

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

FROM enquiries made we learn the calling of the community together on the Durban Municipal Ordinances in order that the Deputation to the Ministers may be representative of the community is receiving the consideration of those who are in communication with the Government. We trust that in the interests of the community a meeting will be called at once.

A Japanese naval training squadron commanded by Vice-Admiral Shussiro Funekoshi is in the Durban Harbour. The squadron consists of the cruisers Asoma and Iwate on which young officers are trained for the Japanese Navy. Places of entertainment and refreshment ordinarily closed to Asiatics appear to be open to them. But then, Japan is a Power.

Mr. Cassim Anglia was the guest of the Greyville Sporting Club on the eve of his departure for India. Several prominent Indian Sportsmen were also present. Mr. M. A. Jewa presided. Felicitous speeches were made and tokens of esteem and appreciation for services rendered by him to the Club were presented. Mr. Anglia, who was garlanded, feelingly replied.

Messrs. Lockhat and Miankhan who were also leaving for India and are supporters of the Club were also thanked for their interest in sports. Bouquets were presented to them light refreshments were also served.

An Earldom has been conferred on Lord Buxton in recognition of his services as Governor-General in South Africa.

A Reuter's message from Simla dated Oct. 22 states:—Students at the Aligarh Mahomedan College, inflamed by Messrs. Gandhi and Mahomed Ali's propaganda, have been on strike for some days.

A number of strongly moderate men (says the same message), have been returned in the provinces for the Legislative Council.

Reuter, Bombay, in a message dated Oct. 24 reports that strikes and rumours of strikes are the order of the day in India. The strike of the Bombay gas workers has ended and the strikers have been dismissed. A good tramway service is being maintained. It is reported from Jhansi that 4,500 employees of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway have struck, while serious trouble is being experienced at the Buckingham Mills in Madras, where 7,000 employees were locked-out after an assault on the weaving master. The Karachi Daily Gazette has not appeared since October 21, owing to a lightning strike of the entire mechanical staff.

Reuter cables from Bombay, Oct. 28:—The Committee of the All-India Congress has issued a new draft Constitution prepared by a sub-committee, consisting

of Gandhi and three others, for the National Congress. The main change is in article 1, which now states that the object of the Congress is the attainment of self-government by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means. This omits the necessity expressed in the present Constitution, that such means should be constitutional and should be carried on under the existing system of administration.

The same cable reports that Colonel Wedgwood (Labour M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyme) has arrived at Bombay, and was received by leading members of the Labour Party. A procession was formed, which included a number of tramway strikers, who held up the cars and threw stones. Colonel Wedgwood, in a speech, said that if the strikers behaved in an ordinary manner they would achieve their object. After Colonel Wedgwood's departure, however, the strikers renewed the disturbances, in which thirteen persons were injured. It was subsequently announced that all tramway strikers had been dismissed.

MR. GANDHI AND VIOLENCE

A CABLE published in the *Natal Advertiser* on the 23rd inst., in which Mr. Gandhi is made to appear the apostle of violence, which we reproduce elsewhere in this issue, caused a great sensation among his countrymen especially those who know him intimately in this country. We notice that the cable which is dated the 20th comes from the London correspondent of the *Natal Advertiser* who probably got a report from a second party. Strangely enough the *Natal Mercury* has no report of this speech. There can be but one explanation for this report that owing to extreme condensation Mr. Gandhi has been misrepresented. It is not many weeks since the Bishop of St. Albans, the one time Bishop of Pretoria was the sufferer owing to one of his utterances in England being condensed in its transmission abroad. Mr. Gandhi, even if he had given expression to some of the phrases attributed to him, used metaphors which the *Advertiser* correspondent took at their literal value.

Non-co-operation as preached by Mr. Gandhi is opposed to all forms of violence. In his Congress resolution he lays down the policy of progressive non-violent non-co-operation and to take the minimum risk, and to call for the least sacrifice, and it provides among other things for the gradual withdrawal of children and gradual boycott. He is religiously particular to make it clear by the use of such phrases as "non-violent" and "gradual" that it is not the sword—the lethal weapon—but the sword of soulforce is the weapon of non-co-operation.

When Mr. Gandhi initiated "hartal", which signifies the abstention from the performance of any particular acts or things, the success of it, was read as the best drill and discipline the people could have had. Mr. Gandhi talked of "brothers in arms" at the recent Congress at Calcutta. But phraseologies withdrawn from the text as often as not convey the opposite meaning intended by the writer or speaker.

Knowing Mr. Gandhi as we do—intimately—we cannot for a moment associate him with any form of violence. It is almost superfluous to add that he himself would personally suffer even his life to be forfeit than for a moment either by word or action encourage or in any way be a party to violence. He would not, we are sure, put non-co-operation into practice without educating the people of India of the discomforts and inconveniences that may follow in the wake of non-co-operation. And in this regard he would see to it that European women and children did not suffer from these discomforts and inconveniences without fair warning being given to them.

As we are going to press the *Natal Mercury* publishes a Reuter's message from Bombay dated the 28th in which the sub-committee of three—of whom Mr. Gandhi was one—is reported to have made a change in Article 1 of the National Congress constitution that the object of the Congress is the attainment of self-government by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means. These are surely not the means of violence?

DURBAN RETAILERS' COUNCIL

THE INDIAN QUESTION

At the recently held general monthly meeting of the Durban Retailers' Council Mr. H. T. Peach in his presidential speech referring to the Indian question said that the *Natal Advertiser* of September 30 reported: "On Sunday, Sept. 26, under the auspices of the Vidya Pracharanee Sabha Rooikojes, a general meeting of Indians was held to consider the best ways and means to educate the Indian people regarding their position under the Asiatic repatriation scheme." The report of that meeting was no doubt read by all thoughtful people with a great deal of interest, and it must have been very enlightening to some who did not know, not having seen or heard how much the Indian emigrant had contributed to the development of Natal. It appeared from the discussion which took place that it was not advisable, in the interests of many of these people, to leave these shores, and it was suggested that an appeal should be made to the authorities for the withdrawal of the Asiatic repatriation scheme. Two prime reasons were given. One, that the returning immigrants, on their arrival in India, were considered as outcasts by their relations, and were not permitted in their homes, which resulted in many of these poor people ruffing about the streets to do anything to earn a livelihood. Some women had married in Natal men not of their caste, and found when they got to India they were deserted by the men whom they trusted in Natal, and were left in a state of destitution. He submitted that to give the people an opportunity to place themselves in this position was not creditable to the people who invited them here, and who had profited by their labours. Another reason was that all the help they could give by their labour was badly needed in this country, and industries which were developed and those in course of development, needed them.

The parasites who batted on these people, and who neither toiled nor sput in contributing to the industrial output were the folks that needed repatriation. "Industrialist," in the *Advertiser* of the 2nd inst., when speaking of a meeting convened by the District Committee of the Associated Carpenters and Joiners said: "Undoubtedly the Indian question is a grave one for Natal, and the menace is every day becoming more and more pronounced." I could not help feeling when I listened to all the Trade Union eloquence that our system of society must be a very queer one, when the presence in our midst of a number of industrious wealth-producers, whose ability is rapidly increasing and whose wants are easily satisfied, should be a menace instead of a blessing. Would it not be wiser instead of trying in vain to 'keep the Asiatic in his

place,' and to commence anew the on-slaught on the soulless exploiter of cheap Asiatic labour, if we endeavoured to alter the system of society from a competitive to a co-operative basis." He trusted that suggestion might have its desired effect. Some of the Council members had experimented on these lines; and while having a contented and prosperous body of European and Indian workmen, had been able to give the public a good article at a reasonable price, and in consequence had had their order books filled two months ahead for the last 12 months, which could not have been done without co-operation. Not to fear, but to utilise the labour available seemed to him to be the best way to deal with any competent European or Asiatic.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMMISSION

SOUTH AFRICANS' LEAGUE ON ASIATIC MENACE

Johannesburg, Oct. 19—Before the Unemployment Commission to-day, the chief witness was Mr. Jas. Hunter, representing the South Africans' League, who made a long statement on the menace of Asiatic trading.

Taking Vereeniging as an illustration, he said that while in 1904 the town had 21 white general dealers, only five remained. Last April there were 17 Asiatic general dealers, and 25 hawkers. It was estimated that if the Asiatics were removed there would be room for another 50 white assistants. The Vereeniging position was typical of what had happened all over the Transvaal in the last 16 years, and this was in his opinion, sufficient cause and explanation for the drift from the rural areas to the towns where the influence of the Asiatic was not so keenly felt. It was computed that in the Transvaal there were 17,000 shop assistants, warehousemen, and allied commercial workers. If the process he had described was allowed to continue it was only a question of time and the bulk of that 17,000 would be swelling the ranks of the unemployed. But the evil only commenced there. Of the 20,000 the Asiatics in the Transvaal the greater bulk were males who did not look upon the Transvaal as their permanent home. Consequently they had little regard for the conditions under which they existed, provided they were accumulating wealth. They herded together and their economic equipment was of the most primitive type, and to furnish their requirements cost the minimum of European labour. The presence of the Asiatic also had a detrimental effect upon the nature of the adjacent property, and thus upon municipal finance.

He recommended that the laws of the land should be enforced in regard to Asiatics as well as Europeans. Since their arrival they had set the laws of the land at defiance. The Shop Hours Ordinance and the Factory Act should be enforced, as it was in regard to whites. Legislation should be introduced providing for equal work and equal pay, irrespective of race or colour. Industries should be run according to the European standard.

Mr. Hunter remarked that in Durban last April he saw Indians working side by side with Europeans at the very highest skilled work in furniture factories, and there were 700 of them so engaged. Was it wonderful, therefore, if it was discovered that unemployment existed in the ranks of local furniture workers, or that labour conditions were unsatisfactory? The tailoring trade exhibited a similar state of affairs. Before the Boer War, 200 white tailors were working in Durban; to-day there were only 44, and the few tailors who did employ white labour were either exceptionally placed or were hopelessly handicapped. A large amount of tailoring for the Rand was made at the coast by cheap coloured labour.

Mr. Hunter concluded: "Unless the encroachment of Asiatics is stopped, and that speedily, the evils you

are investigating will increase until we have reproduced in South Africa the conditions that obtain in the Hawaiian Islands, where the middle-class have disappeared. Only the millionaire employers and coolie labourers remain, and the condition of the coolie is very little, if any, better than it is in the land of his origin."

COLOURED PASSENGERS ON TRAM-CARS

A letter in regard to a new Tramway policy is proposed to be sent to the Durban Town Council as a recommendation from the burgesses of Ward 5. Prior to being submitted to the Council, the letter was to have been brought before a meeting of burgesses yesterday. Amongst other things the following with regard to the question of coloured passengers is also contained in the letter:—

The neglect to deal with this very difficult problem will lead to greater difficulties in the future than have been experienced in the past. At the present time efforts are made in order to add to the comfort of the European section of the community to restrict natives and coloured people travelling, and my Association submit that if satisfactory arrangements were made, so that facilities and inducements were offered to such people to use the trams, the increased revenue would be so great as to more than compensate for the necessary initial outlay. The extension of the tramway from First Avenue through Grey Street, making the latter a commencing point and connecting with the Toll Gate, Overport, and Umgeni termini, would induce many of the coloured people to start from there, and though the Association is not prepared to suggest arbitrary separation of the various classes of the community, they think that if cars intended for the coloured were painted a different colour, that in the course of time the coloured races would migrate to cars intended for them.

INDIANS IN THE COLONIES

MR. GANDHI INTERVIEWED

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed on questions of Indians abroad, (says *Young India*), made a definite statement of his views. He said the despatch of the Governor of Fiji was one-sided and meant to whitewash official crime. He disapproved the idea of sending out a commission to Fiji to see labour conditions unless the commission is armed with power to investigate the causes of the unrest. He would oppose any attempt to encourage emigration to Fiji. He would advise Indians in Fiji to return to India.

As regards East Africa, Mr. Gandhi said the Government of that place was prejudiced, pro-white, and anti-Asiatic. The Indians in East Africa were numerous and influential. They must organise themselves. They were powerful enough to resist the influence of the white residents.

Mr. Gandhi was now not in favour of a single Indian labourer going to British Guiana. Being asked as to how he proposed to work for Indians abroad now that he had taken up non-co-operation, he said his faith in British statesmen had been shattered. Till they had obtained complete responsible Government they would bring more prominently than hitherto to the notice of the public in India the grievances of their countrymen abroad, and the volume of indignation of the country would be such that Government cannot resist its pressure and would be compelled to take effective steps, because any wrong brought to their notice would speed the process of non-co-operation and to that extent the process of disintegration of the force of anarchy, injustice, and exploitation which dominated the Government of India and the Imperial Government at the present moment. They would continue to call public meetings and frame protests.

THE NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION

MR. GANDHI'S RESOLUTION

In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussulmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussulman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him.

And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of the April of 1919 both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish soldiers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for the most of the official crimes and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the debate in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab:

This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-co-operation until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established.

And inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented opinion and inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law courts and its legislative councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises:—

- (a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies;
 - (b) refusal to attend Government Levees, Durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour;
 - (c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government and in a place of such schools and colleges establishment of National Schools and Colleges in the various Provinces;
 - (d) gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes;
 - (e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia;
 - (f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may despite the Congress advice offer himself for election;
 - (g) The boycott of foreign goods;
- And inasmuch as non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of non-co-operation to every man, woman, and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption

of Swadeshi in piecegoods on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement.

A MISSIONARY ON NON-CO-OPERATION

The following letter has been received by Mr. Gandhi from Miss Annie Marie Peterson of the Danish Mission in Madras. Most personal references have been omitted:—

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I cannot thank you enough for your kindness and the way in which you received me and I feel that meeting more or less decided my future. I have thrown myself at the feet of India. At the same time I know that in Christ alone is my abode and I have no longing and no desire but to live Him, my crucified Saviour, and reveal Him for those with whom I come in contact. I just cling to His feet and pray with tears that I may not disgrace Him as we Christians have been doing by our behaviour in India. We go on crucifying Christ while we long to proclaim the Power of His resurrection by which He has conquered untruth and unrighteousness. If we who bear His name were true to Him, we would never bow ourselves before the Powers of this world, but we would always be on the side of the poor, the suffering and the oppressed. But we are not, and therefore I feel myself under obligation not only to Christ but to India for His sake at this time of momentous importance for her future.

Truly it matters a little what I, a lonely and insignificant person, may say or do. What is my protest against the common current the race to which I belong is taking and (what grieves me more), which the missionary seem to follow? Even if a respectable number protested it would not be of any use. Yet were I alone against the whole world, I must follow my conscience and my God.

I therefore cannot but smile when I see people saying you should have awaited the decision of the National Congress before starting the non-co-operation movement. You have a message for the country, and the Congress is the voice of the nation—its servant and not its master. A majority has no right simply because it is a majority.

But we must try to win the majority. And it is easy to see, that now the Congress is going to be with you. Would it have done so if you had kept quiet and not lent your voice to the feelings of the people? Would the Congress have known its mind? I think not.

I myself was in much doubt before I heard you. But you convinced me. Not that I can feel much on the question of the Khilafat. I cannot. I can see what service you are doing to India, if you can prevent the Mahommedans from using the sword in order to take revenge and get their rights. I can see that if you unite the Hindus and the Mahommedans, it will be a master stroke. How I wish the Christian would also come forward and unite with you for the sake of their country and the honour not only of their motherland but of Christ. I may not feel much for Turkey, but I feel for India, and I can see she (India) has no other way to protest against being trampled down and crushed than non-co-operation.

I also want you to know that many in Denmark and all over the world, yes, I am sure every true Christian, will feel with and be in sympathy with India in the

struggle which is now going on. God forbid that in the struggle between might and right, truth and untruth, the spirit and the flesh, there should be a division of races. There is not. The same struggle is going on all over the world. What does it matter than that we are a few? God is on our side.

Bute force often seems to get the upper hand but righteousness always has and always shall conquer, be it even through much suffering, and what may even appear to be a defeat, Christ conquered, when the world crucified Him. Blessed are the meek; they shall inherit the earth.

When I read your speech given at Madras it struck me that it should be printed as a pamphlet in English, Tamil, Hindustani and all the most used languages and then spread to every nook and corner of India.

The non-co-operation movement once started must be worked so as to become successful. If it is not, I dread to think of the consequences. But you cannot expect it to win in a day or two. It must take time and you will not despair if you do not reach your goal in a hurry. For those who have faith there is no haste.

Now for the withdrawal of the children and students from Government schools, I think it a most important step. Taking the Government help, (even if it be your money they pay you back) we must submit to its scheme, its rules and regulations. India and we who have come to the conclusion that the education foreign Government has given you is not healthy for India and can certainly never make for her real greatness. This movement would lead to a spontaneous rise in national schools. Let them be a few but let them spring up through self-sacrifice. Only by indigenous education can India be truly uplifted. Why this appeals so much to me is perhaps because I belong to the part of the Danish people who started their own independent, indigenous national schools. The Danish Free Schools and Folk High Schools, of which you may have heard, were started against the opposition and persecution of the State. The organisers won and thus have regenerated the nation. With my truly heart-felt thanks and prayers for you.

I am,
Yours Sincerely
ANNIE MARIE.

INDIAN SEDITION

GANDHI ON THE WARPATH

"USING THEIR SWORDS"

INFLAMMATORY SPEECH AT LUCKNOW

The following message dated October 20, has been sent to the *Natal Advertiser* by its London correspondent, which our contemporary publishes with the above headings:—

Further light on the grave state of unrest in India is thrown by an unusually seditious speech delivered by Mr. Gandhi at Lucknow on October 15.

He said it was intended to organise Hindustan into a great armed band and men should practice discipline. He wanted justice for the Punjab and freedom for the country.

The British Government, he declared, was ruling India by deceit. He pleaded for non-co-operation and for Hindu and Mahommedan unity, and said those who had joined the Indian army had committed a sin, and that the Indians going to Mesopotamia had cut the throats of the men there and had committed the sin of converting themselves into slaves.

If they allowed the teachings of non-co-operation, they would get India for the Indians in a year, but before they used their swords they would warn the European women and children.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

MR. GANDHI'S SPEECH

At the special session of the Indian National Congress held in September in Calcutta Mr. Gandhi moved his resolution on non-co-operation with the following speech:—

I am aware, more than aware, of the grave responsibility that rests on my shoulders in being privileged to move this resolution before this great assembly. I am aware that my difficulties, as also yours, increase if you are able to adopt this resolution. I am also aware that the adoption of any resolution will mark a definite change in the policy which the country has hitherto adopted for the vindication of the rights that belong to it, and its honour. I am aware that a large number of our leaders who have given the time and attention to the affairs of my motherland, which I have not been able to give, are ranged against me. They think it a duty to resist the policy of revolutionising the Government policy at any cost. Knowing this I stand before you in fear of God and a sense of duty to put this before you for your hearty acceptance.

THINK IMPARTIALLY

I ask you to dismiss me, for the time being, from your consideration. I have been charged of saintliness and a desire for dictatorship. I venture to say that I do not stand before you either as a saint or a candidate for dictatorship. I stand before you to present to you the results of my many years' practical experience in non-co-operation. I deny the charge that it is a new thing in the country. It has been accepted at hundreds of meetings attended by thousands of men, and has been placed in working order since the first of August by the Mussalmans, and many of the things in the programme are being enforced in a more or less intense form. I ask you again to dismiss personalities in the consideration of this important question, and bring to bear patient and calm judgment on it. But a mere acceptance of the resolution does not end the work. Every individual has to enforce the items of the resolution in so far as they apply to him. I beseech you to give me a patient hearing. I ask you neither to clap nor to hiss. I do not mind them so far as I am concerned, but clapping hinders the flow of thought, clapping and hissing hinder the process of correspondence between a speaker and his audience. You will not hiss out of the stage any single speaker. For non-co-operation is a measure of discipline and sacrifice and it demands patience and respect for opposite views. And unless we were able to evolve a spirit of mutual toleration for diametrically opposite views, non-co-operation is an impossibility. Non-co-operation in an angry atmosphere is an impossibility. I have learnt through bitter experience the one supreme lesson to conserve my anger, and as heat conserved is transmuted in energy, even so our anger, controlled can be transmuted into a power which can move the world. To those who have been attending the Congress, as brothers in arms I ask what can be better discipline than that, which we should exercise between ourselves.

I have been told that I have been doing nothing but wreckage and that by bringing forward the resolution I am breaking up the political life of the country. The Congress is not a party organisation. I ought to provide a platform for all shades of opinions, and a minority need not leave this organisation, but may look forward to translate itself into a majority, in course of time, if its opinion commended itself to the country. Only let no man in the name of the Congress advocate a policy which has been condemned by the Congress. And if you condemn my policy I shall not go away from the Congress, but shall plead with them to convert the minority into a majority.

ENFORCE CLEAR REPENTANCE

There are no two opinions as to the wrong done to the Khilafat. Mussalmans cannot remain as honour-

able men and follow their Prophet if they do not vindicate their honour at any cost. The Punjab has been cruelly, brutally treated, and inasmuch as one man in the Punjab was made to crawl on his belly the whole of India crawled on her belly, and if we are worthy sons and daughters of India we should be pledged to remove these wrongs. It is in order to remove these wrongs that the country is agitating itself. But we have not been able to bend the Government to our will. We cannot rest satisfied with a mere expression of angry feeling. You could not have heard a more passionate denunciation of the Punjab wrongs than in the pages of the Presidential address. If the Congress cannot wring justice from unwilling hands how can it vindicate its existence and its honour? How can it do so if it cannot enforce clear repentance, before receiving a single gift, however rich, from those blood-stained hands.

EXTEND THE SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE

I have therefore placed before you my scheme of non-co-operation to achieve this end and want you to reject any other scheme, unless you have deliberately come to the conclusion that it is a better scheme than mine. If there is a sufficient response to my scheme, I make bold to reiterate that you can gain Swarajya in the course of a year. Not the passing of the resolution will bring Swarajya, but the enforcement of the resolution from day to day in a progressive manner, due regard being had to the conditions of the country. There is another remedy before the country, and that is drawing of the sword. If that was possible India would not have listened to the gospel of non-co-operation. I want to suggest to you that even if you want to arrest injustice by methods of violence, discipline and self-sacrifice are necessary. I have not known a war gained by a rabble, but I have known of wars gained by disciplined armies and if you want to give battle to the British Government and to the combined power of Europe we must train ourselves in discipline and self-sacrifice. I confess I have become impatient. I have seen that we deserve Swarajya to-day, but we have not got the spirit of self-sacrifice. We have evolved this spirit in domestic affairs, and I have come to ask you to extend it to other affairs. I have been travelling from one end to the other of the country to see whether the country has evolved the national spirit, whether at the altar of the nation it is ready to dedicate its riches, children, its all, if it was ready to make the initiatory sacrifice. Is the country ready? Are the title holders ready to surrender their titles? Are parents ready to sacrifice literary education of their children for the sake of the country? The schools and colleges are really a factory for turning out clerks for Government. If the parents are ready for the sacrifice, if title-holders are not ready, Swarajya is very nearly an impossibility. No nation being under another nation can accept gifts and kick at the responsibility attaching to those gifts, imposed by the conquering nation. Immediately the conquered country realised instinctively that any gift which might come to it is not for the benefit of the conquered, but for the benefit of the conqueror, that moment it should reject every form of voluntary assistance to him. These are the fundamental essentials of success in the struggle for the independence for the country, whether within the Empire or without the Empire. I hold a real substantial unity between Hindus and Mussalmans infinitely superior to the British connection and if I had to make a choice between that unity and the British connection, I would have the first and reject the other. If I had to choose between the honour of the Punjab, anarchy, neglect of education, shutting out of all legislative activity, and British connection, I would choose the honour of the Punjab and all I meant, even anarchy, shutting out of all schools etc, without slightest hesitation.

If you have the same meaning burning in you as in

me for the honour of Islam and the Punjab then you will unreservedly accept my resolution.

BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS

I now come to the burning topic viz the boycott of the councils. Sharpest difference of opinion existed regarding this, and if the house has to divide on it, it must divide. If it must divide you will consider that it must divide on one issue viz: whether Swarajya has to be gained through the councils or without the councils. If we utterly distrust the British Government and we know that they are utterly unrepentant how can you believe that the councils will lead to Swarajya and not tighten the British hold on India?

SWADESHI

I now come to Swadeshi: The boycott of foreign goods is included in the resolution. You have got here, I confess, an anomaly for which I am not originally responsible. But I have consented to it. I will not go into the history of how it found a place into the resolution, of which the essence is discipline and self-sacrifice. Swadeshi means permanent boycott of foreign goods. It is therefore a matter of redundancy. But I have taken it in, because I could not reject it as a matter of conscience. I know, however, it is a physical impossibility. So long as we have to rely on pins and needles—figurative and literal both—we cannot bring about a complete boycott of foreign goods. I do not hesitate to say this clause mars the musical harmony, if I may claim it without vanity, of the programme. I feel that those words do mar the symmetry of the programme. But I am not here for symmetry of the programme as for its workability.

I again ask you not to be influenced by personality. Reject out of your consideration any service that I have done. Two things only I claim. Laborious industry, great thought behind any programme, and unflinching determination to bring it about. You may take only those things from me, and bring them to bear on any programme that you adopt.—*Young India*.

WHITE AUSTRALIA

The narrow, exclusive, iniquitous and impossible policy of keeping Australia as a white man's land, (says the *Indian Social Reformer*), has seldom been more defiantly put forward than in the provocative speech which Mr. Hughes, the Australian Prime Minister, made in the Commonwealth House of Representatives on his Government's defence policy. He declared that the vital part of Australian policy was the preservation of Australia for Europeans. After a reference to the populations of 750 millions to the north and north west of Australia, he said that the defence of the new territories in the Pacific was a serious problem. It does not need many to show that a declaration of this kind from the Prime Minister of one part of the British Empire is not compatible with the integrity of that Empire as a whole. Who are the 750,000,000 to whom Mr. Hughes referred as those from whom Australia had to be defended? Some 250,000,000 of them are British subjects in this country. Mr. Hughes' speech is a challenge to them as to the remaining 500,000,000. So far as India is concerned, she can never admit the justice or validity of the policy of white Australia, and it behoves the Government of India plainly to intimate this to the Government of the Australian Commonwealth. A serious responsibility rests also on His Majesty's Government who cannot view with complacency the implication underlying Mr. Hughes' declaration that the Indian subjects of His Majesty have more to gain by making common cause with the subjects of China and Japan than with their fellow subjects in what yet calls itself a British colony. Mr. Hughes' declaration is tantamount to a declaration of war against Asiatics, whether British or foreign subjects.

NOTICE

DURBAN AND DISTRICT RENT BOARD

In terms of Section 4 of Act 13, 1910, 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:—

- (a) The Lessor's full name and address, together with the name and address of his agent (if any).
- (b) The situation of each property so let.
- (c) 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.

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