

Indian Opinion

No. 35—VOL. XVIII.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 27TH, 1920.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper
Price Fourpence

NOTES AND NEWS

REPORTS from India, Reuter says, indicate the significant fact that while the irreconcilable elements in the Khalifat agitation have been urging the Moslems to emigrate to Afghanistan, on the ground that it is a Moslem-ruled country, a reverse movement is taking place from Afghanistan. In the latter movement the refugees are apparently Afghan merchants and traders who are migrating owing to the fear of Bolsheviks and civil strife. Reuter's Simla correspondent later reports that the Ameer has forbidden 7,000 pilgrims to enter Afghanistan owing to the congestion of the roads. The Khalifat despatched emissaries urging the pilgrims to return, but the latter refused, and proceeded on their way, overcoming all the efforts to detain them. It is stated that the Khalifat Committee now realise that they have raised forces which they cannot control.

Reuter in a message dated 17th August reports that a Royal proclamation has been issued announcing that his Majesty's hope to send the Prince of Wales to India next winter cannot, unhappily, be realised, because the unceasing and devoted labours of the Prince of Wales in other parts of the Empire have laid so heavy a burden upon his strength that it is impossible for him at present to take another protracted and arduous journey without assuredly endangering his health. The visit consequently must be postponed, but if he recovers it is hoped the Prince will visit India in the winter of next year.

Meanwhile, in order to mark in a special manner the momentous step India is now taking towards greater constitutional freedom, his Majesty is sending the Duke of Connaught to inaugurate the reformed Indian Legislatures and perform the other ceremonies that the Prince of Wales would have performed.

Correspondent of the *Latest* dated 19th August states that the Royal proclamation deferring the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, was not unexpected. The *Times* says, the Prince is in excellent health, but these Royal tours involve a great strain and it is undesirable that they should follow each other too closely. The announcement of the proclamation to this effect, and stating that the tour would be made in 1921, together with the statement that consequently H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, will go to India, should silence the previously whispered idea that a postponement was likely owing to the disturbed conditions in India through the activities of the agitators. Although an official statement is not forthcoming, and the authorities are reticent, it is understood in South African circles in London that the causes of the postponement of the Indian tour mentioned in the proclamation will similarly affect the Prince's contemplated visit to South Africa.

The inaugural meeting of the Y.M.C.A. was held at the Tamil Institute on Wednesday, 18th inst., at 7.30 p.m. The hall was well filled. Mr. W. E. Easton, the National Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., occupied the chair, supported by Mr. B. L. E. Sigamoney, Secretary. There was a short musical pro-

gramme, in which the following took part:—Miss O. M. Cole, Mrs. Bone, Rev. Bone, Messrs. Harris Brothers, the Rainbow Choir, and Mr. Edward Govindasamy. The rendering of the various items was appreciably received. The chairman, Mr. Easton, spoke about the Y.M.C.A. movement in all parts of the world, and said the Y.M.C.A. was not a proselytising agent, and that it was opened to all, irrespective of creed. The Revs. Lucas, Bone, and Choonoo spoke in similar strain. The Secretary, Mr. Sigamoney, also was asked to speak by the chairman.

The Indian community of Port Elizabeth at a Memorial Meeting on the death of the late Mr. B. G. Tilak, which was largely attended, passed resolutions of regret and condolence. A similar meeting was held at Rusapee where the Indian stores were closed for the day. A cable was sent to Poona.

Johannesburg correspondent of the *Natal Mercury* reports that four Asiatics appealed against the action of the Roodepoort-Maraisburg Municipal Council in refusing to grant them general grocers' licence. After evidence and argument on the lines of the previous cases the appeals were sustained and the Municipal Council ordered to grant the licences. The Reef Chambers of Commerce have decided to bring the whole question of Asiatic trading before the Associated Chambers of Commerce of South Africa.

Our London correspondent writes that the Appeal of the Indian Immigration Trust Board of Natal against Vencategin Govindasamy, trading as the Stamford Hill Laundry, No. 163 of 1919, has been postponed until the Michaelmas Sittings of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It will probably be reached towards the end of October.

Maurice Peters we are glad to learn has been successful in the Matriculation Examination of the Cape University. He is the second Indian to matriculate in this University. We congratulate Mr. Maurice Peters on his success and his parents (Mr. & Mrs. A. H. Peters) for affording him the facilities to prosecute his studies.

The late General Botha's estate is estimated at £69,649. He leaves everything to his wife and on her death the estate to be equally divided among the children.

Mr. V. A. Pillay, we learn, has accepted the requisition of the Burgesses of Ward 1 in the Borough of Port Elizabeth to stand for election as a Councillor.

Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee has filed suit in the High Court against the "Aurita Bazar Patrika" claiming Rs. 25,000 as damages for alleged defamatory paragraph that appeared in the "Patrika" stating among other things that Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee was canvassing to get moderate support by majority recommendation of Hunter Report and the telegrams

urging compliance were sent by him to certain moderate leaders.

Mr. Kooverjee Taveria wishes to thank the numerous senders of kind messages of sympathy in his sad bereavement.

EDUCATION

THE Provincial Council of Natal has been generous in the provision of free and compulsory education including free books for European and Coloured children. Indians do not enjoy these privileges. The result due to the high cost of living and generally to the after effects of the War bears hardly on Indian parents. Their wages or salary has certainly not increased at the same rate as the European or the Coloured man has been able to demand. It is not fair to expect the poor labouring Indian to pay for the same or less facilities for which the man with the vote pays nothing.

We, however, feel that were those who usually speak for the Community such as the members of the Durban and District Indian Educational Society to bestir themselves on behalf of their less fortunate countrymen much could be done to bring the question of free and compulsory education for Indians before the Council who must see the justice of their claim for consideration. We understand the Hostel Committee of this Society is working for the provision of an Hostel for up-country and other children who are not able to study for the Cape Matric and other examinations owing to the want of such accommodation in Durban.

While we wish them success in their endeavours, we would urge upon them, lest they forget the elementary in their enthusiasm for the higher, good as their intention is, that their object primarily should be the education of the Mass rather than those for whom their parents seek higher education—who as a rule can look after themselves.

TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

TRIENNIAL GENERAL MEETING

The Triennial General Meeting of the British Indian Association was held at the West End Hall, Fox Street, Johannesburg, on the 15th inst. There was a large gathering including representatives from the districts. Mr. E. I. Aswat presided. Mr. P. K. Naidoo the Hon. Secretary in submitting his report, said that since the last general election, the community had suffered the loss of many whom it had held in high esteem. The distinguished leader and disinterested worker the late Mr. A. M. Cachalia was no more with us. Likewise Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee and the promising young man Essop Hassim and many others were missing. Apart from the local loss the Indian world had recently suffered in the loss of the great leader, Lokmanya B. G. Tilak.

Since November 1918, he said, that the community had one continuous time of anxiety. It was hoped that that no sooner the world-war had ended, that humanity at large and amongst it the Indian community of the Union and particularly the Transvaal would enjoy some measure of relief from statutory disabilities. But much to his pain and to that of the community, he regretted to say that it was just the opposite. Hardly before the ink of the signatures to the Armistice Treaty had dried, laws that were for all purposes considered dead letters were set in motion.

The Krugersdorp Municipal Council started by having the Gold Law enforced. This impelled the Association to appeal to the Union Parliament for protection. The result was the appointment of a Select Committee. Whilst as a result of its recommendations, Parliament afforded protection to a portion of the community it snatched away actual and potential rights from the community. The right to own fixed property by Indian companies was taken away. Although the highest Tribunal of the Union had held that there was nothing contrary to the Law or in *fraudem legis* for an Asiatic Company to own fixed property, Act 37 of 1919 is quite specific on the point that no further properties could be acquired by the Asiatic Companies.

The persecutions of the various Municipal Councils under the Local Governments Ordinance, (9 of 1912) added insults to injury. Not only were existing rights taken away, but further disabilities were added to the already existing long list. In order to combat these evils the Association underwent great trials and heavy expenditure. It had cost the community since January 1919 to date no less than £2774-12-0 which amount was raised by voluntary donations. During that period there were 39 Committee meetings, 9 general meetings, and 2 open-air mass meetings held and 3 deputations to His Excellency the Governor-General, the Right Honourable the Prime Minister, and the Hon. Minister of the Interior, and a delegation of Mr. Cassim Adam was sent to London.

The London Overseas Association under energetic Secretaryship of Mr. H. S. L. Polak who rendering yeomen service to the community, and as Mahatma M. K. Gandhi in India, were kept post from time to time of the happenings here.

Through the pressure of the B. I. Association and also that of the Overseas Association in London and Mahatma Gandhi in India, the Union Government appointed a Commission to enquire into the British Indians' rights to trade and own fixed property within the Union. Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. Corbett represented the Indian Government. The community is anxiously awaiting the report of the Commission. He then declared that the officials of the Association in terms of the constitution had from that moment ceased to hold any positions.

Before the nominations of the officials took place Mr. M. G. Patel moved the following resolution which was seconded by Mr. Hajee Habib and supported by Mr. S. R. Sarfudin that: "This meeting places its entire confidence in the retiring officers and records its deep sense of appreciation and recognition of the strenuous and disinterested services of Mr. E. I. Aswat, Mr. P. K. Naidoo and others for the past 3 years. The resolution was unanimously carried.

The following office-bearers were elected:—

Mr. E. I. Aswat.....Chairman (re-elected).
Vice-Chairmen.—Messrs. M. S. Bhikjee and N. A. Camay (re-elected) and Mr. M. B. Patel.
Hon. Secretary.—Mr. P. K. Naidoo (re-elected).
Hon. Treasurers.—Messrs. Ahmed Mia and E. I. Patel (re-elected)

Hon. Reporter.—Mr. H. S. Shah, and an Executive in terms of the constitution which will be published in the next issue of this paper.

Before the termination of the meeting Mr. M. G. Patel moved "That a purse of £300 be presented to Mr. P. K. Naidoo in recognition of his services to the community." This motion was seconded by Mr. H. Motan and supported by Messrs. O. R. Patel and C. H. Patel. Mr. Naidoo heartily thanked the audience for the kind words that had been spoken about him and for the offer of the purse, and said that it would please him more to see a purse of £300 presented to the Association than to himself. What he needed was not the money, but the whole hearted co-operation and the assistance of the community and their confidence in the future as in the past. The meeting terminated amidst great enthusiasm.

THE TURKISH TREATY

(By C. F. ANDREWS)

An almost complete break-down in health had made it impossible for me to write on paper all that I felt of indignation and shame at the time of the publication of the Turkish Peace Treaty. Other subjects also, such as Fiji and East Africa, about which I had special knowledge, called for immediate attention. As a result of this, I did no more than make, along with others, my own emphatic protest against the breach of faith involved in the Treaty terms with Turkey concerning Asia Minor and Thrace. In my letter, I pointed out the most flagrant injustice of all, namely, the placing of Adrianople, a city of sacred Muslim memories, with a Turkish population, under the Greeks,—thus striking at the very heart of Constantinople itself from the North; and, on the other side of the Straits, handing over Smyrna also to the Greeks, along with its Turkish Hinterland,—thus striking at the heart of Constantinople from the South.

INDISPENSABLE BREACH OF FAITH

The pledge given by the Prime Minister, in the name of the British Government, was quite definite and clear. By no possible stretch of sophistication even, could the suburbs of Constantinople with their water supply,—a few square miles in extent,—be regarded as the fulfilment of the solemn pledge concerning Thrace! The shameful pillage in Asia Minor, disguised under the thin cloak of a five years' Turkish suzerainty, is not whit- less evil and vicious.

MR. CHARLES ROBERTS' LETTER

We have now received a full copy of Mr. Charles Roberts' letter, (who had the whole Treaty terms before him when he wrote) and it appears to me to have set forward the details of the direct breach of faith now committed, in a manner quite unanswerable. It is a cause of great pain and surprise that the Government of India, which had been acting all along hitherto on this question so strongly and firmly on behalf of the interests of the Indian people, should now have so ignominiously submitted without a protest, and have even lent themselves to the impossible task of apologising and explaining away the Treaty terms. I cannot understand how the Hon. Mian Muhammad Shafi, who took so firm an attitude on the Hunter Committee Report, became himself a party for this Government of India "Apology for Broken Faith."

THE ISLAND OF ADRIANOPLE

Perhaps the explanation about the "island" of Adrianople described as being in the midst of a Greek population and therefore to be handed over to the Greeks was the worst piece of special pleading which the Government of India indulged in. It could have been far more dignified to have acknowledged outright, that the pledge of the Prime Minister had been broken.

INDIA'S NEW POSITION IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

India has now an independence of its own,—a special seat in the League of Nations. There is no reason now, why it should bow down before British misdoings in which it had no share or part. I have recently been in South Africa, a colony which became, at the same time as India, a "Nation" in the League of Nations. It has astonished me more and more, since I have come back, to see how utterly indifferent to the new position, which India has attained, the Government of India is; and how the officials still echo on every point the voice of Great Britain herself. This apology for the Turkish Peace is one instance. Another most flagrant and shameful instance,—from which we shall find it hard to recover our lost honour,—was that of India, when, having gained her seat as a Nation in the League of Nations, she by her very best act, deserted China and made no protest about Shantung. It is hard to forgive that deed of those who were called her "representatives."

THE HYPOCRISY OF MANDATES

The full document of the Peace terms has now reached this country and we can see more clearly what *rapacity* has been disguised under the cloak of the 'Mandates' themselves. More unmistakably than ever the ruthlessness and the hypocrisy of the economic exploitation, which is contemplated, has been exposed. To take one instance of a new discovery,—we were agreeably surprised at first that Italy had not asked for and received her own share of the spoils along with Greece,—her bitter Mediterranean rival; but now we find that not only do the Islands which she occupied during her unjust war with Turkey, concerning Tripoli, come to her share, including Rhodes, but that she has marked out for herself economic interests such as coal fields and the like in the hinter land of the Gulf of Adalia.

As we read through the whole document, and, what is still more important, read what lies before it, it becomes impossible not to be disgusted with the intolerable lust and greed, which is being sold to the full under the pious covering garb of mandatory trusteeship of weaker nations.

PREDATORY IMPERIALISM

Like some fatal bacillus, or virus, predatory imperialism, after the war has been fought and won, has infected the victorious powers of Europe. France, was once the defender of light and liberty for the whole world, is now engaged in training in Europe itself a conscript army of Senegalese Negro troops, who will soon be 300,000 strong, for the purpose, on the one hand, of holding down by brute force a broken Germany, while on the other hand, she absorbs the whole of Morocco within her Empire and adds Syria to her spoils. In the French Congo France has not yet rid herself of the evils of "concessionaire" company exploitation, which are parallel to the things that shocked the world in the Belgian Congo, under King Leopold. It is impossible to respect France any longer as a country in the vanguard of freedom.

The rest of the victorious powers economically bankrupt on account of the wastage of the war, are not willing, at such a penurious time as this, to be left behind in the race for new "possessions." Great Britain is adding over 700,000 square miles of new territory to her Empire, excluding Mesopotamia and Persia. In East Africa Great Britain has recently thrown one slice of country called Suba Land (which she did not need) to Italy; and another slice, called Ruanda, to Belgium (inspite of all the Congo revelations); retaining all the while for herself the choicest morsels and receiving some coveted copper-mines in the Congo basin from Belgium in return for Ruanda.

THE MUSLIM LANDS

But the parcelling out of territory in East and Central Africa, and in New Guinea and the Pacific, has not been sufficient. The Muslim lands nearer home were still not entirely occupied by Europe. And so Cyprus has been finally annexed by Great Britain and Egypt also. Tripoli, whose occupation by force was one of the blackest acts of treachery and brutality committed during this century, has now been finally annexed by Italy. Tunis and Morocco has been annexed by France. The Treaty terms disclose that this economic exploitation has no limits. France has already begun her military conquest of Syria, using borrowed money for the purpose. She will soon be obliged to employ also her Senegalese troops, many of whom have not long since emerged from cannibalism. They have still in their bodies uncontrolled (as we have recently witnessed in Germany) the passions of the savage.

THE 'TIMES' AND MESOPOTAMIA

Italy, as we have seen,—inspite of the professions of Signor Nitti, and the silence of the Treaty about actual occupation,—is only waiting her time to seize the full prize that has been allotted to her in Southern

Asia Minor. Greece, the bankrupt State, has been led to the full limit with the rich and renowned lands about which Mr. Lloyd George talked, and Great Britain?—Even the "Times" cannot stomach the great slices of meat which are to fall to Great Britain's share, in Cyprus, Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Persia. The gluttony of swallowing this—along with 700,000 square miles elsewhere—is too great,—even for the "Times." That great Imperialist newspaper points out how the occupation of Mesopotamia and Persia will mean a cost of at least £50,000,000 each year at a time when Great Britain is already nearly bankrupt.

"THE CRY OF OIL"

But the cry of "oil" is raised, and the jaded appetite of the British public is, once more excited. We have the spectacle of a country, which is literally thousands of millions of pounds in debt, rushing into further debts, rather than miss this golden opportunity of seizing, before anyone else, the oil wells which are said to exist, near Mosul. Each day, a fresh debate is held, in the French Council Chamber, and in the British Parliament, whose only summary sent by Reuter is the one burning question,—“are the oil wells to be found on the British side, or on the French side of the mandated territory, which is held in trusteeship for weak and helpless nations?”

HOLLOWNESS OF THE WHOLE SYSTEM

If the hollowness of the new mandatory system needed any further expressing surely this latest series of events has exposed it. How unselfishly would Great Britain or France have been willing to undertake the mandatory trusteeship of Armenia, if there had been oil wells in those remote regions! But in the Middle East, at any rate, it appears almost to have become a proverb—"No oil, no mandate." *Bombay Chronicle.*

INDIA'S NEED

CHEMISTS NOT POLITICIANS

"I am a radical in social reforms. I entirely agree with you that Hindu widows should marry. This movement should be encouraged," said Sir P. C. Roy to a "Statesman" representative, who found him working alone in his laboratory in the City College.

Regulating the flame of a Bunsen burner beneath a silver crucible, dressed in the conventional garb of Bengal the great Indian chemist was standing at a long table surrounded by a formidable array of retorts, glass tubes, rubber tubes, and other paraphernalia common to a chemists' laboratory. By his side was a heap of papers containing notes of experiments, lectures and so on. He is one of the most unassuming of men, and would easily be lost in a crowd of six—as long as he kept silent. When he speaks his dark eyes glow, and his whole face and person are animated by the vividness of his thought, and the earnestness of his voice and the evident sincerity of his words would soon arrest attention anywhere.

Still watching the crucible on the fire he said, "I was asked by my friends to stand for election to the new Legislative Council for my native place, but I was obliged to refuse. They made many complimentary speeches to persuade me but I told them there are 300 million inhabitants in India, when there are 30 chemists in India. I will consent to give up my work and enter politics.

After peering again into the crucible on the flame, he continued.

"There are too many politicians in India already—more than we know what to do with—but chemists are sadly needed in this country, more than, even politicians. We have not enough chemists. I am deeply interested in politics. I would like to pin the new Hindu widow marriage movement, which you have so nobly encouraged, I would like to do many other

things. I am interested in so many directions, but every fraction of a second I give to other things, is so much robbed from chemistry—and my work suffers. Again the crucible demanded his attention. In a minute or two he continued.

"It has been so arranged by circumstances that Indian and European must live together side by side. They can live and work together side by side in peace and harmony, without animosity, jealousy or heart-burnings. It is time to realise that the good of the one is the good of the other. Your attempt to represent this idea is the only right thing you could do in justice to yourself and the people."

Sir P. C. Roy looked out of the long glass window for a few seconds contemplating the sky in silence and then turned round and said:

"Technical and scientific research, industry and commerce are wanted even more than politics, and the people are apt to lose sight of them and in them lie their best interest in these days of exciting political agitations."—*Bombay Chronicle.*

BRITISH LABOUR CONFERENCE ON THE PUNJAB TRAGEDY

A special cable to the *Bombay Chronicle* from London, dated June 25, says:—A striking and impressive scene was witnessed at the annual Conference of the Labour Party when a resolution on India came up for discussion. The text of the resolution was as follows:—

"That the Conference reaffirms its conviction that only on the basis of democratic self-determination, with adequate protection for minorities, can any stable or satisfactory settlement of the world be arrived at, and that this principle is applicable to all peoples that show themselves capable of expressing a common will. The Conference, therefore, demands the full and frank application of this principle in the re-organisation of the Government of India that is now in progress, in such a way as to satisfy all the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people. It asks that corresponding measures may be taken in Burma, Ceylon, and other parts of the British Empire, in which self-Government is demanded. It emphatically protests against the militarist and repressive methods adopted by the present British Government and expresses its sympathy with the peoples now held in subjection. It denies the right of any Government to govern a country against the will of the majority, and, while expressing the hope that all the peoples of the British Empire will prefer to remain as parts of that Empire so soon as their aspirations have been dealt with in a thoroughly conciliatory manner, by the granting of adequate measures of autonomy, it declares that the final decision must rest with those people themselves. The Conference deeply deplores the cruel and barbarous action of the British officers in the Punjab. It extends its sympathy to the sufferers by these unpardonable atrocities which, after much delay, have now been far too mildly censured by the Government, and it urges that all the officials concerned should be formally brought to trial before a Criminal Court in order that their personal responsibility for acts contrary to law may be investigated, and, if found guilty, they may be duly punished. Whilst doing this, the Conference is fully alive to the fact that the civil Government must be held responsible for what has happened, and calls for the recall of the Viceroy as the only proof that can be given to India that this country is deeply moved by what has taken place, and does not mean it to be repeated."

The resolution was moved on behalf of the Executive by Mr. Ben Spoor, who said: "No atrocities committed in Europe in recent years had shown a worse example of cruelty and unwise and mad policy than the events which produced the crisis in Amritsar. Labour must demand the impeachment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the recall of the man above who was ultimately responsible—Lord Chelmsford."—*Gujarati.*

"THE ONLY COURSE"**MR. GANDHI'S LETTER TO VICEROY****"YET THERE IS AN ESCAPE"****IF VICEROY LEADS AGITATION**

Mr. M. K. Gandhi has sent the following letter to His Excellency the Viceroy:—

Your Excellency, As one who has enjoyed a certain measure of your Excellency's confidence and as one who claims to be a devoted well-wisher of the British Empire, I owe it to your Excellency, and through your Excellency to His Majesty's ministers, to explain my connection with and my conduct in the Khilafat question.

At the very earliest stage of the war even while I was in London organising the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps I began to interest myself in the Khilafat question. I perceived how deeply moved the Mussalman world in London was, when Turkey decided to throw in her lot with Germany. On my arrival in the January of 1915 I found the same anxiousness and earnestness among the Mussalmans with whom I came in contact. Their anxiety became intense when the information about the secret treaties leaked out. Distrust of British intentions filled their minds and despair took possession of them. Even at that moment I advised my Mussalman friends not to give way to despair but to express their fears and their hopes in a disciplined manner. It will be admitted that the whole of the Mussalman India has behaved in a singularly restrained manner during the past five years and that the leaders have been able to keep the turbulent sections of their community under complete control.

MOSLEMS SHOCKED

The peace terms and your Excellency's defence of them have given the Mussalmans of India a shock from which it will be difficult for them to recover. The terms violate the ministerial pledges and utterly disregard Mussalman sentiment. I consider that as a staunch Hindu wishing to live on terms of the closest friendship with my Mussalman countrymen, I should be an unworthy son of India if I did not stand by them in their hour of trial. In my humble opinion, their cause is just. They claim that Turkey must not be punished, if their sentiment is to be respected. Muslim soldiers did not fight to inflict punishment on their own Khalifa or to deprive him of his territories. The Mussalman attitude has been consistent throughout these five years.

My duty to the Empire to which I owe my loyalty requires me to resist the cruel violence that has been done to the Mussalman sentiment so far as I am aware. Mussalmans and Hindus have, as a whole, lost faith in British justice and honour. The report of the majority of the Hunter Committee, your Excellency's despatch thereon and Mr. Montagu's reply have only aggravated the distrust.

THE ONLY COURSE

In these circumstances the only course open to one like me is either in despair to sever all connection with British rule or if I still retained faith in the inherent superiority of the British constitution to all others at present in vogue, to adopt such means as will rectify the wrong done and thus restore confidence. I have not lost faith in such superiority and I am not without hope that somehow or other justice will yet be rendered, if we show the requisite capacity for suffering. Indeed my conception of that constitution is that it helps only those who are ready to help themselves. I don't believe that it protects the weak. It gives free scope to the strong to maintain their strength and develop it. The weak under it go to the wall.

It is then, because I believe in the British constitution, that I have advised my Mussulman friends to

withdraw their support from your Excellency's Government and the Hindus to join them should the peace terms not be revised in accordance with the solemn pledges of ministers and the Muslim sentiment. Three courses were open to the Mahommedans in order to mark their emphatic disapproval of the utter injustice to which His Majesty's ministers have become a party, if they have not actually been the prime perpetrators of it. They are:

1. To resort to violence.
2. To advise emigration on a wholesale scale.
3. Not to be a party to the injustice by ceasing to co-operate with the Government.

NON-CO-OPERATION

Your Excellency must be aware that there was a time when the boldest, though also the most thoughtless among the Mussalmans favoured violence and that Hijrat (emigration) has not yet ceased to be the battle-cry. I venture to claim that I have succeeded by patient reasoning in weaning the party of violence from its ways. I confess that I did not—I did not attempt to—succeed in weaning them from violence on moral grounds but purely on utilitarian grounds. The result for the time being at any rate has however been stop violence. The school of Hijrat has received a check if it has not stopped its activity entirely. I hold that no repression could have prevented a violent eruption, if the people had not presented to them a form of direct action involving considerable sacrifice and ensuring success, if such direct action was largely taken up by the public. Non-co-operation was the only dignified and constitutional form of such direct action. For it is the right recognised from times immemorial of the subject to refuse to assist a ruler who misrules.

At the same time I admit that non-co-operation practised by the mass of people is attended with grave risks. But in a crisis such as has overtaken the Mussalmans of India no step that is unattended with large risks can possibly bring about the desired change. Not to run some risks will be to court much greater risks; if not virtual destruction of law and order.

But there is yet an escape from non-co-operation. The Mussalman representation has requested your Excellency to lead the agitation yourself as did your distinguished predecessor at the time of the South African trouble. But if you cannot see your way to do so non-co-operation becomes a dire necessity. I hope your Excellency will give those who have accepted my advice and myself the credit for being actuated by nothing less than a stern sense of duty.

I have the honour to remain,

Your Excellency's obdt. servant,

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Laburnum Road,
Gamdevi, Bombay,
22nd June, 1920.

BRITISH (?) RULE IN FIJI

We take the following from a recent number of *India*:—

The *Bombay Chronicle* and the *Leader*,—indeed the Indian mail in general—give horrifying particulars of the recent disturbances in Fiji. As in the case of the Punjab, long-suppressed truth is at last leaking out. A strike for purely economic reasons was followed by the appointment of an Economic Commission of Investigation. So far so good.

The most notable Indian leader in Fiji at the time was Dr. Manilal. On February 17th a false rumour was started by some Europeans that Mrs. Manilal was going to be arrested on a warrant with three other Indian women; so a large number of Indian women gathered together at a place to consider the matter.

A special European constable, Mr. Reay, went to the place—which was a private enclosure—and began to put some questions to an Indian woman named Rahimian. Rahimian answered the questions in a straightforward manner. Mr. Reay got excited and beat Rahimian with the baton. Some other Indian women came to the rescue of Rahimian, but they were also beaten by the other constables who had now arrived. The sight of Indian women being assaulted by their brutal overseers (of the days of indenture slavery) excited the Indian mob, which attacked the police. Three European special constables were injured, one of them was rather badly hurt. The defence force armed with machine-guns and rifles arrived. Some shots were fired upon the unarmed Indians, some of them were killed and many were seriously wounded. More than 200 Indian men and 30 women were arrested.

The houses of Indians were surrounded by the military to get hold of the supposed rioters and it is alleged that these military men committed atrocities upon the Indians. Many Indians had to bribe the police to save their lives. The Fiji Government legislated against the moving of Indians in groups of more than five or the living of more than seven together under a roof. Indians were deprived of their sticks. In fact, a sort of martial law was proclaimed according to the Act of Public Safety in Times of Civil Commotion Ordinance, 1920. It was made penal to Indians to stir out of their homes without a permit. This permit in many cases was not granted without a promise to go back to work at the old rates of pay. Any and every Indian who dared to come out of his home was beaten by constables. More than 150 Indians were sentenced to imprisonment and inhuman treatment was accorded to them in the gaols. In fact, a reign of terror was established in Fiji.

ફરેક હાંદીએ પોતાના ઘરમાં રાખવા લાયક અણીતા વીર પુરોહી અને સત્યાગ્રહ વખતે લેવાયેલી છબીઓ

સુદરઆર કપર ઉપર છપાયેલી નીચેની છબીઓ 'ઇડિયન કોમિયનિસ્ટ' પ્રેસ, ફીનીક્સ, નાટાલ, થી શ્રી. ૧/૦ની કમ્પ લેખે મળી શકશે. અમારા વાંચકોને આ છબીઓ રાખવાની અને ખોસે ફેલાવેલી કરીએ છીએ. કેમકે અમે માનીએ છીએ કે ન હામી નહેર ખબરો ધરની દિવાલો ઉપર ચોટાડવા કરતાં, આવી છબીઓ મદારી રાખવી એમાં વધારે માન રહેલું છે.

મરહુમ એન. દાદાભાઈ નવરોલ, મરહુમ એ. મી. ગોખલે, મરહુમ સર ફીરોઝસાહે મહેતા, મરહુમ સર રતન તાતા, મરહુમ સર વીલીયમ વેડરબરન, મરહુમ કાઉન્ટ ટોલસ્ટોય, મરહુમ રેવરન્ડ બે. બે. ડોક, મરહુમ મી. સોરાબજી સાપુરજી અડાજીલીયા, મરહુમ મી. નાગપાન, મરહુમ મી. નારજી સામી, મરહુમ મી. એમ. એચ. નાહર, મરહુમ મીસ વલીઅમ મોદલીયર, મરહુમ મી. હાલ દાઉદ ફરેક, મરહુમ મી. અબદુલ હાલ આદમ.

રાહટ એન. હોરડ એમ્પટલી, મી. કેલનેક, રાઈટ એન સ્પ્રિંગ અમીરઅલી, મી. પોલાક, મી. હંમામ અબદુલ કાદર બાવાહીર, મી. બદરી, મી. વી. એ. ચેટીયાર, સા. આ. બેરર કો. મી. એલ. હંસરામ, મી. હંમર હાલ આમીદ કવેરી, મી. એસપ રાયપત. (બેરીરટર તરીકે તેમજ ફેરીવાળા તરીકે) મીસીસ સોદા, મીસીસ સેખ મહેતાબ, હનીફા ખીખી, મી સન્યાસી સ્વાસી શંકે રૈનદ, મી ગોપાલદાસ હાંદુ વેરલમનુ મદિર, હાંદુસ્તાન દેશપાર મથેલા ૬૦૭ હાંદીઓનો ગરૂપ.

ખાજુ સ્વીન્ડનાથ ટાગોર, સર બેનલબેન શેખરસેન. સ્ટાફ સાથે મરહુમ મી. ગોખલેની દક્ષિણ આફ્રિકાની યુવાકાળી વખત તેમજ હડતાલ વખતની છબીઓ છે.

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