

Indian Opinion

No. 43—VOL. XVIII. FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22ND, 1920.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper
PRICE FOURPENCE

NOTES AND NEWS

WE understand that a reply has been received from the Acting Governor General by the Indian Traders Association, that the questions raised in the name of the Indian community in regard to the Durban Corporation Extended Powers Ordinance and to the Tramway Ordinance have been referred to the Ministers who will receive a deputation thereon.

We would urge upon the recipients of the communication the necessity and propriety of a public meeting of the community being called to appoint such a deputation, if it is to talk for the Indian community who certainly should know more of what is going on in connection with these ordinances.

Mrs. Chinnamah Ramsing, aged 87, the mother of Mr. R. V. Singh of Trethene, Sea View, passed away leaving several grand and great grand children to mourn her death.

Revd. David Russel at the Indian Y. M. C. A. delivered an interesting lecture last week on his experiences in Japan which were well illustrated by pictures taken by the lecturer during his travels in the land of the rising sun. Mr. Burns kindly assisted at the Magic Lantern.

A judgment of considerable interest is reported to have been recently given by Cape Supreme Court in an important suit between the Dutch Reformed Church at De Aar and Joubert and Kesha Walabh, the point for decision being the construction of the words "coloured person" occurring in a condition contained in certain deeds of transfer prohibiting the purchaser or subsequent owner from selling or leasing to a native or coloured person.

Mr. Justice Kotze declared that in the absence of anything in the writing or condition itself leading to a contrary conclusion, it seemed to him that the words "coloured person" must bear the meaning ordinarily and usually placed upon them. The expression "coloured person" was equivalent to any coloured person, which included or denoted all coloured persons, and did not allow of any special limitation in favour of an Indian. There had been a breach of condition, and the deed of transfer in favour of the second defendant would be cancelled, and judgment given in favour of the plaintiffs, with costs.

The Courts in South Africa variously interpret the term "coloured." At times the Indian is included—at others excluded. In the Cape there are just a few Indians and at De Aar to which place the deeds of transfer refer there are hardly any number of Indians to speak of. The maker of the condition, it is evident, had in mind the native and the coloured person. If the interpretation now placed by the learned people on the term coloured is correct—it does seem strange that the maker of the condition excluded the native

from the term coloured and specifically mentioned the native apart from the term coloured.

Captain Roland Fothergill has been appointed as Secretary to the Rent Board for the Magisterial area of Pietermaritzburg.

The Indian Cigar Makers' strike in Durban, it is reported, has ended with their employers conceding to the demands of the men on the question of the employment of non-union men and the routine in the making of cigars.

We are able to announce, (says the *Natal Mercury* on the 17th inst.) that the main and final report of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission will not be presented to his Excellency the Governor-General until the end of the present year.

A Reuter message from London dated Oct 12, says: A most noteworthy feature of the position in India at the present time is the series of strikes and partial strikes which are breaking out sporadically in all parts of the country, especially in Bombay, Bengal, and Madras. It is considered unlikely that these are connected with the Indian National Congress non-cooperation movement, but they certainly show that the discontent in industrial conditions is spreading in India, and that the workers are gradually grasping the idea that the mass action is the best remedy for their grievances.

The same message further states:—

It is impossible yet to gauge the extent of the non-cooperation movement, but there is little sign of any changed conditions. A fair number of candidates who intended to stand for the Legislative Council have withdrawn, but there have been comparatively few resignations of titles or withdrawals of children from the schools.

Mr. C. R. Naidoo writes from Madras that the cost of living is very high, abnormal prices are charged for practically everything and that employment is very scarce, and wages—in the rare cases where employment may be had—low. He appeals to educated Indians to explain the conditions prevailing in India to their less fortunate countrymen in this land.

In the Government Gazette of the 1st October there appear proclamations on the exportation of gold. The exception in favour of any one individual leaving the Union being allowed to carry provisional cash in amount not exceeding five pounds (£5) has been deleted. And no person shall now export coin, bullion or jewellery or ornaments, oversea or overland from the Union unless he shall first have obtained a license to export the gold from the Commissioner of Customs in addition to the permission required under Proclamation No. 99 of 1920 as amended by proclamation No. 168 of 1920 and subject to the further

conditions set out in proclamation No. 1804 of 29th September 1920. Any person exporting gold who fails to comply with the regulations is liable to a fine of £300 and forfeiture of the gold.

Tenders are invited for monthly tenancy of the property of the Durban District Indian Football Association at Warwick Avenue. All tenders to be addressed to the Treasurer, Box 1170, Durban, on or before the 23rd October 1920.

Our contemporary the *Natal Mercury* apparently bases its editorial on non-co-operation, which we reproduce in another column, upon Reuter's message and views the situation from the point of bureaucracy, but fails to see that the movement is a national one and so strong that a few of a different school of thought on the principles of non-co-operation are taking steps in order to combat the movement fearing the success of non-co-operation. If any members are returned to the legislatures they will certainly not be the people's representatives but who will most probably find seats because the best men are keeping away as also large percentages of the electorates. We, however, think the movement of non-co-operation is so strong that it will have its own tale to tell.

The annual general meeting of the Durban District Indian Cricket Union was held in Mr. Parseq Rustonjee's office with Mr. B. L. E. Sigamoney in the chair. The Annual Report and Financial Report were submitted and the following officers were elected for the ensuing season:—

Patron, Mr. Mahomed Ebrahim; President, Mr. J. M. Francis; Vice-Presidents, Messrs. A. Christopher, B. L. E. Sigamoney and D. Fakir Yusuf; Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. S. D. Shanker; Auditor, Mr. M. B. Iyaloo; Executive, Patron, president, Secretary, Messrs. Sigamoney and Christopher.

SOUTH AFRICANS' LEAGUE

IN our last issue we published a report of the meeting of the Durban and Coast branch of the above League and this week we give its amended objects. During the sittings of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission in Durban, very few Europeans gave any evidence against Indians, and those who did, with an exception or two, tried to think out their objections while they were before the Commissioners, and the amended objects of the Durban branch of the S. A. League are as immoral as they are unworthy of a great nation that traditionally feared no competitor—much less competition from its own subjects. The League desires legislation to ensure white standards of payment and working conditions in every sphere of employment suitable for Europeans in South Africa, irrespective of race or colour of persons employed. But who will say what are the white standards? In certain spheres of activities it is true the trade union or a kindred organisation has been able to secure certain rates of pay and working conditions for its members in their own districts but as these standards are not necessarily uniform throughout South Africa it is incumbent upon the League or the legislature to define or specifically set out what the white standards are. If all this means a minimum wage in an open market it is a matter for consideration. But the spirit the objects breathe is unworthy of the great people in whose name the League claims to speak.

Segregation in the Transvaal, or wherever a great

number of people are confined to a limited area, has neither improved them nor the country. It is only with movement man progresses. Confinement produces stagnation. It is inconceivable that it is possible to confine the non-European races to limited areas or to prevent their progress. To seek by legislation protection against competition is a sign of decadence we would not care to associate with the British. The objects taken as a whole suggest that the promises of the League desire to ticket every Indian, put him in a box, and allow him to come and go according to their whim, of the moment and permit him to walk, eat, drink and live according to the schedules the League promoters will supply. It is just possible they have heard or read in their school days of the story of Canute the Dane, and the Waves of the Ocean. As well may they say, the progress of man, whatever his colour or race may be, as vainly did Canute in the hour of his power.

SOUTH AFRICANS' LEAGUE

AMENDED OBJECTS

Following are the proposed amended objects of the South Africans League (Durban and Coast branch):—

1. Legislation to ensure white standards of payment and working conditions in all skilled trade, commerce, industries, and every sphere of employment suitable for Europeans in South Africa—irrespective of race or colour of persons employed.
2. The prohibition of any further sales of land to Asiatics; and the compulsory expropriation, subject to fair compensation, and within a period to be determined by legislation, of all land and trade interests acquired by Asiatics in past years, whether as individuals, partners or shareholders.
3. The segregation, as speedily as possible, in reserved areas and trade bazaars, to be defined by legislation, of all Asiatics other than household servants, or employes engaged in agricultures, trades or industries of which the principals are Europeans.
4. The elimination of Asiatic trading licences, and the prohibition of Asiatic trading throughout the Province, save in the reserves and bazaars last mentioned.
5. Legislation prohibiting non-Europeans from trading under or in any way adopting European names or trade titles which disguise their true nationality.
6. No Asiatic or non-European to hold shares or any financial interest in any business, property, or land registered in names of Europeans.
7. The compulsory annual registration of all adult Asiatics in the Union of South Africa, with full details of name, proof of country of origin, residence, occupation, etc.
8. The effective enforcement of the South African Immigration Laws, and the prevention of the entry of Asiatics into Natal, whether from outside the Union or by inter-Provincial Immigration. The deportation of Asiatics who have illegally entered Natal.
9. The effective administration of the Public Health Act, and demand for legislation controlling the standard of buildings used for business or dwelling purposes beyond borough boundaries.
10. Repatriation, where practicable, of all Asiatics not born in the Union of South Africa, but in a manner not disturbing the supply of unskilled labour.
11. Uncompromising resistance to claims by the Asiatic or non-European community to social and political equality with the Europeans.
12. Persistent agitation, organisation and vigilance of every member of the South African's League to influence public opinion and collect facts helpful to the League's aims and propaganda.—*Natal Mercury*.

FOURTH GUJARAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE

MR. V. J. PATEL'S ADDRESS

The following are some extracts from the speech of Mr. Vallabhbhai J. Patel which he delivered in Gujarati as the President of the Reception Committee of the above Conference:—

"Ahmedabad is the capital of Gujarat and a historical city, but its glory at present is centred in the Satyagriha Ashrama on the Sabarmati. Ahmedabad has been adorned by none too much as it has been by Mahatma Gandhi the founder of the Gujarat Political Conference and one who has changed the direction of India's political life. His *Nav Jivan* is actively preaching the gospel of truth and Ahimsa and his *Young India* has awakened people to their duty and self-assertion. The whole India anxiously awaits the course Gujarat decides to follow."

He then paid a glowing tribute to the late Lokmanya Tilak saying that the royal deaths would be forgotten in course of time, but the Lokmanya will have a permanent abode in the hearts of his countrymen.

OUR SACRIFICE IN WAR

When the war broke out in 1914, it was said that England had entered into the war purely with the admirable motives of guarding the freedom of smaller nationalities and for the sake of truth and justice. Thousands of Indians shed their blood on the battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa. India, the poorest country on earth, keeping half starving her millions of children; sent a gift of 150 millions of rupees and other articles worth a very large amount. The whole British nation was struck to see India so eminently faithful. Our leaders most willingly accepted the counsel of the Government not to enter into any disputable discussion. The country tolerated the misuse of the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, and the Seditious Meetings' Act. Recruiting and even loan works were high-handedly gone through and not a word of protest dropped from any lips. People entirely relied upon the generosity and sense of justice of the British people. Our Moslem brothers remained true to the last. Thousands of brave Moslems lost their lives fighting against Turkey relying upon the pledges of the Premier.

OUR REWARD

The war ended. The Allies won. What did the victory bring to us? The Rowlatt Act that cuts at the very root of individual freedom was warmly presented to us. India was astonished at this. A shrill cry of disappointment proceeded from the one end of the country to the other. At a time when the tide of self-determination was sweeping over the whole world, a handful of foreigners who claimed for themselves the monopoly of wisdom disregarded the unanimous voice of the whole nation. The results of this thoughtless action are well-known. The Government added fuel to the fire by its policy of suppressing anti-Rowlatt Act agitation. Mahatma Gandhi was prevented from proceeding to the Punjab; the Amritsar leaders were removed to some unknown destination. As a result in some parts the people lost their balance and in their madness fell a prey to some unjustified actions. The Government used all its power to retaliate. Germans' atrocities in Belgium are nothing when compared to these. Then an Indemnity Act was rushed through and a Committee was appointed to investigate into the Punjab affairs. The Committee made a travesty of justice. The Lords in the House of Lords made a fine display of their nobility! In order to guard the honour of a condemnable English General, hundreds of innocent lives were ignored. The innocent dead were acknowledged as rebels and the English officer as a gallant soldier. Lord Sipa admonishes us in the House of Lords to bury deep the past. What has India gained by his Lordship's presence in that House?

How can we forget the many indignities and humiliations to which we were subjected? The Punjab that had suffered most during the war was wickedly branded as having risen in a rebellion. I ask those that advise us to forget the past—"What do you want to teach India by your advice?" We are the trustees of posterity. Shall we leave it a legacy of insults? What wonder is there if the civilised nations laugh at us if we swallow down these humiliations?

THE KHILAFAT QUESTION

Let us turn to our Moslem brothers. Turkey is torn to pieces. The Sultan is reduced to a state of a prisoner in Constantinople. The Premier broke his pledges given during the war, disregarded the sentiments of that community and the authority of the Khalifa was reduced by the Allies simply with the selfish motives. The Moslem community has been done great injustice. Hindoos can no longer remain indifferent while their Moslem brethren are suffering.

THE ONE COURSE

We have exhausted all the known ways of agitation in order to draw out justice on the Punjab and Khilafat questions. Everything failed. In these circumstances Mahatma Gandhi has been preaching non-co-operation. The Khilafat Committee has accepted his suggestion. Here I am reminded of a scene on the last day at the Amritsar Congress. Mahatma Gandhi in a choked voice in most humble terms requested the delegates, that had assembled having witnessed the Jallianwalla barbarities, to follow a course of pure co-operation and to accept and rely upon the pledges of the Royal Proclamation. The same Mahatma today preaches incessantly the non-co-operation. Hardly a few persons must have got his indomitable faith in the British constitution. Who else like him has served the Empire? There is only one cause open for us which has been pointed out by him.

DANGEROUS MOVEMENT

We hear that there is a great responsibility in the movement. That is right. But what country has been able to win freedom easily? The Moslem community is furious by temperament. If the remedy of non-co-operation had not been shown to it, what amount of blood could have already been shed? We can gauge their religious sentiments that must have been hurt from the fact that thousands of Moslems are leaving this country. Those that are the anti-non-co-operationists would serve the country in a better way, if they would invest their intellect and powers in educating the people to remain aloof from bloodshed. If non-co-operation is dangerous, let us be shown some other way. Are the Punjab and Khilafat decisions, less insulting than Bengal partition? Then do those that had set the whole country aflame, feel nothing at these issues? Has India become entirely bereft of manhood?

NEW REFORMS

A net of Reforms has been spread before us: Take care that you are not caught in it. What are we going to gain if a few Indians are substituted for a few Europeans? What salvation are we going to attain if one Indian is to be appointed a Governor? By throwing a few drops of sacred water of the Ganges, a gutter cannot be purified. As long as the principles of justice, liberty and equality are not recognised, we are none the better off by Reforms. The whole atmosphere is surcharged with poisonous elements and there is no scope for non-co-operation. Those whom we take to be worthy men are deemed proper to be sent to gallows and those whom we regarded just fitted for the capital punishment are lavishly honoured. In these circumstances is it possible to make a show of partnership or friendship?

He concluded his eloquent speech with an appeal to his countrymen to be self-confident and patient and be prepared at every moment to undergo great sacrifice and suffering for the cause of the country.

NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION

An interesting feature of the Gujarat Political Conference was the passing of the non-co-operation resolution. Mr. Gandhi was the mover of the resolution. When he rose to speak, ruling was asked from the audience as to the constitutionality of non-co-operation. This raised a great tumult in the assembly. The President ruled that the movement was perfectly constitutional. Mr. Gandhi observed "such a resolution has never been moved before in the Congress and allied bodies and so full consideration must be given before its adoption. Fair hearing should be given to all views and the resolution adopted in want of an alternative. I feel grieved that Dr. Vohra's appeal for a ruling raised a hue and cry. Opponents must be won over by affection and difference of opinion must be tolerated. This is a weapon for people who has to protect their self-respect. If the conference does not adopt the resolution I shall be grieved, but shall not feel disappointed. It shall, however, be preached and practised. Non-co-operation won't be successful unless certain conditions are rigidly carried out. The first among them is courteous hearing. Mr. Shaukatali is inimical to Government but has given up his inimical feelings, while he practises non-co-operation. People who intend to mix bitterness cannot effectively wield the weapon. It is a very risky one. It is partly true the circumstances are not suitable for its adoption because it is to be wielded against the representatives of a nation full of resources and ever ready to make great sacrifices. The English nation has not done a single act free from risk. Is it not a great risk to rule India of 32 crores with the help of a lac of Europeans? Did the British Empire not run a risk in drawing its sword against Germany when it was not fully prepared? India cannot progress without running risks. Risks must be run but as wise people we must provide against them. The least risky of all weapon is non-co-operation. . . . Our ministers have befooled other nations, won their assent to unjust compacts. It is a religious teaching that we should shun the unjust. . . . There are many historical evidences that can satisfy us. The Boers won their final freedom by non-co-operation. Lord Milner, gave them reforms after 1911 treaty, just as Mr. Montagu gives us now. They were divided into two parties, the Moderates and the Extremists. The moderates accepted them as a first step. General Botha and company thought otherwise and unfurled the flag of non-co-operation. Lord Milner declared that he would rule them with the help of the moderates. But Lord Milner's Council could never sit. It was completely boycotted. Sir Henry Bannerman at last gave them their present constitution. This is the sheer result of non-co-operation. The Boers did not send their children to Government schools. Lawyers had not yet returned from fields. By boycott of councils they achieved their independence.

I ask the moderates. What are they going to achieve in councils? Even if we be in majority, if we shall look to statistics we can never defeat them in their own game. Criticism is levelled against the South African Satyagraha movement. 10,000 Indians ranged themselves against 1½ lakh of whites and with complete success.

We hear people say the forces of disorders once let loose can never be stayed. Feelings of respect for law should not be undermined. To provide against this the educated class is asked to lead. When we shall feel certain no disorder would result we shall proceed forward.

A TWO-EDGED WEAPON

Non-co-operation is a two-edged weapon. It kills him at whom it is aimed and it kills him who does not know how to wield it. People should distinguish between non-violent non-co-operation and violent non-co-operation. Risks are to be run but such remedies

are dictated by experience and wisdom at a time when people feel that there is no other way left open. If you feel the great injustice that is wrought to India, if you feel that one of its great religions is in danger, if you feel that non-co-operation is the least risky of all weapons and are ready for sacrifices. I advise you to adopt it.

MR. SHAUKAT ALI

Mr. Gandhi finished his speech amidst torrent of clappings and cheers.

Mr. Shaukat Ali supported. He observed: "I bear no vengeance to English. I am willing to give them all honour if they give me my religious liberty. For five years we sat silent and helped the British Empire to win the war but promises are now broken. The Muhammadans would not agree to any treaty that goes against the *firman* of their religion. We have sent the delegation and spent money out of lean Muhammadan purse, not to seek any favour but to inform the world of the wounded feelings of Islam. There will be no peace till the people remain discontented. Our loyalty to the English is conditional and that condition is non-interference with our religious liberty. I live in the Kingdom of God and obey his laws. I do not believe Mr. Gandhi, to be a Rishi or a peer but I regard him as the bravest of the brave. I am a Muhammadan and he is a Hindu. He believes in dying. We have so much confidence in him that he is placed at the head of the movement. Hijarat is a duty; Jihad too is a duty. India will not help the British Empire in further wars. We are to preserve the country from disorder and the best way is found in non-co-operation. We have gone from place to place and requested people to refrain from violence. The British know Indians give up their religion and honour for earthly gains. He ended with an appeal not to fear earthly powers and fear God.

AN AMENDMENT

Mr. Ramanbhai moved an amendment to the effect that people have lost confidence in the present Government on account of the injustice meted out to the country in the Punjab and Khilafat matters.

He feared non-co-operation would lead to disorder and chaos. He said "the country is ours through the Government not our own and the country's good must be our first consideration. Administration cannot go on without co-operation. Man has a right to invite misery on his own head. He has no right to invite it on the country.

The amendment was however lost and the resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority amidst loud cheers.—*Bombay Chronicle*.

MR. GANDHI'S BIRTHDAY

A public meeting of the Transvaal British Indian Association was held on the 2nd inst., in Johannesburg to celebrate the 52nd birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Amod Mia presided. Mr. P. K. Naidoo in a striving speech referred to Mr. Gandhi's work for his countrymen in South Africa and in India, and his self-sacrificing endeavours to unite the people of India in the national cause in which he is succeeding in an unprecedented manner. Mr. M. D. Bharoochee made a statement on the Khilafat question that the British Government was acting against its pledges. Non-co-operation with such a Government was the best means to achieve success and that there should be no cessation until the Khilafat question was put right. He proposed that a cable be sent to Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Hajee Habib seconded the proposal paying very high tributes to Mr. Gandhi.

The following cable authorised by the meeting was forwarded to Mr. Gandhi:—

"Heartiest congratulations your fifty-second birthday pray Almighty spare you long continue noble work motherland. Wish success non-co-operation."

NATAL MERCURY AND NON-CO-OPERATION

The *Natal Mercury* has the following leaderatte on the question of non-co-operation, a movement which has been adopted by the Indian National Congress at its session held under the presidentship of Pandit Madon Mohan Malavia in a view of the grave and amazing injustices recently done by the British Government in India in dealing with the Indian problems:—

The non-co-operative movement in India, by which Mr. Gandhi and those associated with him are trying to ruin and bring into derision the new Indian Constitution, seems to be hanging fire. It is at present impossible to gauge the extent to which it may eventually spread, but its results have, so far, not been very impressive. It is reported that a good many candidates who intended to stand for the new Legislative Councils have withdrawn, but in other respects the movement does not appear to have been taken up to any great extent. Holders of titles still retain them, pleaders have not ceased to attend the courts, nor have the children, as was threatened, been withdrawn from the schools. The National Congress which adopted the proposal had been purged of all moderate elements by vigorous methods, and was in no way representative of the comparatively small sections of the Indian population which take themselves seriously in politics. It is quite possible that the withdrawal of the extremists from the Legislative Council elections may be all to the advantage of India, for if the newly constituted Chambers consist chiefly of members holding moderate views, they are far more likely to do useful work than they would do if Mr. Gandhi's friends were largely represented, as in that event it is almost certain the Indian Ministers of the Provincial Governments, whom they placed in office, would almost inevitably be at loggerheads with the European Executives. So complicated is the new system, which is to be shortly brought into operation, that its well-wishers acknowledge that only if goodwill exists between the Indian Minister and the British official can it achieve success. If the extremist element be absent, there is a much better chance that goodwill and co-operation will be secured between the two sections of the new Governments. The non-co-operation scheme was very cleverly conceived, but it demanded too many martyrs, who were offered only a somewhat inglorious halo, to have much chance of achieving success.

POSITION IN INDIA

EXPLAINED IN A NUTSHELL

MR. J. T. SUNDERLAND, President of the Indian Home Rule League of America, and Editor of *Young India*, writes:—

There is a famous saying of Macaulay concerning the British Tory Party in England of his day, which exactly describes the present British Government in India. Said Macaulay:

"It is the essence of the Tory spirit that instead of removing a grievance they try to put down an agitation."

Here, in a nutshell, is the whole story of the Punjab troubles of last year. The people felt that they had very serious grievances. Rightly, they agitated for the removal of these. A wise, just and statesmanlike government would have seen to it that all just causes for complaint were put away. Not so the Indian Government. Tory in spirit, Bourbon in spirit, bureaucratic, autocratic, militarist in spirit, it stooped its ears to the just cries of the people and "instead of removing a grievance," it brutally, stupidly determined by methods of blood and iron "to put down an agitation."

Unfortunately, the Punjab instance does not stand alone. It is only the latest, and a peculiarly shocking illustration of a general policy. Every student of the history of British rule in India knows that from the beginning no class of persons have been constantly

trowned on and persecuted by the Government as the educated leaders who have dared to point out India's wrongs and agitate for their reform. The Indian National Congress, made up of the best minds of the nation, whose work has always been conciliatory, constructive, and statesmanlike, has from its very inception been held in strong disfavour by the Government because it dared to express the grievances of the people and ask for the removal of the wrongs. Sedition laws of the severest character have been kept constantly over the heads of the people, like a sword of Damocles. Because they have dared to express the nations grievances and agitate for reform, hundreds of periodicals have been suppressed, and hundreds of the best and most honoured men in India have been thrown into prisons or banished to the inhumanities of the Andaman Islands, often without trial or any opportunity of defending themselves.

It was hoped that when the war was over and India had shown such loyalty and had rendered to England such large and important services, that there would be a change in the spirit of the government. But all such hopes have been dashed. The spirit of suspicion, of repression, of tyranny, of arrogance, of downright brutality in dealing with the Indian people has never been so manifest as within the past two years. Is this spirit to continue? Much has been said about the great "New Reform Scheme," about the "New Government of India Act," by which India is to be put on the road to constitutional government, to home rule, to self-determination. Let nobody be deceived. Unless there is a complete change in the spirit of the British Government in India, the new Reform Scheme can prove nothing but camouflage. So long as the spirit of British rule in India is that of "putting down agitation" instead of removing—or "removing the grievance"—India has nothing to hope from Great Britain.

Will Britain radically and completely change her spirit and policy towards India? We shall see.—*India*.

NON-CO-OPERATION

MR. GANDHI'S DEFINITION

Mr. Gandhi writes in *Young India* (Ahmedabad):—

Non-co-operation is not a passive state it is an intensely active state—more active than physical resistance or violence. Passive resistance is a misnomer. Non-co-operation in the sense used by me must be non-violent and therefore neither punitive nor vindictive nor based on malice, ill-will or hatred. It follows, therefore, that it would be sin for me to serve General Dyer and co-operate with him to shoot innocent men. But it would be an exercise of forgiveness or love for me to nurse him back to life if he was suffering from a physical malady. I cannot use in this context the word co-operation as Sir Narayan would perhaps use it. I would co-operate a thousand times with this Government to wean it from its career of crime, but I will not for a single moment co-operate with it to continue that career. And I would be guilty of wrongdoing if I retained a little from it or "a service under it or supported its law courts or schools." Better for me a beggar's bowl than the richest possession from hands stained with the blood of the innocents of Jallianwalla. Better by far a warrant of imprisonment than honeyed words from those who have wantonly wounded the religious sentiment of my seventy million brothers.

BOOKS FOR SALE

Position of the Women in the Vedas	2 6
Hinduism, by Dr. Barnett	2 6
Letters of John Chinaman	2 6
Hindu Social Ideals, by P. J. Mehta	2 6
M. K. Gandhi,	2 6

NOTICE

DURBAN AND DISTRICT RENT BOARD

In terms of Section 4 of Act 13, 1920, all Lessors of Property situated in that portion of the Borough of Durban, known as WARDS 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 are hereby called upon to supply the following information, which must be in possession of the Secretary by NOON 30th NOVEMBER 1920, and the Lessor shall verify by solemn declaration the correctness of the information given in the return.

Necessary forms may be obtained from the Secretary at the Durban Rent Board Office, Indian Immigration Trust Board, Stanger Street. Returns may be declared at the Rent Board Office.

The information required is as follows:—

- The Lessor's full name and address, together with the name and address of his agent (if any).
- The situation of each property so let.
- The name of, and the rent paid by, each Lessee set out opposite to the particulars aforesaid of each dwelling, and where any dwelling is let to more than one Lessee, the name of, and the particulars of the rent paid by, each Lessee, likewise set out.

N. B. Sub lessor comes under the heading of lessor. Dwelling means any room or place occupied as a human habitation if any money is stipulated to be paid to the lessor.

Lessor's attention is drawn to Section 5, WHICH PROVIDES A PENALTY FOR NON-COMPLIANCE WITH THIS NOTICE.

Forms may be declared at the Rent Board Office.

By Order of the Board,

JNO. L. FARREL,
Secretary.

Durban Rent Board
October 5th, 1920.

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:—

Price post free s. d.

BIOGRAPHIES OF EMINENT INDIANS:—
Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Rabindranath Tagore, M. K. Gandhi, Babu Surendranath Banerjee, Budruddin Tyabji, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, The Right Hon. Sayed Amir Ali, H. H. Shri Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, H. H. the Aga Khan, Swami Rama Tirtha, V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Kristo Das Pal, Dewan C. Rangacharya, W. C. Bonnerjee, A. M. Bose, Behramji M. Malabari, Ravi Varma, Lala Lajpat Rai, Kashinath Trimbari

Telang, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Swami Vivekananda, Toru Dutt, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Sir Salar Jung, V. P. Madhava Rao, D. E. Wacha, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Rahimulla Mohamed Sayani, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Lal Mohan Ghose, Raja Ram Mohan Roy,	1	0
FRIENDS OF INDIA SERIES:— Lord Morley, Sir Wm. Wedderburn, Rev. Dr. Miller, Sir Edwin Arnold, Chas. Bradlaugh, Edmund Burke, Lord Minto, Sister Nivedita, Henry Fawcett, John Bright, A. O. Hume, Sir Henry Cotton, Lord Macaulay, Lord Ripon, Ram Mrs. Annie Besant — A Sketch of her Life	1	0
Sri Ramaswajacharya		
Sri Sankaracharya		
Glimpses of the Orient To-day, by Saint Nihal Singh		
Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings—1896 to 1917		
Maitreyi		
Essentials of Hinduism		
Aggressive Hinduism		
Aspects of the Vedanta		
Indian Industrial and Economic Problems, by Prof. Kala		
Essays on Indian Economics, by Kanade		
Essays on National Idealism, by Dr. Coomaraswamy		
Sri Sankara's Select Works		
Vaishnavite Reformers of India		
India's Untouchable Saints		
The Governance of India, by Govinda Das		
Gokhale's Speeches		
Dadabhai Naoroji's Speeches		
King George's Speeches		
Ten Tamil Saints		
For India's Uplift, by Annie Besant		
The Indian Demands, by G. A. Natesan		
Nation Building, by Annie Besant		
Warfare in Ancient India		
A Study in Indian Economics by P. Bannerji	4	5
English Traits and Representative Men, by Emerson	2	6
War and Peace, Vols 1, 2, and 3, by Tolstoy, each	2	6
Reflections on the French Revolution, by Burke	2	6
Bhagavad Gita. Mrs. Besant's Translation	2	0
The Indians of South Africa, by H. S. L. Pokk	2	6
Life of M. K. Gandhi (in Tamil)	2	6
" " " (in Hindi)	2	0
From Colombo to Almora	4	0
Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education, by E. B. Havell,	2	6
The Indian National Congress, its Origin and Growth	2	6
My Indian Reminiscences by Dr. Paul	2	6
Lilt Irrigation	2	9
The Swadeshi Movement	2	9
Speeches on Indian Affairs by John Morley	3	6
Shri Madhwa Charya	2	6
Folk-lore of the Telugus	2	0
Hindu Psalms and Hymus	2	0
Rise and Growth of Bombay Municipal Govt.	4	0
Agricultural Industries in India	3	6
Improvement of Indian Agriculture	2	6
The Tragedy of Empire	1	0
Speeches and Writings of Dr. Ras Behary Ghose	3	0
The Hon. Mr. Gokhale and the Indenture System	2	0
The Golden Number of "Indian Opinion"		
Paper covers	3	6
Bound in cloth	3	6