

Indian Opinion

No. 38—VOL. XVIII. FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17TH, 1920.

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

NOTES AND NEWS

WE are glad to hear of the brilliant electioneering success of our tried and trusted friend Dr. A. Abdurahman. He has been re-elected to his seat in the City Council, Capetown, where, we hope, he will continue his splendid work in the interests of the Coloured and Indian community.

Those of us who have given the meanest thought to current politics and even the most careless attention to the public career of Dr. Abdurahman must have been impressed by the able and insistent manner in which he has fought for the rights of the oppressed and unhappy dark peoples in South Africa.

Indians can never be grateful enough for the heroic manner in which he has championed the cause of our people in the Cape. He has always raised violent objection and indignant protest whenever attempts were made in the City Council to curtail the rights and privileges of the Indian. We trust that we will find him the same strong advocate and unfailing friend.

We are sorry to hear that Mr. A. Ismail the Rate-payers' Association candidate for Ward 6, Capetown, has been disqualified on grounds that he has not paid one year's rates. Mr. Derry has been successfully elected in his place. The Cape Indians have then been robbed of the possibility of having one of their own representatives in the City Council. We understand that Mr. Ismail has already taken legal action with a view to having the matter tested by the Supreme Court.

At a crowded meeting of electors of Ward 6, Capetown, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"This meeting regrets to learn of the disqualification of Mr. A. Ismail. Should he be successful in setting aside the election of Mr. William Derry unopposed, we pledge ourselves to support Mr. A. Ismail in every way possible. In the event of an adverse judgment being given against Mr. A. Ismail, this meeting asks Mr. William Derry to resign his seat on the City Council and thus create a vacancy in Ward 6."

We beg to draw our readers' attention to an advertisement appearing in this issue re Rent Board returns for Ward 4 of the Borough of Durban.

Mr. J. L. Farrell, secretary to the Durban Rent Board, was appointed a Commissioner for Oaths for the express purpose of enabling lessors of property to swear to their statements before him. This will mean a slight saving to the landlords of properties in Ward 4, whose terms have to reach the Board by noon on October 13.

Mr. Abdul Hack Kazi accompanied by Messrs. Dawad Bayat and Motala has left for India by the

s.s. *Karoo* last Wednesday. We wish them all a safe voyage.

GREAT HOPES AND GREAT PROMISES

TO THE EDITOR "INDIAN OPINION"

Sir,—There are times when silence is golden and others when silence is cowardly. To refrain from speaking at this pass however little weight one's words may carry, would, I feel, savour of cowardice.

I have recently been reading a little book, "Three Years of War for Peace" by Basil Matthews, written in 1918, while yet the War was in progress. Here is one quotation: "The call of such an Empire to-day in the face of our new experiences of unity, is not so much to imitate as to initiate, not to follow precedents but to make them not to ride easily in the track of the pioneers but to share their venturesome spirit and go beyond them for we start where they left off. Their foundations are superb; we should disappoint them if we built no greater than they dreamed."

The words were written during the final phases of the World-War—the War that was to complete, the destruction of the high-handed privilege, was to make the world safe for democracy—or was it hypocrisy?—was to ensure the self-determination of small peoples and generally to plant the flag of freedom and even-handed justice over the grave of brute force, the mailed fist and oppression.

One of the late Jack London's virile works is styled "When God Laughs." My own conception of the Diety precludes the idea of levity or cynicism as applicable to God, but, if there be any substance in the belief in a personal Devil, he—or is it perchance as some have hinted She?—must be positively rocking with Satanic merriment. Scarcely two short years and already a recrudescence of Massacre, repression of hopes and aspirations inspired by fair promises, harsh rule that is the negation of all that stands for liberty and freedom of expansion.

Let me quote further from the little work already referred to. Speaking of India's contribution to the fight for emancipation from German tyranny the author wrote: "The merest catalogue of the Imperial Service given by the smaller outposts is endless..... But when all is told the strangest story of all remains—one that reads like an Arabian Night's romance, yet is the solid history of our own day. No one living can have remained unmoved by, or will ever forget, the thrill of emotion that quickened the pulse of England when India offered herself with oriental lavishness... Germany had recorded her expectation that in a European War, England would need to send additional troops from home to hold down restive India. In the event England called from India more than three-quarters of her British troops and more than a half of her native army..... The offering of India was first hailed with pelting roses at Marseilles, and was sealed in blood when the Indian troops captured Neuve Chapelle. From that day to this in Gallipoli and Salonika, in Palestine, Mesopotamia and in Africa, India has given of its best in the strange war of the sahibs across the "black water." Surely a

sufficiently high testimonial! And what by way of appreciation, gratitude or ought else that rightly might be expected as the natural corollary of the compliments paid and the high hopes inspired? The flouting of Mussulman sentiment; Potsdam translated to the Punjab; the blackening and imprisoning of freedoms champions; yet once again the betrayal of principles in the interests of expediency!

Let me offer yet one more quotation from the same little book: "There is a scale of plan and action which will make our Raj, not a competing Empire in a race for power, but—as it were—a congeries of nations standing everywhere for equal liberty among all peoples—a unit in a world-wide supernatural league that will discrown tyranny, heal divisions, cleanse the earth from cruelty, establish knowledge and set up freedom in all the earth." A great hope and a great promise, greatly spoken.

Is the soul of the Empire so dead that there be none in power with courage and determination sufficiently high to translate them into deeds?

Yours, etc.

L. W. RITCH.

New Chambers,
New Street,
Opposite "D" Court,
Johannesburg.

8th September, 1920.

AMRITSAR AND THE ANGLO-INDIAN CREED

[By JOSHUA BROOKES IN *India*.]

The startling diversity of opinion that has manifested itself between the views held by Englishmen in India, and Englishmen at home on the subject of General Dyer's action at Amritsar is only to be explained by the fact that freedom of opinion on certain topics is not permitted in Anglo-Indian Society. On certain points perfect unanimity is demanded, and any deviation from this rule is resented, and, when possible, repressed. There exists, in fact, in India a creed which is far more effective in its action than any of the three confessions of Christendom. In these days of religious toleration a man may with safety deny the tenets of the Apostles' Creed, and it is considered fashionable to ridicule those Athanasius; but let him beware how he offend against the written dogmas of the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy.

The chief article of this creed is that long residence in India as a British official alone entitles anybody to express any opinion on any Indian political question. This is treated as an axiom more sound than any enunciated by Euclid, and more sacred than any dogma the Papacy. In support of this idol of the cave have Anglo-Indian journalists and novelists pored out the vitals of their scorn on the radical peer and globe-trotting member of Parliament. All new-comers to accommodate their views to those of the orthodox, or else incur a species of social ostracism in the Mess, at the gymkhana, and in the drawing-room. It would scarcely be believed to what an extent freedom of discussion is cabined and confirmed in Anglo-Indian society. Another article of the creed, which follows naturally upon the first is that all interference from London, whether from the Secretary of State for India, or from debates in Parliament is to be condemned. Incredible as it may appear, this is the El Dorado of Indian officialism—to be free from all external control, to reign as undisputed despots, suppressing all hostile comments in the Press or on the platform, and even in the smoking-room or at the dining-table.

With reference to criticism in the Press, the orthodox defend themselves by the use of an amusing dilemma. If the critic is a mere member of the non-official general public his remarks are treated as ill-informed and impertinent; if the critic is by some rare chance an official he will generally block his

promotion, unless he withdraws his statements and apologises for his misconduct. With this two-edged sword of the charge of disloyalty against the official and of ignorance against the non-official do the Michael O'Dwyers and the Bosworth Smiths guard their paradise of irresponsibility to public opinion, whether expressed in England or in India.

They seem to expect that the English nation will be content to send 80,000 of her sons to maintain in lucrative posts a body of officials who assert that they and they alone know how India should be governed, conveniently forgetting that even an Indian civil servant is but a mortal, and therefore subject to the strong influences that arise from vested interest. If the critic be a retired official of such eminence that he cannot be charged with ignorance, and since his absence from India prevents the pressure of the social and official boycott, then the orthodox will in the columns of the Pioneer express their amazement that such a person should like to draw a pension from a Government which he dares to criticise; again conveniently overlooking the fact these pensions are defrayed not by the Government, but the Indian taxpayers, whose cause the critic is espousing.

Had any Prussian Junk acted in some German colony as General Dyer acted at Amritsar they would have condemned him; but the peculiar psychology of the British community in India due to their environment makes them ready to condone, and even admire, such an exhibition of ruthless militarism, if only it be performed in India.

MR. GANDHI AND NON-CO-OPERATION

The following letter was addressed to the Viceroy of India by Mr. M. K. Gandhi:—

Sir,—It is not with a pang that I return the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal granted to me by your predecessor for my humanitarian work in South Africa for my services as officer in charge of the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps in 1906 and the Boer War medal for my services as Assistant Superintendent of the Indian Volunteer Stretcher Bearer Corps during the Boer War of 1899-1900. I venture to return these medals in pursuance of the scheme of non-co-operation inaugurated to day in connection with the Khilafat movement. Valuable as these honours have been to me, I cannot wear them with any easy conscience so long as my Mussalman countrymen have to labour under a wrong done to their religious sentiment. Events that have happened during the past month have confirmed in the opinion that the Imperial Government have acted in the Khilafat matter in an unscrupulous, immoral and unjust manner, and have been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend their immorality. I can retain neither respect nor affection for such a Government.

PUNJAB TRAGEDY

The attitude of the Imperial and Your Excellency's Governments on the Punjab question has given me additional cause for great dissatisfaction. I had the honour as your Excellency is aware, as one of the Congress commissioners to investigate the cause of the disorder in the Punjab during the April of 1919. And it is my deliberate conviction that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was totally unfit to hold his policy of Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and that his policy was primarily responsible for infuriating the mob at Amritsar. No doubt the mob excesses were unpardonable; incendiarism, murder of five innocent Englishmen and the cowardly assault on Miss Sherwood were most deplorable and uncalled for. But the punitive measures taken by General Dyer, Col. Frank Johnson, Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Shri Ramsud, Mr. Malik Khan and other officers were out of all proportion to the crime of the people and amounted to wanton cruelty and inhumanity almost unparalleled in modern times. Your Excellency's

light-hearted treatment of the official crime, your exoneration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Mr. Montagu's despatch and above all the shameful ignorance of the Punjab events and callous disregard of the feelings of Indians betrayed by the House of Lords have filled me with the gravest misgivings regarding the future of the Empire, have estranged me completely from the present Government and have disabled me from tendering as I have hitherto whole-heartedly tendered my loyal co-operation.

GOVERNMENT HOPELESSLY INDIFFERENT

In my humble opinion the ordinary method of agitating by way of petitions, deputations and the like is no remedy for moving to repentance a Government so helplessly indifferent to the welfare of its charge, as the Government of India has proved to be. In European countries, condonation of such grievous wrongs as the Khilafat and the Punjab would have resulted in a bloody revolution by the people. They would have resisted at all cost national emasculation such as the said wrongs imply. But half of India is too weak to offer violent resistance and the other half is unwilling to do so. I have therefore ventured to suggest the remedy of non-co-operation which enables those who wish, to dissociate themselves from the Government and which if it is unattended by violence and undertaken in an ordered manner, must compel it to retrace its steps and undo the wrongs committed. But whilst I shall pursue the policy of non-co-operation in so far as I can carry the people with me, I shall not lose hope that you will yet see your way to do justice. I therefore respectfully ask Your Excellency to summon a conference of the recognised leaders of the people and in consultation with them find a way that would placate the Mussalmans and do reparation to the unhappy Punjab.

I remain, Sir,
Your faithful servant,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

1st August.

CAPE CITY COUNCIL

MR. A. ISMAIL DISQUALIFIED

It came like a bombshell to the supporters of Mr. A. Ismail, the Ratepayers' Association candidate for Ward 6, (says the *Cape Argus*), when they learned on Saturday the 6th inst., that he had been disqualified, and that his opponent had been elected without a contest.

Interviewed this morning, Mr. Ismail said the whole affair came as a surprise. The first intimation he had that anything was wrong was about 11.30 on Saturday morning when he received a message to call at the City Hall. He at once proceeded to the Town Clerk's office, where he found Mr. Gardner, the Deputy Mayor, and Mr. Finch. The question put to him was whether he had any property in Long Street. Mr. Ismail replied that he had, and was then told that the municipal rates on the premises had not been paid for the current year.

"I at once pointed out," said Mr. Ismail, "that that was the fault of my agent, who held my power of attorney, and said I was astonished that my attention should have been called to the fact at the eleventh hour, and on the eve of the election. I at once offered the amount due, £42 15s. 11d. This was refused, and then I wanted to know why my nomination had been accepted, and mentioned that I had already expended about £325 in connection with the election. I was told very courteously that nothing else could be done, and that Mr. Derry would be declared elected, and I had option but to retire. I intend to lodge a protest, and have already taken legal action with a view to having the matter tested by the Supreme Court."

Asked whether he knew who was responsible for

the Town Clerk taking action, Mr. Ismail said that both he and his supporters had a very shrewd idea, and characterised it as both dishonourable and ungentlemanly on the part of a European, whom they believed was the prime mover, to prevent an Indian member of the Ratepayers' Association having an opportunity of entering the Town Council.

THE LATE MR. B. G. TILAK

MR. GANDHI'S TRIBUTE

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—

Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak is no more. It is difficult to believe him as dead. He was so much part of the people. No man of our times had the hold on the masses that Mr. Tilak had. The devotion that he commanded from thousands of his countrymen was extraordinary. He was unquestionably the idol of his people. His word was law among thousands. A giant among men has fallen. The voice of the lion is hushed.

What was the reason for his hold upon his countrymen. I think the answer is simple. His patriotism was a passion with him. He knew no religion but love of his country. He was a born democrat. He believed in the rule of majority with an intensity that fairly frightened me. But that gave him his hold. He had an iron will which he used for his country. His life was an open book. His tastes were simple. His private life was spotlessly clean. He had dedicated his wonderful talents to his country. No man preached the gospel of the Swaraj with the consistency and the insistence of Lokmanya. His countrymen therefore implicitly believed in him. His courage never failed him. His optimism was irrepresible. He had hoped to see Swaraj fully established during his lifetime. If he failed, it was not his fault. He certainly brought it nearer by many a year. It is for us, who remained behind, to put forth redoubled effort to make it a reality in the shortest possible time.

Lokmanya was an implacable foe of the bureaucracy, but this is not to say that he was a hater of Englishmen or English rule. I warn Englishmen against making the mistake of thinking that he was their enemy.

I had the privilege of listening to an impromptu, learned discourse by him, at the time of the last Calcutta Congress on Hindi being the national language. He had just returned from the Congress pandal. It was a treat to listen to his calm discourse on Hindi. In the course of his address he paid a glowing tribute to the English for their care of the vernaculars. His English visit, in spite of his sad experience of English juries, made him a staunch believer in British democracy and he even seriously made the amazing suggestion that India should instruct it on the Punjab through the cinematograph. I relate this incident not because I share his belief (for I do not), but in order to show that he entertained no hatred for Englishmen. But he could and would not put up with an inferior status of India and the Empire. He wanted immediate equality which he believed was his country's birthright. And in his struggle for India's freedom he did not spare the Government in the battle for freedom and asked for none. I hope that Englishmen will recognise the worth of the man whom India has adored.

For us, he will go down to the generations yet unborn as a maker of modern India. They will revere his memory as of a man who lived for them and died for them. It is blasphemy to talk of such a man as dead. The permanent essence of him abides with us for ever. Let us erect for the only Lokmanya of India an imperishable monument by weaving into our own lives his bravery, his simplicity, his wonderful industry and his love of his country. May God grant his soul peace.

JUVENILE LABOUR

The Annual Report of the Department of Mines and Industries on Factories and Labour first published as a Blue Book gives some interesting information.

We take the following from the Report on Juvenile Labour.

"Before the introduction of the Factories Act there was no control either over the hours of work of this class of labour or of the age at which juveniles were allowed to engage in factory work. The only industry from which they were prohibited was mining. The Union Factory Act adopts the principles laid down in the Berne Conventions of 1906 and 1913, which prohibit women and young persons from working during the night.

The ordinary hours provided under the Act between which females may work are from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. for boys under 16, but the Minister is given power to extend these hours up to 9 p.m., provided the maximum hours of work allowed under the Act are not exceeded."

"The maximum hours allowed for adult females is 9½ per day and 50 hours per week, for persons under sixteen there are 8 hours per day and 45 per week, with a compulsory half-holiday for both classes of labour. Without the permission of the Inspector this class of labour is not permitted to work overtime for more than 3 hours on 3 successive days in a week; in the case of females on 60 days in the year and in the case of juveniles for 20 days."

"The minimum age at which a child may be employed in factories varies in different countries, 14 being the age in the United States, Belgium, Great Britain, etc., 13 in France, Germany, the Netherlands (boys only) and S. Australia; 12 in the Argentine, Brazil, Italy, Japan, Mexico and Portugal; 11 in Roumania; 10 in Spain and 9 in India."

"The Union Act adopted the age as 12 with a prohibition that no children between the ages of 12 and 14 may be employed, except with the consent of an Inspector, and he may only give such consent if it is not a breach of an Education Act.

The Education Act provides for the compulsory education of all European children up to the 6th Standard.

On the 31st December, 1919, the following juveniles between the ages of 12 and 14 were employed in the various Factories in the Union:—Europeans 2; Asiatics, 275; Coloured, 24; Natives, 30. Total, 331.

From the above table it will be seen that practically no European children under the age of 14 are working in Factories in the Union, as it has been the policy of the Department to discountenance the employment of what are known as "half-time juveniles," is being considered that the hours spent in work in the afternoon in children to those spent in school are bound to have a deleterious effect on the growth of the children as well as on their school work.

With regard to the Asiatic, coloured and native children, the Department has been faced with considerable difficulty as the provisions of the Acts enforcing compulsory education do not apply. In many of the congested areas the school accommodation is quite inadequate for the number of children, and the Department has had to decide whether it is better to allow these children to work in factories or to withhold its consent and practically turn them into the street.

It has been argued that by permitting these children to work in factories, the Department is giving them an undue advantage over Europeans, but it must be remembered that in nearly all instances the children's parents are very poor; that they depend upon the wages that the children earn for their daily sustenance, and that there are no educational facilities for them.

It has been with great reluctance that the Department has permitted this state of affairs, but, in view of all the circumstances, it was felt that there was no alternative and that, at any rate, the welfare of the children could be guarded by taking special care that the conditions under which they worked should be as good as possible.

It is a provision of the Act that all juveniles under the age of 16 shall pass a medical examination that they are physically fit for the particular employment for which they are engaged and examining officers have been asked to pay special attention in the case of those under 14 years. This work is done by the District Surgeons. Some difficulty has been experienced in the determination of the ages of many juveniles, especially in the case of Asiatics, as it is the exception, not the rule, for parents or juveniles to any but a very hazy idea of their age and the physical development varies so enormously that it is extremely difficult to arrive at the true age. However, every precaution possible is taken to guard against abuse and to weed out those who are palpably younger than they are alleged to be. It is fair to say that manufacturers employing this class of labour have endeavoured to meet the Department as far as possible.

UNREST IN INDIA

MR. GANDHI'S GREAT AGITATION

BOYCOTTING NEW COUNCILS

The *Natal Advertiser* London correspondent in a message dated Sept. 14, says:—

The political situation in India is approaching a crisis.

The National Congress at Calcutta marked a turning point in Indian politics, and, according to the latest despatches from Bombay, the next three months will be the most fateful in the whole history of the country.

Mr. Gandhi, it is declared, swept the Congress off its feet. That Mr. Gandhi would succeed to some extent at the National Congress, says a *Morning Post* Bombay telegram, was a foregone conclusion, but the sweeping nature of his triumph was quite unexpected. Few people imagined that Mr. Gandhi would induce the Congress to consent to such far-reaching practical measures as the boycott of the new Councils and the boycott of the Law Courts, while the extent of the majority and the degree of his personal hold over the delegates is astounding.

The net result of the Congress is that Mr. Gandhi succeeded in obtaining the adoption of his programme of non-co-operation, which, if carried out, will mean the wrecking of the new Councils and the paralysis of the Law Courts. The adoption of further and more drastic forms of non-co-operation, and, finally, the impossibility of continuance of government, will test Mr. Gandhi's power to succeed, and will come with the elections for the new Councils. It is perfectly possible that he will stampede the whole country, and it is equally possible that he may fail to carry out his programme substantially, even among his own followers.

A *Times* telegram says the grievances of the Indians in East and South Africa have inflamed feeling. None dare forecast the position in many parts. The non-co-operation resolution, such as the boycott of the schools, colleges, Law Courts and foreign goods, is bound to fail, but the public resentment is so high, and the anti-British feeling so strong, that the position in regard to the elections to the Councils is uncertain.

Wherever thoughtful Indians are gathered, the general opinion is that the boycott of the Councils is tragic error. Yet such is the vehemence of the anti-British feeling that the whole country may be stampeded into this movement and the fair promises of the reform scheme blighted at its birth.

BURMA REFORMS

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND GOVERNORSHIP DEMANDED

The Burma Deputation which appeared before the Special Committee of the India Office on July 26 and August 9, has condemned the Government of India's Reform Proposals for Burma, mainly on the following grounds:—

- (1) That there would be no transfer of responsibility to representatives of the Burmese public;
- (2) That the Legislature would have no real and substantial elected majority; and
- (3) That the Legislature would have no control over the Executive and the Budget.

It has asked (1) that Burma might be declared a governor's province under s. 15 (1) of the Government of India Act, 1919, (2) that a Royal Commission might be sent out to Burma to take evidence and report on (a) franchise, (b) functions, (c) representation in the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, and (d) areas (if any) for exclusion from participation in constitutional reforms.

It has also urged that conditions in Burma call for modification of the Act by doing away with sex disqualification and communal representation.

The first Burma Deputation which gave evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill last year also pleaded that Burma might be included in the Bill.

The present Deputation ought to succeed, seeing that the Joint Select Committee recommended analogous reforms for Burma, and that the Secretary of State for India promised the same to the Burmese people on December 3, 1919.

Reforms are long overdue, and as Sir Reginald Cradock himself observed in paragraph 4 of the First Scheme, delay or niggardliness in the grant of reforms to Burma as compared with India may deeply wound the Burman's *amour propre* and even throw him into the arms of the agitator and revolutionary.—*India*.

A TRAGIC FARCE

In the course of an article on the Allies' reply to Turkey in answer to her objections to the Draft Peace Treaty, Mr. Syud Hossain writes in *Muslim Outlook*:

The most significant and sinister passage of the Allied reply, perhaps, is one which comes at the end, by way of peroration. "If," we read,

"the Turkish Government refuses to sign the peace, still more if it finds itself unable to re-establish its authority in Anatolia, or to give effect to the Treaty, the Allies in accordance with the terms of the Treaty may be driven to reconsider this arrangement (the retention of Constantinople by Turkey as Capital), ejecting the Turks from Europe once for all."

This is a characteristic piece of intimidation whose real purport may be discovered by a little elucidation. As the whole stipulation hinges upon the willingness or ability of the Turkish Government to do certain things, it is important to bear in mind the reality and strength of the Turkish Government in question. As the *Manchester Guardian* pointed out recently, the real Turkish Government is now centred at Angora. Ever since the allied occupation of Constantinople, the Turkish Government there has been a sham simulacrum consisting for the most part of Damad Farid Pasha—admittedly a mere creature of the British—and having no roots in national sanction or support. It follows therefore that dummy Government could not, in any case, have made a real peace on behalf of the Turkish Nation, much less honestly undertaken, with any reasonable prospect of fulfilment, to give effect to the provisions of the settlement to which it agreed. But the Allied Powers have not been content with eliminating, apparently as an effective preliminary to their ultimate purpose, the only real agency in the shape of an authentic Turkish Government with which Peace could have been concluded.

They have offered, and are seeking to enforce, terms which even Damad Farid Pasha with, we may presume, all the willingness in the world, has found it impossible either to accept or to promise to carry out. The Turkish Cabinet has resigned. We do not know whether Damad Farid Pasha will reappear, or some other Grand Vizir of the same pattern be found—within the ten days of grace—to promise to achieve the impossibilities expected and demanded of the Turkish Government. But the hollowness of any such proceeding, should it eventuate, need not be emphasised. Nothing short of a British evacuation of Constantinople will make it possible for a truly responsible and representative Government to come into existence at Constantinople, and none but a Turkish Government of such a character is ever likely to "re-establish its authority in Anatolia", or "to give effect to" this—or any other—Peace Treaty. The truth of this proposition is self-evident, and by ignoring it, and creating the farcical dilemma on the horns of which they have triumphantly impaled their creatures at Constantinople, the Allied Powers—an unamusing euphemism, we imagine, for Mr. Lloyd George...have merely given a conclusive proof to the world that the last thing they wish for is peace with Turkey. As to whether their real objective—as one must now assume it to be—of Turkish annihilation will be gained, time alone can show. But it is not to be supposed that the Turks—of all nations in the world—will suffer themselves to be extinguished without a struggle. And that means immeasurable agony and suffering—not only for the Turks.

INDIAN CANNON FODDER

SLAVES TO ENSLAVE OTHERS

Writing in the *Daily Herald* a *propos* of the dispatch of large reinforcements to Mesopotamia from India Mr. Syud Hossain asks: Is there any limit to the use, or misuse, of Indian troops for purposes of imperialistic aggression or aggrandisement? Are Indians mere mercenaries to be called upon to do dirty work for British war-lords in any or all parts of the world, where they may find it inconvenient or impracticable to send men of their own race in sufficient numbers to serve as "cannon fodder"? It is time an answer to these questions was forthcoming, and the principle on which the British Government acts in employing Indian soldiery outside the borders of India clearly refined.

Does anyone in this country know the actual number of Indian troops at present employed in (1) the Constantinople area, (2) Arabia, (3) North-East Persia, (4) North-West Persia, (5) Mesopotamia, (6) Palestine, and (7) Egypt? I suggest that some member of Parliament should seek to extract the information. The task would not be easy. Mr. Montagu will probably be found, as usual, to be in a state of blissful ignorance—what time he faithfully promises to communicate with fickle Simla on the subject. At it would be easier to get at the founts of Mr. Churchill's inner knowledge via Moscow than St. Stephen's.

THE NEW EMPIRE

Everyone knows, or should know, Mr. Syud Hossain says, that India abhors the whole scheme of a "new Middle Eastern Empire," and the other unconscionable and liberty-destroying adventures on which Mr. George, Mr. Churchill and Lord Curzon are embarked. It follows, therefore, that the use of Indian troops to crush other nations—to many of whom the Indian people are united by ties of race, religion and community of culture—is a two-fold curse: a curse to Indians and a curse to those whom they are compelled to victimise. The abomination is made possible only by the perfected military organisation of British rule in India, for I have no hesitation in saying that there is not a single Indian—Hindu, Moslem, or Sikh—who

willingly offer to take the life of his Persian, Syrian, Arab or Egyptian brother, or help to reduce others to the subjection under which he himself labours.

A GHASTLY IRONY

Yet that is the task in which he is being increasingly employed. Being a slave himself, he must need labour to enslave others. The ghastly irony of this piece of international immorality is now being keenly realised in India; that it is being also realised elsewhere is shown by a recent incident of which I was told by my friend, Shaikh M. H. Kidwai, barrister-at-law, who has just returned from India. On the same boat with him travelled a number of distinguished Sikhs, whose distinctive appearance with the imposing turban makes them conspicuous everywhere. When the ship reached Port Said, everyone, as usual, got out. The Sikh gentlemen went into a restaurant to have a meal, whereupon the Egyptian proprietor ordered them out, saying that if they could find nothing better to do than to come and help garrison Egypt they must not look for hospitality at the hands of any Egyptian.

In other words, the name of Indians has been to stink in the nostrils of other nations by their (virtually) compulsory employment as mercenaries. But Indians are *not* mercenaries, and do not propose to go on being exploited in this manner any longer.

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 WARD 4, are hereby called upon to supply the following information, which must be in possession of the Secretary by **NOON 13th OCTOBER 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

NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THIS NOTICE.

By order of the Board,
JNO. L. FARRELL,
Secretary.

Durban Rent Board,
September 10TH, 1920.

Indian Opinion

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