

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

THE *Natal Advertiser* London correspondent in a message dated Oct. 30, says:—The general situation in India is growing more unsatisfactory every day, says a *Daily Telegraph* Bombay despatch. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement is making headway. Owing to the extreme violence of recent meetings in the Punjab the Government has forbidden public meetings, except for religious purposes, at Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhpure.

The *Times* (London), correspondent at Simla says:—Gandhi's latest effort as regards the non-co-operation movement is the advocacy of celibacy. He appeals for a cessation of all additions to the population until India becomes a free nation.—Reuter.

Simla, Oct. 27.—The non-co-operation movement, instituted by Gandhi, is now creating unrest among the students of the Punjab. The Ali Garh College is closing sine die, although parents are unanimously against non-co-operation. Gandhi previously sent a letter to the trustees, in the course of which he referred to the "Satanic character" of the Government and defied any Government to attempt personally to restrain him, or the Ali brothers. He declared that they would meet internment orders as far as it suited them.—Reuter.

General Lord Rawlinson, (says Reuter), departs for India on November 1 to assume duties as Commander in-Chief. He breaks his journey at Amiens to present a Union Jack to Amiens Cathedral.

The marriage ceremony of Marimuthamal, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. P. K. Naidoo of Johannesburg took place in Tongaat on Sunday, Oct. 24, with Mr. Veerasamy, son of Mr. and Mrs. M. G. Naidoo. A special train ran from Durban to Tongaat to convey the guests who were present in very large numbers from different parts of the Province. Among the guests there were a large number of local Europeans also present at the ceremony. Telegrams of congratulations were received from different parts of the Union among which were the following:—The Transvaal British Indian Association, Johannesburg; British Indian Association, Germiston; Mr. L. W. Ritch, Patidar Society, Johannesburg; Transvaal Indian Hotel Employees' Union, Transvaal Indian Football Association; Tamil Vedic League, Tamil Society, Durban; Rev. John Thomas, Maritzburg; Resident Magistrate, Ladysmith. The bride and bridegroom were the recipients of a larger number of useful presents from their many friends and well-wishers. We wish the happy pair a pleasant and prosperous life.

The Hindu Young Men's Association of P. M. Burg issues a special appeal to all Hindus to observe the Deepavalee Day which comes on Wednesday the 10th instant, as a public holiday, and to celebrate the festival. At 3 p. m. on Deepavalee Day, a Concert will be held at the H. Y. M. A. Hall, and also the history of "Deepavalee" outlined.

The 16th annual meeting of the Hindu Young Men's Association, Maritzburg, was held on the 31st October 1920, at which the following officials were elected:—Patron, Prof. B. Parmanand. M. A., Hony. Life Vice Presidents, Messrs. T. Naidoo & R. R. Pillay; President, S. S. Pather; Vice Presidents, Messrs. P. R. Pillay, P. V. Naidu & M. M. Naidoo; Hon. Secretaries, Messrs. V. N. Pather & S. R. Naidoo; Auditor, Mr. R. N. Moodley; Delegate, Mr. M. M. Naidoo; Committee, Messrs. M. R. Naidoo, K. Murrie, K. Moodley, K. R. Naidoo, P. M. Govender, R. S. Naclar, Ayacanoo Pillay; Care Taker, P. T. Pillay. The proceedings of the meeting were enthusiastic throughout.

We are informed that the annual Dipawali Children's sports under the auspices of the Sydenham Hindu Young Men's Society will be held on Sunday the 14th day of November 1920, commencing at 9 a. m. at Sydenham near Mr. Lazarus Gabriel's residence. There will also be a five mile flat race for adults for which the entrance fee is 2/6 and the same to be paid to the Secretary Mr. J. S. Roopnarian at 14, Mercury Lane, or to the Chairman Mr. N. Sulapphen, 57 Club Arcade, Durban.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT COMMISSION

"NO WHITE RACE IN 500 YEARS"

SIR ROBERT KOTZE'S EVIDENCE

During the course of his evidence before the Unemployment Commission in Johannesburg, Sir Robert Kotze, Government Mining Engineer, on the general question of South Africa's Native labour policy, is reported to have stated:—

"We have the policy of dual labour, and the reason we have white unemployment is due to the fact that we have native labour. And it seems that the whole thing is bound up with this vast problem of the native question."

"If I look at the question in its widest aspect," said Sir Robert Kotze, "it seems to me that so far as the white race in South Africa is concerned, there can only be one end to it. We shall not be white in, say, 500 years' time."

"What do you suggest?" asked the Chairman of the Commission (Mr. H. L. Lirdsay):

"The question before the white people of this country," said Sir Robert, "is, If we go on as we are doing in 500 years' time we shall be a mixed race. Do you wish this state of affairs to come about? If they say 'Yes', then go as we are doing. If they say 'No,' we must alter the policy."

In reply to a question, he said, the issue before the white people is whether they wish to survive as a whole race or not. As we are going on, the expressed opinion of our policy is that we don't wish to survive as a white race. In 500 years' time there will be no white race. Those remaining will be no longer white. But if we make up our mind that we wish to survive as a white race we have to change the policy."

"So far as I am concerned," said Sir Robert, "I would rather see the white people survive."

The Chairman put it to the witness that they could hardly change the policy unless the Government did something.

"Not the Government, the people," replied Sir Robert. "The people of the country have to be convinced that this is the case."

Sir Robert was understood to say, in continuing, that you had to show the people that if they consulted their own convenience rather than the survival of the race then the people were making up their minds to perish.

"It is a difficult thing for the ordinary man to see," said the chairman.

"Perhaps no one has ever pointed it out to the ordinary men," answered Sir Robert. "You must show him the result of what is going on. Not only does the history of the human race prove it but it is common sense. If you shake up wine and water in a bottle you get a mixture of wine and water. That is what we are doing. We are shaking ourselves up with the black races in South Africa."

"What is the remedy?" Sir Robert was asked.

"The remedy," was the answer, "is to keep separate from the blacks and not mix up. You must go in for a policy of segregation."

Sir Robert explained that the Government had already given expression to the principle in several Acts of Parliament. "You could also make a demarcation of labour," he added. "Segregate so far as work is concerned."

Pursuing his point as to the demarcation of labour. Sir Robert said that future alluvial diamond diggings thrown open should be worked by the whites themselves; while no injustice would be done to the natives by confining diamond cutting entirely to whites. This was an entirely new industry; and so far as other industries which arose were concerned, if the people made up their minds to pursue a policy of ultimate—not immediate—segregation we might have a separation of the two races which would preserve the white race in perpetuity.

Sir Robert thought there should be an independent authority studying the question of the relation between white and coloured labour, which authority, if the policy of segregation was decided on, should indicate ways in which classes of industry could gradually be separated into black and white. Farming was one of the last in which he would introduce segregation.

"Naturally," he concluded; "in a policy like this you want to try to do as little harm as possible. It is obvious that if the people made up their minds to a policy like this, something has to be sacrificed. Material prosperity must be sacrificed at the present time for the survival of the race. The question is whether the people are prepared for this."

RAND DAILY MAIL

Dealing with the above editorially the *Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, says:—

In a striking statement made before the Unemployment Commission yesterday, Sir Robert Kotze, the Government Mining Engineer, declared that if the present labour policy is continued the white race in South Africa cannot survive. He said that in 500 years this country would be a black man's land, but other students of the question have estimated that in a much shorter period the whites will be overwhelmingly outnumbered. The danger is one to which attention has often been called in these columns in the past fifteen or sixteen years, and the census figures show clearly that it is not an imaginary one. Numerically the white people in the sub-continent are losing ground, and, under a policy which searches for more and more black labour for every industry and proposes to extend the area of recruitment, the European population must lose the day in the long run. We have striven for years to persuade the public and successive Governments to appreciate the menace of

the coloured labour policy, but though something has been done, there has not been that vigorous national, sustained action which alone can check the steady movement against the European race. One more warning has been uttered, and we again urge that the whole question demands the closest attention of the Government and of the people. The danger may not grow acute in our day, but it will become more and more menacing to those who come after us, and unless we begin to deal with it we may decide the issue against our children and our children's children. Some sacrifices may be necessary if anything is to be achieved, but they are worth making. There is every prospect of more rapid economic development in South Africa within the next few years. But if every new activity is started and run upon the coloured labour basis, the more we do the more shall we press down the balance against the white race, until the day goes by when the final verdict can be changed. The menace is not the less grave because it is not immediate. But it looms ever in the distance and every year of apathy and inaction brings it nearer.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN INDIA

Loyal Indian writes to the *Nation* :—

You in England have no doubt satisfied yourselves that you have committed a great act of virtue by conceding to some extent, however small, self-government to India. And you are surprised and shocked that India should be so ungrateful that her National Congress should pass a resolution to boycott the Government, and the reforms in particular.

May I draw your attention to certain matters which might perhaps explain the situation? You know, of course, that the Parliamentary statute was only a skeleton. And that the reform really depended upon the regulations that were to be passed in accordance with the statute. A Committee was appointed to go through India and make the recommendations as to some of the regulations. Lord Meston and Mr. Charles Roberts were the two leading members. Lord Meston was always known to be a reactionary. He opposed the reforms before the Parliamentary Committee to the best of his ability. Among the members who accompanied Mr. Montagu to India, Mr. Charles Roberts had the reputation of being opposed to substantial reforms. By their recommendation they reserved the most important heads of revenue to the Central Government. And they scarcely left sufficient revenue to carry on the ordinary Government to the provinces. They did not allow anything for the expansion of the educational, sanitary, and other indispensable needs of the country. Success was difficult even under ordinary circumstances. According to the allocation of the finances made by these two gentlemen it is not possible to make the reform scheme a success. This was carried out in the teeth of strong opposition. This was also the reason why Mr. Charles Roberts was opposed in his constituency by an Indian when he recently stood for Parliament.

As to the other regulations it is enough to say that one of the leaders of the Moderate Party and the editor of one of the most influential Indian papers, Mr. Chintamani, resigned his membership of the Advisory Committee for reform rule on the ground "that almost no single proposal of any consequence that had been made by the non-official members was accepted by the Government of India." Do you want any further evidence of the stiff attitude adopted by Lord Chelmsford and his Government?

You will have also to remember that the military expenses are now doubled. It was twenty millions before. Now it is forty millions. We are not allowed to inquire as to the necessity of this large increase, for the simple reason that it is for Imperial purposes, and as the military party cannot carry out their policy in England they are making India pay for such policy.

Again, Mr. Montagu has been heavily bribing the services. Their pay has been increased nearly by three million pounds, while the country is already bankrupt. The *Leader*, a moderate paper, says that the increments actually given were excessive beyond all reason. It also adds that generosity at other people's expense has been light-heartedly practised by the possessors of authority and the dispensers of patronage. It also says that the meanness of the whole transaction and the attitude of the mind it betrays become flagrant.

Not only has India to bear this burden in the country itself, but she is made to pay for the war expenditure in Persia also. You will allow that this is an iniquitous proceeding. Who is there to protect India in this? But go further; we are paying millions of money for the war operations in Mesopotamia. The extent of the payment is not known. But we know it is in millions. Why are not the Colonies asked to pay a portion? They are busy exploiting the territories which have been won in the war. India has not obtained an acre of land on account of the war, though without her the war would not have been apparently won. Not only did she not acquire any land, but she has been made to pay a hundred and fifty millions nearly as a gift. More, while she was starving herself, England acquired by compulsory purchase her food produce, and sold it at a profit to her Allies. What the actual profit is, has not been ascertained. But in India, it is estimated to be something between twenty and thirty millions.

It is while India has been suffering under all this burden that her exchange rates have been tampered with. She has been holding her securities in gold. They have all suddenly shrunk in value. The whole loss sustained by her on account of this is estimated to be about sixty millions.

In addition to all this, she has sustained an enormous loss on account of the sale of reserve council bills. The loss to India on this account comes to about thirty to thirty-five millions. You know that the sale of council bills is mainly intended to benefit English trade only.

This is not the only respect in which India is sacrificed to English capital. The English capitalists will not allow the Government of India to work their own railways, but the English capitalists would insist upon themselves working them, not with their own money, but with Indian money. Recently it was decided that after three years the East India Railway should be managed by a Company in India itself. But Mr. Montagu has been obliged to yield to the clamour of your capitalists, and refer the whole matter to a Commission.

In Fiji, South Africa, British East Africa, German East Africa, Indians are treated as helots. Their treatment is tolerated by you and by the Indian Government. Yet you want us to co-operate with you.

As to the Khilafat and Punjab, I do not refer in detail. You know all about it. Lord Chelmsford and his advisers, who are the guilty persons, are still in India. Can you reasonably expect us to shake hands with them?

The Press Law and the Rowlatt Bill are still there. If you want to bring peace to India, repeal those Bills, and send either Lord Hardinge or Montagu as Governor of India.

You have noticed, no doubt, that Mr. Muddiman has been appointed the President of the Council of State, and that it is proposed to appoint civilians as the Presidents of the new Legislative Councils. These civilians are officers of Government, and after their period in the Legislative Councils, they have again to revert to the Civil Service. Is this not a step taken to control the Legislative Councils? What would have been the fate of Parliament if, in olden days, its Speaker was a creature of the King?—*India*.

SWARAJ IN ONE YEAR

Much laughter has been indulged in at my expense (says Mr. Gandhi in *Young India*), for having told the Congress audience at Calcutta that if there was sufficient response to my programme of non-co-operation Swaraj would be attained in one year. Some have ignored my condition and laughed because of the impossibility of getting Swaraj anyhow within one year. Others have spelt the 'it' in capitals and suggested that if 'its' were permissible in argument, any absurdity could be proved to be a possibility. My proposition however is based on a mathematical calculation. And I venture to say that true Swaraj is a practical impossibility without due fulfilment of my conditions. Swaraj means a state such that we can maintain our separate existence without the presence of the English. If it is to be a partnership, it must be a partnership at will. There can be no Swaraj without our feeling and being the equals of Englishmen. To-day we feel that we are dependent upon them for our internal and external security, for an armed peace between the Hindus and the Mussulmans, for our education and the supply of our daily wants, nay, even for the settlement of our religious squabbles. The Rajahs are dependent upon the British for their powers and the millionaires for their millions. The British know our helplessness and Sir Thomas Holland cracks jokes quite legitimately at the expense of non-co-operationists. To get Swaraj then is to get rid of our helplessness. The problem is no doubt stupendous even as it is for the fabled lion who having been brought in the company of goats found it impossible to feel that he was a lion. As Tolstoy used to put it, mankind often laboured under hypnotism. Under its spell continuously we feel the feeling of helplessness. The British themselves cannot be expected to help us out of it. On the contrary, they din into our ears that we shall not be fit to govern ourselves only by slow educative processes. The *Times* suggested that if we boycott the councils we shall lose the opportunity of a training in Swaraj. I have no doubt that there are many who believe what the *Times* says. It even resorts to a falsehood. It audaciously says that Lord Milner's Mission listened to the Egyptians only when they were ready to lift the boycott of the Egyptian Council. For me the only training in Swaraj we need is the ability to defend ourselves against the whole world and to live our natural life in perfect freedom even though it may be full of defects. Good government is no substance for self-government. The Afghans have a bad government but it is a self-government. I envy them. The Japanese learnt the art through a sea of blood. And if we to-day had the power to drive out the English by superior brute force, we would be counted their superiors, and in spite of our inexperience in debating at the Council table or in holding executive offices, we would be held fit to govern ourselves. For brute force is the only test the west has hitherto recognised. The Germans were defeated not because they were necessarily in the wrong, but because the allied Powers were found to possess greater brute strength. In the end therefore India must either learn the art of war which the British will not teach her or, she must follow her own way of discipline and self-sacrifice through non-co-operation. It is as amazing as it is humiliating that less than one hundred thousand white men should be able to rule three hundred and fifteen million Indians. They do so somewhat undoubtedly by force but more by securing our non-co-operation in a thousand and making us more and more helpless and dependent on them as time goes forward. Let us not mistake reformed councils, more law-courts and even governorships for real freedom or power. They are but subtler methods of emasculation. The British cannot rule us by mere force. And so they resort to all means, honourable and dishonourable, in order to retain their hold on India. They want India's billions and they want India's man power for their imperialistic greed. If we

refuse to supply them with men and money, we achieve our goal, namely Swaraj, equality, manliness.

The cup of our humiliation was filled during the closing scenes in the Viceregal council. Mr. Shastri could not move his resolution on the Punjab. The Indian victims of Jallianwala received Rs. 1250, the English victims of mob-frenzy received lacs. The officials who were guilty of crimes against those whose servants they were, were reprimanded. And the councillors were satisfied. If India were powerful, India would not have stood this addition of insult to her injury.

I do not blame the British. If we were weak in numbers as they are, we too would perhaps have resorted to the same methods as they are now employing. Terrorism and deception are weapons not of the strong but of the weak. The British are weak in numbers, we are weak in spite of our numbers. The result is that each is dragging the other down. It is common experience that Englishmen lose in character after residence in India and that Indians lose in courage and manliness by contact with Englishmen. This process of weakening is good neither for us, two nations, nor for the world.

But if we Indians take care of ourselves the English and the rest of the world would take care of themselves. Our contribution to the world's progress must therefore consist in setting our own house in order.

Training in arms for the present is out of the question. I go a step further and believe that India has a better mission for the world. It is within her power to show that she can achieve her destiny by pure self-sacrifice i. e. self-purification. This can be done only by non-co-operation. And non-co-operation is possible only when those who commenced to co-operate begin the process of withdrawal. If we can but free ourselves from the threefold *maya* of Government-controlled schools, Government law-courts and legislative councils, and truly control our own education, regulate our disputes and be indifferent to their legislation, we are ready to govern ourselves and we are only then ready to ask the Government servants, whether civil or military, to resign, and the tax-payers to suspend payment of taxes.

And it is such an impracticable proposition to expect parents to withdraw their children from schools and colleges and establish their own institutions or to ask lawyers to suspend their practice and devote their whole-time and attention to national service against payment, where necessary, of their maintenance, or to ask candidates for councils not to enter councils and lend their passive or active assistance to the legislative machinery through which all control is exercised. The movement of non-co-operation is nothing but an attempt to isolate the brute force of the British from all the trappings under which it is hidden and to show that brute force by itself cannot for a single moment hold India.

But I confess that, until the three conditions mentioned by me are fulfilled, there is no Swaraj. We may not go on taking our college degrees, taking thousands of rupees monthly from clients for cases which can be finished in five minutes and taking the keenest delight in wasting national time on the council floor and still expect to gain national self-respect.

The last though not the least important part of the *Maya* still remains to be considered. That is *Swadeshi*. Had we not abandoned *Swadeshi*, we need not have been in the present fallen state. If we would get rid of the economic slavery, we must manufacture our own cloth and at the present moment only by hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

All this means discipline, self-denial, self-sacrifice, organising ability, confidence and courage. If we show this within one year among the classes that to-day count, and make public opinion, we certainly gain Swaraj within one year. If I am told that even we who lead have not these qualities in us, there certainly will never be Swaraj for India, but then we shall have

no right to blame the English for what they are doing. Our salvation and its time are solely dependent upon us.

THE INNER MEANING OF MAHATMA 1. GANDHI'S NON-CO-OPERATION

Sjt. Dwijendranath Tagore, fondly known as 'Bora Dada' at Shantiniketan, Mr. Rabindra Nath Tagore's institution, has written down in Bengali his views on non-co-operation under the above heading. We give below the translation prepared by Mr. Banarasidas Chaturvedi and revised by Mr. C. F. Andrews:—

There has been a great discussion in the papers over the question of non-co-operation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. I have been reading this discussion and I am afraid that the inner meaning of Mahatma Gandhi's movement has been misunderstood by many persons in various ways. The reason why many of our countrymen have not been able to understand the true purpose of Mahatma Gandhi is clear. We know how terrible and deplorable was the result of Ram being deceived by the *Maya Mrga*. In our present age, we have been deceived by another *Maya Mrga*, and we cannot tell what the future has in store for us. As a cow, wishing to drink water at a river bank in perfect happiness, may, being in illusion, remain side by side with a tiger, so we too, being deceived by a *mirage*, are hoping against hope. If we do not wake up in time, it is clear what fate awaits us. No doubt it will be a second edition of *Sita Haran*. It will mean the loss of the very essence of our life and manhood.

The inner meaning of Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation, as I have been able to understand it with my common sense, is this. So long as we cannot establish the ideals of our country according to our own purpose so long shall we be unable to stand on an equal footing with the foreigners.

If both the parties cannot stand on an equal footing, then the co-operation between them is a mere lip expression. This sort of co-operation can mean only two things. Either the weaker party follows the stronger in humiliation, or its courts the bitter displeasure of the stronger party by giving vent to its feelings.

In the light of the education that we are receiving now-a-days in our schools and colleges, co-operation can have only one meaning, viz., that the weaker party has slavishly to follow the stronger.

And what does this education mean? It means the forgetting of our national ideas and ideals and appeasing the hunger for knowledge to a slight extent with crumbs cast away by the foreigners.

How is co-operation possible under these circumstances?

Therefore I say that the weaker party should detach itself from the influence of the stronger party till it can give a full expression to the best that is within it. Till it does that, it must occupy the status of a beggar. Therefore till the conditions are equalised, co-operation by the weaker party must be a glaring proof of its worthlessness, inertia and helplessness.

In this extreme crisis of our country, it is incumbent upon the wisest in the land to stand apart from the blood-sucking influence of the authorities, and with their own exertions and in their own way to give a full expression to their own ideal. When we are able to do that, then alone will any talk of co-operation become us, and not till then.

If any proof were required of what I have said, the way in which co-operation with the authorities has been going on in the past and the endless succession of disastrous results that have followed it are in themselves a striking proof. Any other would be redundant.

Young India.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

NON-CO-OPERATION

Lala Lajpatrai, President of the Special Session of the Indian National Congress, dealing with the question of non-co-operation said :—There was an unwritten tradition that the Congress President was expected to deal with a question on which the country is unanimous or almost unanimous. The President should not try to anticipate the decision of the Congress on a question of so much importance. I, therefore, think that the best interests of the country require that I should say nothing on this much-debated question.

This, however, does not prevent me from making some general observations on the subject. Before we consider Non-Co-operation let us start with Co-operation. Co-operation of the people with the Government is based on one of the two assumptions, either that the Government represent them, or that the Government is there to protect their interests. Now in India the first of these two assumptions cannot hold good. The second is unhappily in the course of being shattered to pieces, if not already gone. Co-operation with Government again, is of two kinds; one enforceable by law and, therefore, compulsory; for example, the payment of taxes or serving the army under conscription; the other is voluntary, for example, accepting Government service or joining the Council and so on. In the case of the former, every refusal is punishable. As for the latter, there again you have to distinguish between Co-operation which is obviously for the country's benefit and that which is not so. Co-operation determined solely or mainly by economic considerations can only be refused, if we can find economic alternatives. Co-operation inspired considerations of honour and dignity can be easily refused if the mentality of the people regarding honour and dignity can be changed. Last, but not the least, in the same class you may consider co-operation, which gives you opportunities of serving your country by attacking the citadels of power and privilege from the inside.

THE ISSUES INVOLVED

Co-operation or refusal of it, then, must be judged by (a) its obligatory or voluntary nature, (b) by its economic consequences, (c) by its inherent morality, and (d) by its utility as a weapon of attack or defence.

Co-operation which is immoral or which makes you a tool of a foreign bureaucracy or which leaves you no opinion but to give effect to their orders, stands on an entirely different footing from one which is obviously for the benefit of the country. Similarly, co-operation which is inspired by economic necessity stands on a different footing from the one which is solely or mainly based on considerations of honour or dignity. Then again you must consider if your refusal of co-operation proceeds from the desire to make an immediate effective impression on the Government or from the motive of habituating the people to take their destiny into their own hands.

These then are the issues involved in the great question of Non-Co-operation.

THE AWAKENING OF THE MASSES

The President then made a reference to the great awakening of the masses in the country. Since he landed in India six months previously he had been in close touch with the masses of his countrymen. Their political awakening had exceeded his wildest expectations. In any programme they adopted they must carry the masses with them. He did not share the belief of those who regarded the masses as mobs. The masses in their present mood demanded something more than the mere passing of resolutions.

"HAVE FAITH IN YOURSELVES"

Concluding, the President said :—

I would therefore very much like to warn my countrymen against being under any delusion as to the

justice-loving nature or high-mindedness of any democracy in the world, British or other. I was in this matter disillusioned by my first visit to England in 1905. Since then I have had many opportunities of studying the nature and the character of several democracies (British, American and Japanese) and you may take it from me, that although there are men and women in these democracies who are absolutely just and high-minded, guided by the purest of motives in dealing with subject peoples and backward races, the bulk of them, be they of England or of America, not to speak of Japan, know only one thing, namely, their own interest or the interest of their race. There are sections of these democracies whose own class interests require the destruction of militarism and imperialism and who will therefore sympathise with these of the subject people who are struggling for emancipation. It is wise on your part to ally yourselves with them. But place no faith in the professions of those who, however liberal, worship at the shrine of Imperialism. The recent Parliamentary debate on the Punjab affairs ought to dispel all illusions, if there were only still left, on that score. The Imperialist Liberal in the House of Commons, with a few noble exceptions, showed no sympathy for the sufferings of the Punjabees, in spite of the eloquent pleadings of men like Mr. T. J. Bennett, Colonel Wedgwood and Mr. Ben Spoor. Liberals in the House of Lords were among the most violent supporters of the military rule. It was a sight for the gods to see Lords Curzon, Milner and Birkenhead pleading for conciliation and Lords Amptill and MacDonald supporting brute force.

Have as many friends as you can have among Englishmen and others, but have faith in yourselves and yourselves alone.

Our success will be determined by the extent of our earnestness, the spirit of self-sacrifice in the leaders, the spirit of self-denial in the rank and file, the power to lead righteously and to be led by righteous men. The time has come when we must decide between the freedom of body and soul and the life of convenience and comparative ease which is allowed to a few of us under the present system. If we decide for the former we must be prepared for the consequences. But if we choose the latter we must not cry if we do not get the moon. That is the real issue before you and I know I can leave this issue with confidence in your hands.

BOOKS FOR SALE

A Study in Indian Economics by P. Bannerji	4	6
English Traits and Representative Men, by Emerson	2	6
War and Peace, Vols 1, 2, and 3, by Tolstoy, each	2	6
Reflections on the French Revolution, by Burke	2	6
Bhagavad Gita. Mrs. Besant's Translation	1	0
The Indians of South Africa, by H. S. L. Polak	2	6
Life of M. K. Gandhi (in Tamil)	2	6
" " " (in Hindi)	2	0
From Colombo to Almora	4	0
Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education, by E. B. Havell,	2	6
The Indian National Congress, its Origin and Growth	2	6
My Indian Reminiscences by Dr. Paul	2	6
Lift Irrigation	3	9
The Swadeshi Movement	2	9
Speeches on Indian Affairs by John Morley	3	6
Shri Madhwa Charya	2	6
Folk-lore of the Telugus	2	0
Hindu Psalms and Hymns	2	0

NOTICE

DURBAN AND DISTRICT RENT BOARD

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

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

The information required is as follows:—

- (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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