, that, in addition to the free passage, which has now been offered by the Union Government for 6 years, a small sum of money also is granted for the Indian labourer to make a new start with in India, after he has finally decided not to return to Natal, I shall again be only too thankful: it will be an immense benefit to the very poor, and will prevent many of them from falling once more into the clutches of the professional recruiters in Natal, who are paid to recruit Indians for the large sugar estates, under a system which is called re-indenture, differing very little indeed from the old indenture system.

These three kinds of relief appear to me to be quite safe and wholesome. They involve no risks of compulsion, and will not be accepted, as an equivalent of right of domicile, by any but those among the very poor, who wish to go back to India and to leave Natal permanently.

It is said that, to make such distinctions as these between voluntary and compulsory repatriation is dangerous; and that the offering of even so much relief to Indian ex-indentured labourers, who wish to return and never return, is the thin end of the wedge, which is certain to result in bigger demands for repatriation from the European side later on.

I would point out, that the Indian Relief Act of 1914, to which every political thinker and worker in India and Africa heartily agreed, contained a clause which involved such voluntary repatriation. It was agreed by all, that if the very poor Indians, who wished to return to India, cared to take a free passage on the understanding that they would not return, they would be given such a free passage. This clause is in the Indian Relief Bill has afforded the greatest satisfaction to all but the European sugar planters, who are bitterly opposed to it, because it has deprived them of a part of their supply of cheap Indian labour. It has led to no compulsory repatriation of any form whatever. I was told by the immigration authorities, that nearly 10,000 Indian labourers have already taken the free passage and that very many more have wished to do so, but were prevented by lack of shipping accommodation. In addition, a large number of Indians, who wished to take the free passage, were inveigled back to the sugar estates by the professional recruiters.

My own suggestion, that a £10 bonus might be offered by the Union Government, as well as the free passage, is a fair and just and reasonable one. After all, the Natal Government has received the utmost benefit from the work of these Indian labourers, directly and indirectly. It is only paying back to them a smaller part of what is their due. And it will make all the difference to have this sum of money, when they get back to India. It will enable them to start again. I would add, that the Union Government has been most liberal in carrying out its own promise, given in the Relief Act of 1914. It has not only paid the passage of the Indian labourers back to the Port of Bombay, but has paid also the railway fare in each case to each Indian's native village. This was sometimes a considerable amount extra.

I am extremely anxious that this question as far as these very poor and wretchedly-paid Indian labourers are concerned,—should be kept above expediences and

inexpediencies of politics. I trust that the question may be made first of all a humanitarian question.

As matters stand to-day, what is actually happening is this. In spite of all that the Indian leaders in Natal have done to prevent it, these Indian labourers are drifting back into indenture. The latest figure, which I could get, show that nearly 4,000 have returned under indenture, simply because hunger and misery and want compelled them to do so. This fact appears to me to show more clearly than anything else could do the helplessness of their condition. I feel certain that, for humanitarian reasons, the argument will be widely supported, that it would be much better for these Indians to return to their motherland with a fair chance of making a good start in India where labour is badly needed, than return again and again, under indenture, to the sugar plantations and to the wretched coolie "vines" of Natal.

MUSLIM LEAGUE COUNCIL

SPECIAL SESSION IN CALCUTTA

The Council of the All-India Muslim League met on the 4th July, and passed a number of important resolutions including those relating to "Turkish Peace Terms, Hunter Committee Report, Rules under the Reform Act of 1919, and the demand for the withdrawal of the Indian forces from the Middle East.

SPECIAL SESSION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE

It was resolved also to hold a Special Session of the League at Calcutta on the 6th and 7th of September, 1920, to consider what action should now be taken by Indian Mussalmans in view of the serious situation arising out of the questions relating to the above matters. The resolution on the Peace Terms has been called to the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State. The cable runs as follows:

INTEGRITY OF KHILAFAT MUST BE MAINTAINED

"The Council of the All-India Muslim League indignantly protests against the Peace Terms offered to Turkey, as in its deliberate opinion they are not only grossly unjust and intolerable in themselves and more vindictive than those imposed upon any other State lately warring with the Allies, but involve a violation of the solemn pledges of the British Government, particularly those made at the beginning of the war regarding the holy places of Islam and later on regarding Thrace and Asia Minor and are calculated to undermine the Khilafat and destroy the temporal power and prestige essential to it, in flagrant disregard of the repeated remonstrances based on the requirements of the religious faith and sentiments of millions of Muslim British subjects, who had loyally carried out their duties to the Empire during the war."

DRIVING TO DESPAIR

The Council solemnly declared its conviction that if the said terms are persisted in, they will tend to perpetuate bitter feelings of animosity within the British Empire, inasmuch as the Muslims of India cannot and will not rest till they have secured the integrity of the Khilafat and the sanctity of the *Jamiat-ul-Arab* and their holy places in accordance with the demands of their faith, regarding which they must prefer their own convictions to contrary inferences drawn by the Government from Muslim history and to the opinions attributed to the late Sir Syed, whose heterodoxy in religion is well known in the Muslim world, and the Council considers it a solemn duty to warn the Government that religious zeal for securing the said pious object is likely to drive large bodies of Muslims to desperate actions resulting in most serious consequences deplorable no less to Government than to themselves, but still in the power of the British Cabinet to avoid.

MR. C. F. ANDREWS ON EAST AFRICA

The full report of Mr. C. F. Andrews' speech on East Africa, at the Bombay Public Meeting, runs as follows:—

"I wish, in as few words as possible, to make clear in India the East African situation as it stands to-day. It must be noted that in East Africa there are two areas—the coastal area and the upland area.

During the war and since the war two very serious encroachments on Indian rights have been made as follows:—

(i) The right to purchase landed property in the upland area has, for all practical purposes, been cancelled by repeated administrative acts, which has gained the force of custom and almost the force of law. Complaints have been made against these encroachments on Indian liberties, but without avail.

(ii) Quite recently an electoral system has been inaugurated, which has ignored Indians altogether. The power of the vote has been confined to Europeans. Indians have been forced to accept two nominated seats in a Legislative Chamber containing about twenty members.

In addition to these encroachments, which have already been effected, two very dangerous measures have been proposed threatening Indian liberties as follows:—

(i) An 'undesirables' Bill, by which any person might be ejected from East Africa, without trial, without any cause being stated, and without appeal. The Governor and his Executive might act on *their own authority*. Even the word 'undesirable' itself was left completely *undefined*. A more dangerous Bill to Indian political liberty could scarcely be imagined.

(ii) A 'Segregation of Races' Bill, by which Indians might be segregated in special areas in townships. The dangers of such a Bill are obvious.

Both of these Bills were on the Government programme when I met the Indian leaders at the end of 1919. I am most thankful to say, that, owing to the united protests of Indian leaders in East Africa and India and England, these Bills have both been withdrawn. This is a great victory. At the same time, I must warn the Indian public, that these measures will certainly be put forward again, not as Government measures, but as private Bills; and there is every chance of their being carried in the Nairobi Legislative Chamber unless the present electoral system is altered and Indians are given the franchise on equal terms with the Europeans.

Therefore, it is evident that the electoral problem is the most urgent of all. The Government of India has claimed an equal electoral status for all His Majesty's subjects in every colony or protectorate. That claim appears to me to be final and just. It must never be weakly surrendered.

In East Africa, this will probably involve, in practice, the application of what I may call the Cape Colony principle. At the Cape, the qualification for a voter is not racial at all. It depends on a property and literary test of a very simple character. The property qualification is possession of property to the value of £75. The literary test is ability to write one's own name, address, and occupation in the English language. It is quite possible, that the value of the property must be made higher in East Africa; that is only a detail; the principle remains the same.

I have myself seen, on two separate visits, the working of the Cape Colony franchise. I believe that nothing has done more than this equal citizenship to establish friendly racial relations. I found everyone satisfied and no one desiring any change.

I am entirely opposed to a franchise on a purely racial basis, i.e. so many seats being allotted to each race. Such a racial franchise will always work out unfairly to the Indian, because of the large number of ex-officio European seats. Further more, such a

racial franchise always increases racial friction instead of allaying it.

The second pressing problem is to prevent any further administrative action against the Indians in the matter of land purchase. Here again, the Indian Government has rightly insisted on equality of status. As far as I am aware, no law has been passed making the sale of land in the upland area to Indians illegal; but administrative acts against Indians have become so frequent that they are tending to gather the force of law.

The third problem is to prevent any detrimental law being passed concerning segregation or deportation. As I have said, there is a real danger of such Bills being hurried through by the help of the European non-official vote. Too much reliance must not be placed on the veto of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

In conclusion, I wish to mention the three following matters, in which improvement within the Indian community itself is urgently needed:—

(i) Education. Nothing depressed me more with regard to the present state of the Indians in Africa than the deplorable lack of education among their children. Whilst almost every single European child is being carefully educated, often at great personal expense to the parents, very little effort is being made by Indian parents to educate their own children rightly. In this matter of education, the East African Government has been *incredibly remiss* in making proper state provision. It has prepared to spend its money in other ways. The result has been that State Education all round is of the feeblest possible description. Almost the whole responsibility hitherto has fallen upon the parents. The pity is that among Indians as a whole—I must speak quite frankly,—even when the parents are rich, they do not give their children the education they require. They, like the East African Government, spend their money in other ways, and the result has been disastrous. I am simply stating what Indians themselves have repeatedly told me.

(ii) Sanitation. Improvement in Indian sanitary conditions is a matter of the first importance. A very great deal of racial bitterness among Englishmen in East Africa against Indians is due to Indian insanitary habits. It must be allowed that the Government and municipalities are very greatly to blame in this question of insanitation. The Indian quarters have been *scandalously* neglected, and money has been lavished upon the European suburbs. But Indians, when they came to new lands, must themselves learn to conform to the *general* purport of sanitary arrangements. Otherwise they can never hope to be respected as they ought to be respected. There has also in East Africa been some shameful rack-renting on the part of the Indian landlords, which has driven the poorer Indians to adopt *slum* conditions of life with all the uncleanly habits which they involve among such poverty-stricken people.

(iii) Labour. I came across instances, both in Government and in Indian employment, where the poorer Indian *labourers* were being disgracefully *sweated*. I have spoken again and again about this *bash* to Indian and Government employers. One of the ways to check this sweated labour in future, is to prevent the *immigration* of *pauper* Indians, who will inevitably fall into the hands of the exploiters if they are allowed to land. The Government of India and the Bombay Government should also revise most carefully, from time to time, the terms and rates under which the Indian contract *labourers* are induced to go out into East African railway and government employment. They must insist on these terms being kept.

With regard, then, to these necessary improvements in labour, education and sanitary arrangements, it is clear that the East African Government must be called upon to spend much more money out of the

revenue, on behalf of Indians, than it does at present. It is clear, also, that the Bombay Government ought to take its work of regulating the emigration much more seriously. It is probably necessary to send over, from year to year, an Indian inspector of Labour from India, to go into details of the railway and government service in East Africa and to see that that the terms of all contracts are being kept.

But for beyond all that the different governments can do, there is needed the determined effort of the Indian community to improve itself and to set right its own conditions. The Indians in East Africa are comparatively wealthy. It is supremely necessary that they should learn to spend their money on things which really lead to improvement.

I have one word more to add. The news has first reached India, that the British Government has made a drastic territorial change. The Coastal belt of land is to be separated from the Upland area. The latter is to be called the Kenia Colony. The Coast line is to be called the Kenia Protectorate.

Among the European settlers, efforts will be redoubled to claim for themselves special privileges in this upland area, now that it has been separated off from the coast land. They will claim now, that the whole country is a "white man's country" and must be made a white man's preserve. They will even offer special concessions to Indians within the coastal area if European claims in the uplands are concealed.

We must resist all these efforts and all these concessions, if they ever come to be made. We must listen to them for a single moment. We must maintain, in every colony and in every protectorate,—in Tanganyika and Nyassaland and in Uganda, as well as in Kenia,—the impregnable position that Indian citizenship and status shall not be inferior to those of any other of His Majesty's subjects. Equal citizenship, equal laws, equal rights of property, land and trade,—these are our claims, and we cannot possibly abate them.

LAJPAT RAI ON GROWING SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

Replying to an address presented at a gathering of five thousand Indians Lala Lajpat Rai he viewed with satisfaction the spirit of democracy that was in the air in the whole country. Last year's episode had awful tales to tell. Indian rights were trampled by foreigners and Indian life considered worthless. He appealed to his audience to swear by all that was sacred to agitate and agitate unceasingly till equal status with other dominions was secured. Mr. Montagu in his recent speech in the House of Commons declared "British life is sacred but Indian life is sacred too." Mr. Montagu should have better put it: "English life is sacred but Indian life is equally sacred."

Let it be known to the Viceroy and the authorities at home and abroad and the world at large, said Mr. Lajpat Rai, that every inch, every bit of Indian life, be that of the meanest Indian, was as sacred as that of the highest European in this country. British diplomacy now-a-days prided itself in deceiving the world. Pledges of statesmen had no meaning. Turkey was one victim of that. If Mr. Montagu's high-sounding principles to govern India were another diplomatic jugglery the sooner India knew it the better. The Archbishop of Simla's letter to the London *Times* told the British public that but for General Dyer's action British women would have been outraged. Indian history spreading over three thousand was free from such a blemish of dastardly outrage while European history had many instances of it. The Archbishop judged Indian character from the European standpoint and hence his vituperations.—*Bombay Chronicle*.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Calcutta, Sept. 5.—The special session of the Indian National Congress met yesterday. There was a record gathering of 20,000 delegates, including 5,000 elected delegates representing all the Provinces of India.

The presidential address was delivered by Lala Laipatrai, who dealt with the events in the Punjab. He denounced Sir Michael O'Dwyer, declaring that no man in the whole of the history of British rule in India had done such disservice to the British Empire, and that it was the duty of Indians to pray for the punishment and prosecution of General O'Dwyer. Lala also urged the recall of the Viceroy.

The Congress will meet again on Sept. 6, when the question of non-co-operation will be discussed.—Reuter.

PUNJAB AND NON-CO-OPERATION

THE PRESENT POSITION

The *Bombay Chronicle* correspondent writes from Amritsar:—

To an outsider the position of the Punjab on the question of non-co-operation might appear not a little vague and uncertain. As a matter of fact the question is the subject of serious consideration throughout the province and is evoking considerable discussion both in the press and in private circles. There was a hurried exchange of opinion when the question came up before a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Amritsar District Committee. The Provincial Congress Committee had invited opinions but there was a general disposition to await the decision of the special session of the Indian National Congress and when that decision was given to abide by it. Eventually an opinion was recorded in favour of non-co-operation by a narrow majority. A similar difficulty was experienced at the meeting of the Punjab Provincial Committee held on the 4th July. In fact Lala Lajpat Rai himself who had given notice of the non-co-operation resolution, did not seem disposed to take the judgment thereon, even though fully one hundred gentlemen were present, these including many of the candidates for the Council elections who had come from far and near. Ultimately he did present his resolution in a speech lasting almost an hour, which itself does not indicate a belief that the assembly was prepared to give a verdict in favour of his view-point on the subject. The discussion was wisely adjourned and might continue sometime with advantage to prepare and educate public opinion but where eminent and patriotic leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai on one side and Lala Harkishen Lal and Pandit Kambhuj Dutt Chaudhri on the other are ranged for and against non-co-operation, the province might well wait and watch and consider its *modus operandi* before launching on it.

CRUX OF THE PROBLEM

The position of the Punjabees requires to be carefully interpreted and understood. There can be no question regarding the Punjab's patriotism, and the awakening occasioned by the last year's dark doings by General Dyer and his myrmidons, and the session of the Amritsar Congress has gone deeper than many people would seem to realise. There can equally be no question regarding the readiness of the Punjabees to work and suffer for the national cause, and all constitutional effort in that behalf may safely and confidently count on the Punjab's co-operation and support. The Punjab atrocities constitute one of the most serious and sore grievances, and no public-spirited man, woman or child of this province can for one moment agree that even the remotest shadow of a justice has been done to the perpetrators of the wrongs and afflictions. When such is the case, any hesitation to adopt a policy of non-co-operation on the part of any one in this part of the country is simply out of the question, provided only that it is kept strictly within

the constitutional limits, and is likely to prove effective and expedient in the national interest. On the contrary the view which appeals to not a few sober Punjabees is that a policy of non-co-operation might mean nothing more or less than playing into the hands of the bureaucracy—the reactionary Anglo-Indian officials of the type of O'Dwyer, who have taken none too kindly to the growing aspirations of the people to possess a larger voice in the administration of their own country. The rules framed for the Punjab Council under the Government of India Act jealously maintain the O'Dwyerian spirit of keeping the educated classes down and vesting the seats in Council as far as humanly possible in the favoured sections of the people, in the hope desperately entertained that the latter would not be able to put forward a sufficient number of candidates of high calibre, public spirit and independent mettle, and would still furnish the Councils with a majority of men whose aim in life would be to kow-tow to authority and to ditto the wishes and whims of the powers that be. That such a dream is bound in the long run to prove a vain and idle hallucination may be conceded, but there can be not the shadow of a doubt that the success of men of this type will enable the bureaucrats jealous of the growing power of the people, to ward off as long as possible the evil day when they would be compelled to abandon the roll of masters of the people and content to be their servants as is the case in Great Britain and other lands. There lies the crux of the problem, and also the explanation of the divergent attitudes of equally patriotic people.

VIEW OF NON-CO-OPERATIONISTS

The non-co-operationists would say:—If that be so, where is the earthly good of sending a few stalwarts to the councils—a few camels among the herd of sheep when under the arrangements deliberately made they cannot possibly hope to mend matters or even influence the course of events, being overridden by the solid sphenax of officials and their pets—the noodless and the toadies? Why go near the Council Chamber at all and assume the responsibility, however remote, of sharing in legislative and administrative acts which they could not hide to prevent or change for the better and against which their protest would be a veritable cry in the wilderness. All this is true and where the warning voice of a Pheroze Shah Mehta, a Gokhale, a Sastri, a Rashbehari Ghose and a Malaviya has fallen on deaf ears, what hope could there be for a change for the better now—especially after the recent experiences of Sir Sankaran Nair, the Indian Commissioner of the Hunter Committee and the present Indian member of the Government of India. The opponent of non-co-operation (not on principle but on the ground of expediency) would urge:—That is precisely the reason why the few stalwarts that can get into Provincial and Indian Councils, must be pushed forward. They must enter not for their own honour and position but for the glory of the Motherland and the service of their country. Men-like guardian angels of old they must stand at their posts of duty; vigilant by day, watchful by night, unflinching in their watch, unerring in their judgment, unflinching in their devotion, untiring in their action. Untempted by seductive smiles or sunshine of authority, undaunted by tears or frowns of men in power, they must worship at the altar of Motherland, rendering duty clear of consequence. They may not the day in the Council, they may be unable to influence the course of business, they may prove powerless to improve the lot of their people, and yet when they bewail the lot of their countrymen from their seat in Council their wail be heard beyond the immediate vicinity of the auditorium, and their helplessness to alleviate their condition will be proclaimed to the furthest corners of the earth. Therein will exist a moral asset of the highest value, and an instrument of some potency which no nation in our position can afford to throw away.

In the midst of the two courses Punjab stands silent and thoughtful. Non-co-operation by all means if the nation calls for it as the one effective weapon to vindicate our national honour and to secure a declaration of our elementary rights. Entry into the Council and strenuous struggle—may be a forlorn fight—if the cause demands it—Let the country decide it.

BOOKS FOR SALE

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

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