THE CONGRESS

By M. K. Gandhi

The Congress the time was for many of us a preliminary because of its having been held in Amritsar. Sullivan’s High was visited during the Congress week by the thousands of delegates and visitors with the pilgrims who had already seen the blood-stained earth with their own eyes. Some took away with them a little of that earth to be preserved as a sacred treasure. Some said it as solemnly in the farewell sermons as in the farewell speeches. There was no doubt that even at the Congress only a mark of their respect for the memory of the innocent dead.

The speeches of Swami Shri Shadorkar, the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee and of the Bhende Pandit Madan Nand, were marked with solemnity and breathed an earnest spirit. Each bore the indelibility of its author. The Swamiji had a great dignity about him. He was full of good-will towards mankind. How can we hate Englishmen if we love Andrews, Wolhuf, Hume, Hardinge and others? We must conquer the English with our love for them. The Pandit’s language though perfectly courteous and restrained in utterance is forceful. He compels a tear from the eye as he takes you with him through the different acts of the Punjab tragedy. He has exposed the events of the Punjab with his legal acumen. Iven has entered his soul. He demands stern justice against the culprits.

The Presidential speech suffers being in English. It was painful to see him laboring through his speech spoken in a foreign tongue before an audience of nearly 5,000 people not conversant with it who could follow his English. The Congress proceedings have conclusively demonstrated the necessity of being familiar with not merely the conduct of their proceedings. In Hindustan the only course left open to us if we would work for the masses, and draw upon them for delegates. In the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and the other Provinces in the other parts of India, except the Presidency of Madras, Hindustan can be generally understood. For it is a language common to the vernaculars of the other provinces. Madras alone presents any difficulty and for the sake of a few hundred delegates from that Presidency, it would not be proper to do violence to Hindustan which cannot understand English. But we can more or less understand Hindustan. The only straight, economical and politically sound course is to make the proceedings of the Congress presided over by Hindustan, the plan upon which being free to speak in English or for that matter in Tamil or Telugu. I grant that for a few years the Sub-Committee must deliberate in English but the hope to gain a proper political recognition to the country through the medium of the Congress it must be clear to every one that it can only be done through Hindustan. I trust that those in the Madras Presidency who are desirous of doing All-India public work outside their Presidency and of securing after becoming delegates of the Congress will make haste to learn Hindustan. They have got facilities in the Madras Presidency for learning Hindustan, and if they will begin now and give at least one hour per day regularly to it they will by the end of the year be able generally to follow the proceedings of the Congress. All must recognize that the impatient demand of the delegates from year to year for Hindustan cannot be satisfied for any length of time.

Another anomaly which is becoming more and more grave needs also to be removed. Very few people could follow the President while he was reading his speech. The very best of leaders may not occupy the attention of the audience for longer than an hour. The President’s address was necessarily long. It occupied thirty-eight fearno pages in print. Fortunately Pandit Nehru slipped away every page which he was reading, but he would have taken no less than three hours if he had insisted on reading the whole of the thirty-eight pages. It is highly necessary, therefore, that the addresses of the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, and the President should be printed in Hindustani (both in Devanagari and Roman script), English, and the vernaculars of the provinces in which the Congress is held, and distributed at the session in other languages for the next part.
often done much to the inconvenience of everybody. Both the Chairman and the President might read or orally give the summary of their addresses, each occupying no longer than thirty minutes.

The third absurdity is the terrible, ever-growing waste of money in creating a huge pension. The Indian Central Africans holding meetings in the open air. But I refrain from saying more on this matter as the All-India Congress Committee has appointed a sub-committee consisting of Messrs. Vallabhbhai, B. R. Ambedkar, A. Vembu, and V. Patil to consider the whole constitution of the Congress.

The resolutions of the Congress show that there are very sharp divisions and as time goes forward perhaps inevitable. Both the Congress has represented only one party and it cannot be kept any longer as such party organisations if it is not to have disasters from its own increasing scale from year to year. Measures must be devised whereby all parties can be represented on it and the annual assembly can retain its truly national character.

Let us consider the resolutions. Take the condemnation of the excesses. There is no doubt that without that resolution some of the resolutions would have lost all force and value. We could not with any justification condemn the excesses of the authorities and therefore urge the dismissal of General Dyer or our Michael O'Dwyer or the Viceroy's recall, if we were not ready to condemn our own. That resolution was the necessary prelude for the mob frenzy in April. If we are to make orderly progress we must unhesitatingly disapprove of violence committed by the people in any shape or form. It is true that often in the West mob violence is resorted to, but by creating a strong popular opinion against it we must make such violence impossible in India. Few can deny that on the sixth of April India found itself possessed of a new force and a new power—a force that could prove irresistible under almost every conceivable circumstances provided that truth was on our side. In my firm belief that had the development of Satyagraha not been interrupted in April by our own folly, not only would the Rowlatt Act have been removed from the Statute Book but we would have spared the humiliation and degrading spectacle of a British general running amuck. Indeed we shall find it impossible, when we have full control over our national affairs, to carry on the government of the country without self-restraint. In a vast country like India where the people are ordinarily peaceful, we shall find it impossible to carry on the government if it becomes the custom of the land and in order to check that tendency popular opinion is a far greater and more potent instrument than the employment of punitiv forces. I would, therefore, give the first place in point of importance to this resolution as a token of the correctness of our conduct and for the sake of a head to the country. These resolutions of the Congress, especially those that require any action on the part of the people are valuable for the formation of public opinion and I hope that workers recognizing the full force of the truth underlying the resolutions will on due occasion impress upon the people the necessity of refraining from violence.

Only less in importance than the resolution on condemnation was the resolution on Reforms. While I subscribe entirely to the proposition that India is not now for responsible government, I do not for one moment believe that we can get it without working for it. We can work either by adopting obstructive tactics or by cooperation. Healthy obstruction is a condition of our being. We must ever obstruct untruth, injustice and evil. It was because I did not consider, and do not consider, the Reform to be an evil or unwise and because I consider them to be a progressive step towards responsibility government, that I decline to consider them to be disappointing, however inadequate and unsatisfactory they may be. I endorse Mr. Bajaj Chandra Pal's opinion that for me to decide to consider the Reform disappointing means that I did not expect them. I had certainly much fear that the Reform might not go through when they did and I was unprepared for material improvements in the measure as it was originally published. The opponents of the amendment admitted that they would not support it unless cooperation was essential for the country's good and not hesitant to obstruct when obstruction advanced it.

That doubt was the only meaning and I see no other of the amendment of which I had the honor to be in charge. But let it be said to the credit of the opponents that they reached the same point as long as they could because they frankly and that they had a duty in the humanitarian and the ideal standpoint. In my humble opinion it is a weak attitude. The Royal Proclamation has been issued in a most liberal spirit. It is full of good-will and it would have been wrong on the part of the Congress to have opposed it. We have already had one report to the Kharim Allah for cooperation. My faith in human nature is irreproachable and even with the circumstances of a most adverse character I have found Englishmen unable to reason that persuasion, but as they always wish to appeal to just even when they are really unjust, it is sure to show them that others do not do the right thing. By that, however, it may, it would be a full to our culture and it would be nonsense to grasp to the hand of fellow-loyalty extended through the Proclamation. If we are strong we shall lose nothing by beginning with cooperation. We at once place the humanitarian in the wrong by our readiness to cooperate for the same end purpose.

It was equally important for us to thank Mr. Montagu for his valuable services in connexion with the Reform. The Hon'ble Raja Lilabai Malav Mhano, Mr. Jorhaba and I therefore felt that even at the risk of draining the house we were bound to press the amendment home. That ultimately there was a compromise shows the good nature of Lokmanya Tilak and Mr. Das. It was a perfect pleasure to see both of them whilst holding by their views, anxious not to divide the house. And it was equally a pleasure to see so many of the platform working to secure a compromise.
January 7, 1920.

NOTES.

The National Week—The Congress session was a long session. It commenced on the 28th December and went on to the New Year's day with a day's break to enable the contractors to dry the paddy ground which had become too damp for use by reason of the rains. But for the importance of the matter it had to be handled it was now too tardily prolonged. Much time was given to the Subjects Committee. That was not right. If the Congress resolutions are to carry weight they must be well thought out and thoroughly discussed.

Sale by rule with the Congress took place the All India Muslim League Conference, the Khilafat Conference, the Sikh Conference the Harmandaran Conference, the Social Conference, the Khudwana Conference etc. We doubt whether it is sound wisdom to press all national work into one week. Conferences which cannot attract people for their special objects are not worth having. We feel, if we could, have a separate occasion and time even for such an important a fixture as the Soc of Conference. And there may be no reason why the most important such events may not occupy the attention of the national assembly itself. But here we are treading on dangerous ground. It is sufficient for the time being to point out that the schedules that are arranged every year result only in distracting attention from the main theme. And three or four days in a year are too many for the deserting and forming conclusions on weighty political matters.

The All India Muslim League must be the only exception to the rule we have advocated to lay down. It is a sign of an overgrowing desire for fraternity to have the two assemblies during the same week in the year. It enables the two great races to some degree to have an exchange of opinions. So long as it is necessary to emphasise the need for fraternisation, so long as there is yet distrust and there are signs of collision between the two races, so long must there be these two assemblies. We can but hope for the day when the Congress fulfils the highest aspirations of the Mahomedans as or the Hindus. Meanwhile we must be thankful for the fact that both the functions take place at the same place and time specially for the purpose of promoting harmony between the two communities.

By far the most important resolution of the Muslim Conference from the Hindu standpoint was that recommending the stoppage of cow-killing on the Bakrid. It reflects the greatest credit on the organizers of the Conference and on Hakimji Amlashian to have secured the unanimous passage of that resolution. Nothing can bring the two communities together as this one big step by our Mahomedan countrymen. That the Hindus offer their assistance in the Khilafat question is not half as weighty as this cow protecting resolution for the Mahomedans. This is so much, undoubtedly, some assurance. For reasons we need not go into now slaughter on Bakrid was being treated almost as a religious necessity and we have no doubt that some good Mahomedies even now consider. That the resolution in a backward step. It was, therefore, but proper that the Congress should have passed a resolution embodying its grateful sentiments in becomingly warm terms. It is said that when the news of the resolution was first received in the Subjects Committee, the members were so deeply stirred that they resolved with a show of their thanks.

Besides the resolutions discussed in our leading columns there were many resolutions adopted by the Congress which merit our attention. The resolution of Lord Chelmsford is a case in point for instance was a more points one. Those who are not to know the work that it was not possible to avoid it. The feeling was so strong against Lord Chelmsford's rule, that the people would not listen to postpone the resolution till after the Peshawar reports were out. The convention put forward by those who insisted on the resolution being passed during the present session, was that Lord Chelmsford proved his worth in rule, without the necessity for waiting for the reports. Look how he sent a Government despatch which if it had not been checked by the memorandum of the famous must, would have led to a national hope to pass, how he insisted on an important statement how he endorsed Lord Pakenland's regime how he supported Sir Michael O'Dwyer and above all how he pleased himself in opposition to the whole country by mentioning the Rowlatt Bill incident. Thus argued the protagonists of the resolution. The Honble Mr Sarsen put up a brave but weak defence. For our part we believe that the resolution might grace fully have been put off. But there is no doubt that His Excellency has not qualified his rule by any great outstanding act of national advancement to counterbalance his many mistakes. And a nation has the right, without being rude or offensive, to ask for the recall of the rulers whom it considers to be unfit. But the nation, we are sorry to say, was even rude through its representatives. The speeches delivered in support of the resolution were mostly rude and offensive. The speakers would have added to the dignity of the proceedings if they had restrained themselves. To speak of a King's representatives as a 3rd class inhabitant of no part is hardly a phrase that can be defended. Or to talk of the 'arrogant and meddlesome' of Lord Chelmsford is not to appreciate the position either our own or that of Lord Chelmsford.

We shall add no more to our national existence by resorting to thoughtless or disconsolate speech. We have most critical times ahead of us. And those who the gift of speech and wish to serve the country render double service by being reckless in their speech.
The speakers lost sense of proportion in assaying the Viceregy blunders. A man may be soft and yet good. We hold that Lord Chelmsford's mistakes were those of the head. He failed to perceive the differences between a purely constitutional figurehead that a Governor is in the self-governing Colonies and between the Viceregy of India who enjoys almost absolute powers. He failed to exercise his undoubted right of prompt intervention in cases of known wrongs. He did not respond to the growing clamours of the nation. These are limitations which contribute to failure without making one a criminal. We can ask for Lord Chelmsford's recall even though we are a law, but, as we must, that he was a highly cultured English gentleman. But our purpose is not so much to lampoon the good points of Lord Chelmsford, as it is to show that however bad he may be, it was not generally far to use the language that was used regarding His Excellency. And we are to impress on our readers that from a national platform we are becoming and rude language should have been used by responsible speakers about the highest representatives of the Crown in India.

Of General Dyke we have said the better, he may be as good a soldier. A soldier in Wordsworth's sense he has certainly proved to be. Duties of humanity, if nothing else, demand that he should not have the opportunity of trying his strength, formula in other parts of the world among other nations and certainly not where his actions could even be known, as they would be as important centre like American. We do not think of what soldiers like General Dyke must be doing across the Frontier where there is no check upon a soldier's licence save what he chooses to impose upon himself.

**Dissemblance or Negligence**—Mr. Montague reported by Bautier to have made the statement, in reply to Sir Swar, that "the Congress demanded the unconditional release of the persons concerned in the enquiry which was boycotted because their demand had not been granted." We do not know who really responsible for the untruth or contradiction in the statement. Mr. Montague is certainly not guilty. Nor can Bautier be responsible for the suppression of the truth. It is not the case from the Sub-Committee's demand for the release during enquiry of the principal leaders, as presented in the reply. There can be no doubt that Mr. Montague was in possession of the real facts when he replied to Sir Swar. For as early as November 17, the following cablegram was sent to him by the Hon. Pandit Malavika—"Have just read your reply to Colonel Wedgwood saying the Hunter Committee could recommend that the sentences be reviewed entirely. If the Hunter Committee is to make no such recommendation, the presence in the Committee room of the principal prisoners is absolutely necessary but the Lord Government determined to let the prisoners out even if it cost the official whose words are under review by Hunter Committee fairly attend the proceedings and instruct Government counsel"—et al. Sympathetically with this a long cablegram was sent to Sir Swar, on which the fact was expressly mentioned that "the Congress Sub Committee was willing to be content with this little concession viz. the release of prisoners on parole only for the day of their examination." Provided that the principal leaders were permitted to attend the Committee's sitting under certain conditions which witnesses regarding their respective institutions are produced in order that they might help counsel to test and check official witnesses whilst under examination. This cablegram was also published in England soon after. Did Mr. Montague then re三农 the fact? If he did not and we hesitate to believe that he did, how is the puzzle to be solved? The solution is we think to be sought in the Hon. Pandit Malavika's cablegram to Mr. Montague dated 1st November which stated that the Sub Committee National Congress requested the temporary release, for the purpose of the enquiry, on bond of principal Pandit leaders now undergoing imprisonment for which they may be termed political offenders. Pandit Gujranwala has refused the request. My Committee has therefore been reluctantly obliged to withdraw so operation from Hunter Committee. It is very likely that Mr. Montague was all the while thinking of this cable, that he did not care to read carefully the Hon. Pandit Malavika's cablegram and that he still continues to be under the impression that the Sub Committee's demand was for unconditional release. If this is the case, it is to the shame of the Congress for missing this point. The result of the negligence is that the British public has been misled, however, temporarily, to believe that the Congress Committee's demand was excessive and that the charges occurred when, if Mr. Montague had known the facts and interfered, could have been avoided.

The released leaders and the Congress—Dr. Satyapal and others who had offered to give evidence before the Hunter Committee have received the following cablegram from the Secretary, Hunter Committee: You are known to be and given careful consideration by the President, Privy Council Committee. It is my opinion that the Committee has not at Lahore for over six weeks and has completed the hearing of the evidence there, that full opportunity was given for the production of material evidence; and that it was open to your counsel to cross-examine witnesses during that period. Lord Hunter regrets that he is unable to accept any suggestion. The reply is certainly not unexpected though the statement in the latter part of it is hardly accurate.
It cannot be seriously maintained that the popular cry would advantageously cross-examine the official witnesses without consultation on the spot with those in and against whom the witnesses were asked to express all sorts of impositions. The reply fails to convince one of the Hunter Committee's intention to make a show and a partial inquiry.

Qurban and Hindu Moslem Unity — A reply of the question of Qurban is put to the priests and practical point of view by Dr. Jusuf Nook. Both the Apologies of the Muslim League, the following quotation from an article by Dr. Leiter in the 'Times' letter, published as far back as 1889 will be of striking interest. Dr. Leiter explains that the Koran only speaks of the offering of the Qurban, meaning a 'milk sacrifice' which the earliest commentators explained to mean 'ram', and goes on to say —

The earliest name for the is 'bakr', but the is a halal, whereas the is the in the old term 'qurban'. It is a sacrifice, but it makes all the difference to the peace of India if the in the Bandar be such a thing a 'qurban'. Let us, as the older term and in general practice, sacrifice to of 'qurban in Id', or even 'qurban in Id', the custom between Hindus and Mohammedans at an end, and if, as mischievous people are wont to, 'qurban in Id' is a festival of the sacrifice of a cow, then the test of peace in the country will be to give way to a universal mingling among Hindus throughout India. It is therefore the most important in the conflict and the prize which would be lost in the mission that to the sacrifice of a cow is not sanctioned by the text of the qurban festival, but that on the contrary, it is universal as it most certainly is so in India. In Turkey, Egypt, Syria and Persia, where a cow in the sacrifice of a cow is not sanctioned by the text of the qurban festival, in India, a sheep is preferred, why should not a cow be killed in India, where it is a most honourable custom in the eyes of the very number of the population, and may another name not practice it throughout the Mohammedan world.

Dr. Leiter even urges that British soldiers and civilians should reserve some little encouragement as possible to the consumption of beef. Lying at Mill, Honourable Mr. Justice shows that in declaring that neither is it no tradition of the slaughter of a cow he was attacked as usual by the petimban in 'by common sense and good feeling. It was a truly noble thing on the hunting this part and we hope that our Mohammedan countrymen will be nobly respond to his appeal and his protest suggestions — which as strongly emphasized "were springing from the depths of honesty and mercy" — and claim the prudential privilege of being regarded the first to take the initial step towards ensuring the eternal peace of the country. We need not say the Honourable the Member for the Hindu community was a culprit of this nature by his kind and noble solution of a most vital issue.

Cessation of Fiji Indentures — Sir George Bowen has been true to his word. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's Government must be congratulated upon securing the conciliation of the existing indenture law. It is a triumph for principle and justice. One can only hope that the good effect promised by the steps will be continued by the formation of indentures wherever they may be still in existence and that the system will not be restored in any circumstance whatever under the name of indenture or any other less offensive name.

The New Era — Important events have been happening in India in such rapid sequence that it is difficult to single out any one of them for special mention. The news from the Punjab and the Afghan Province is the most important. In the Punjab, the Congress has created the greatest enthusiasm in the Punjab and in the Punjab itself. It is said that the people there are going to the meeting of which they had every reason to feel proud.

Mr. Beagles has sent all the British press correspondents to Bengal in connection with the April events whose release cannot be in any way endanger public safety and can only fill the hearts of those who are longing to see their dear ones. The sympathy of the most liberal spirits, as it has been, will be carried out but further the people with the most tangible proof that the New Era has truly begun.

To the Inventor of an Improved Spinning Wheel — We wish to add to our congratulations and our congratulations in connection with the April events they have made in their attempts to manufacture a good machine. They have the ability to produce in record times the work of the common wheel and the wheel for the making of the wheel. Mr. Gandhi, in the judge will be helped by experts.

Arrangements are being made to announce a suit able prize for inventing the best existing machine for the purpose of producing cotton for the spinning wheel.

Outside help and recognition — The following is a letter from Mr. T. E.Welby, a report of his work in England, and it should be read over and over again by those who eat much store by outside help and recognition. It is by no means difficult to bring out public men and writing privately to them, to instil into the minds of many of them some idea of the complexity and variety of the Indian problem and some doubt of the merit of such a scheme as Mr. Beagles. But it is not an easy matter for a public man to ask that he shall appear with a member of his Ministry whose general policy...
Indians in East Africa.

Mr. Andrews' Nairobi Speech.

The East African Young National Congress presented an address to Mr. C.R. Andrews at the Royal Theatre, Nairobi, on December 7. We take the following from Mr. Andrews' reply:

The hospitality which I have received at your hands and the welcome which you have given me have touched me very deeply instead I cannot repay from kindness and fidelity in any other way than by speaking truly and faithfully to you, in all the love of friendship, with regard to things in which I may find you in danger of taking a wrong course. I have already done this both in Nairobi and at Mombasa in respect to one question which I regard as of the very first importance. Immediately after landing in Mombasa, I was informed about your National Congress at Nairobi. I found that, accepting Sir Theodore Morrison's advice, you had passed unanimous resolutions making for preferential treatment in the case of Indians in East Africa. Now, quite frankly, I thoroughly and whole heartedly disagreed with that proposal, and so I painted out your leaders on the spot that that clause for a reserved territory sets the very ground from under your feet, that your true claim is to share the rights and responsibilities of British citizenship everywhere, not selfishly to demand exclusive privileges in one special quarter. The argument that I made this absolutely clear, your leaders saw this point and were ready to withdraw the clause they had made. If this were the only result of my visit, I should be more than compensated, for it appears to me a choice between right and wrong, and you are now prepared to take the higher standpoint.

I shall now deal more fully than I did in Mombasa with the challenge which has been thrown out to you by the report of the Economic Commission. The terms in which the challenge was made have been almost identical in their frankness, but that in itself has advantage. It is much better to know the worst, than to go on living in a fool's paradise. I wish to deal with this challenge, on your behalf, with equal frankness.

I want to acknowledge at once on the Indian side what I feel to have been wrong. I am certain that we must agree to the question being faced at the present juncture, whether the altogether haphazard and indiscriminate Indian immigration of the past should still be allowed to continue in the future without any restriction at all. Certain restrictions have already been placed upon the European immigration. It may well be the case that, side by side with this, the Indian immigration also should not any longer be so wholly indiscriminate. I do not wish to be mistaken. Indians have the right, which goes back centuries in the past, to emigrate here just as they have had centuries past the right to emigrate to the Persian Gulf and other places near to their own shores. East Africa was their home long before the British came, and since the advent of the British they have accomplished, at every turn, most useful pioneer work,—even providing the army of the military power at most critical occasions. This right, then, can never be taken away except by brute force and palpable injustice. The present War Minister, the Right Honorable Winston Churchill, cannot possibly call a resident in Colonial matters, yet his words are literally true,—"if it is possible," he says, "for any Government to act on a policy of deliberately squeezing out the Indians from regions in which he has established himself with every security of good faith?" To mention only one more deliberate statement of a responsible noble—Sir John Hope gave evidence before the Sanderson Commission, "Drive away the Indians and you may shut up the Protectorate. But for the Indian, we should not be in East Africa now." It is also highly significant that the Government in German East Africa, for whom the question was purely a practical one, apart from sentiment, desired to continue the admission of Indians in order to build up the Colony. I feel certain, therefore, that the right of Indians to continue to emigrate to East Africa will stand the test both of reason and justice.

But every system needs a limit to time and it may quite possibly be discovered, after a full examination of the facts, that having regard to the welfare of the Africans and the development of the country along sound lines, certain classes of Indians should be encouraged to come out here rather than others. Even in England itself, which is the freest country in the world for admitting immigrants of all races, it has been found necessary to review our former lack of all restriction and to pass an Act excluding undesirable aliens. It may, therefore, be advisable in the future to control Indian immigration just as it has been found advisable to control European immigration. This will be no innovation, for during the years 1910 and 1912 there was a definite attempt made to introduce indented Indian immigration. No one could advocate that we have all become wise in that matter and the Indian Government on its side has taken certain steps to prevent it. I would point out that the principle of Immigration control is altogether different from the policy of exclusion. This letter, so I have said, would be generous and just.

I have spent some of the best years of my life, and here made many long voyages to distant parts of the world,
January 7, 1930.

YOUNG INDIA.

while attempting to study this question of emigration. Every year I have become more and more convinced that the alumped, unsatisfactory methods of the past must be abandoned. These have two conclusions—first of all, that the government is vitally necessary for every growing country; secondly, that the old laissez-faire policy is unsound. Reason and sense must enter into the question at every turn, the blind unreasoning forces of racial prejudices and racial fears must be abandoned. Only then can we act as reasonable, intelligent and civilized men. Here the emigration question has been taken into the region of blind race passion. In that atmosphere no healthy dealt innocence can stand, and it was parlous to use the extreme to found and document the Bombay Government Reprint marked by racial feeling.

Again, I feel certain that we must agree without any reservation whatsoever that the sanitary condition of the Indian race falls short of modern requirements. It is quite wrong, so it appears to me, to go on immediately admitting the poorest of the poor from India while this evil remains uncorrected. For these exceedingly poor immigrants, with their vestiges of habits of a wholly insanitary kind, are bound to increase the evil. The town that is now everywhere throughout India is more densely packed, with a disease, due upon making a good and healthy beginning. It is the utmost importance for the whole future of the country to get this bad condition right as quickly as possible. I would, therefore, urge the leaders of the Indian community to lead in this matter, not merely to let things slide. At if they are to lead they must be given the position of leaders, and I would urge my fellow countrymen that no policy could be more thoroughly, wise face to face with such an evil state of affairs, than to deny to educated Indians the franchise. It appears to me to be a matter of the most obvious commonsense that educated Indians should be admitted to the franchise as quickly as possible. Then, working side by side, there evils can be tackled but without their cooperation, these must simply go on as badly as before.

I do not think that, unless all the facts are fully and sufficiently considered, the only solution of the sanitary problem will be found to consist in the complete segregation of races. I have read Professor Simpson's Seminole Report twice very carefully indeed. If he had taken the matter more as it is, he would probably have arrived at a more convincing view. But his political bias is evident throughout, and he has often written, not as a scientist, but as a politician. Furthermore, he appears to me to have taken entirely wrong and not the long and increasing number of Indians who are adopting to their complete and modern sanitary methods. It is not segregation which will increase the number of these, but social arrogance.

The "segregation" policy, therefore, if run to the extreme, is as short-sighted as the "exclusion" policy with regard to immigration. Both policies have got all the character of panic legislation. Both policies have their popular support to racial dislike. Nothing has harmed me more, while staying in this country, than the growth of unusual dislike and dislike between the two classes of the country—the Indian and the European. The remedy for this appears to me to lie in granting the franchise to educated Indians at the earliest possible moment. England would have been to-day born in a thousand pieces by civil war if the franchise had not been given to labour.
YOUNG INDIA. January 7, 1920.

The unity of the British Empire, in 1913—14, was nearly wrecked owing to the South African racial policy toward Indians; by the abrogation of General Smuts and General Botha, in an operation with Mr. Gandhi, saved the situation. It is not at all likely that this mistake will be repeated again in East Africa. Of one thing I am quite certain namely, that the day of full self-government in East Africa is no longer, postponed, unless the present attitude of Europe towards India and Indians had not been the cause of pure duress to the service of the British Empire. His reply to Sir Duthie's words of Balfour will share the same temper and temper of the British Indian Government. The Government of India, he said, was but protected as a measure to the Secretary of State that there was no justification for allowing British Indians a status to any vast increase to any other class of what Majeys's subjects resident in the Colonies. Not only should the Indian Indian plantations in British East Africa be remodeled, but the claims to a share in the government of the country, by a suitable representation on the legislative Council and other bodies, should be sympathetically considered.

It appears to me not necessary to sound a note of warning, though I intently dislike doing so. The real political powers of India against the Protecorate, if the rights of British Indian citizens are as clearly set forth in the law, in the not new Burma is by far the greatest, not which from East Africa, at a few days distance, and not unmannerly nearer than London. The past twenty years will probably see the greatest industrial development in India and especially in Bombay. It has already undergo its whole industrial and economic outlook. It will be ready and eager to take the products of East Africa, and it has abundant of goods to offer in exchange. But it will only do so on one condition—that justice shall be done to the British Indian citizens, men of education and self-reliance, and in culture, who have made India a land very different from other people. Thus that the nation of warning that I feel compelled to sound. If things go further and all Indian rights are denied, it will not need the action of the Indian Government to put an embargo on East African trade. The trade and the need of the people of India, and the people of India are awakening rapidly to an appreciation of the immense latent forces which are at their disposal, through those unlimited numbers, if only they can act in common. I have seen once the whole of India, starting from this and over the treatment of Indians in Natal. That time, and according to our greatest statements, it was the most kind that India ever passed through in the history of India. We have had no other expansion of almost equal intensity that year concerning happenings in the Punjab. The seventy millions of Malomasses in India and the many millions under British rule in Africa also are at the present moment described in an unprecedented degree over the threatened dismemberment of Turkey and asserting the guardianship of the Holy places of Islam. The question

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Notes.

The Reform Resolution in the Congress—The Reform Resolution has been the subject of much criticism in the Press and quite naturally so, it seems, the Congress has been blamed briskly. The Servent of India is of opinion that the Congress failed to give the lead to the country mainly because of the essential weakness of Mr. Gandhi's position, that he did not set out to examine in detail the Reform Act as much as he did. Mr. Swaraj, in a leading article in New India, charges Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya with not having stood firmly by their first amendment and says that had they done so, they would have carried it, for Mr. Tilak had told his followers to yield at the last moment. She has no doubt that Mr. Tilak as Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya as tools of three years ago she says was using him in a similar way. The Servent of India is of opinion that the Resolution means practically a victory for the Super extremists and that the resolution as it was passed in its final form does not at all events bring out clearly the more that the extremists would co-operate with the authorities in making the Reforms effective. It complains that after effortlessly explaining the plain statement of the word 'disappointing' Mr. Gandhi failed to stick to his amendment and the result was that a compromise clause was at last added, which differed in no way from Mr. Pal's amendment and also that Mr. Palmade an effort to hasten the amendment by deposing to the idea of co-operation and almost jeopardized the idea of thanks to Mr. Montagu. The Servent of India is clear that Messrs. Pal, Das and Satsavrati had their way and Mr. Gandhi must acknowledge that he was failing Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah were defeated.

In refreshing contrast with these opinions in that of the Times of India. It will be remembered that before the Reforms Committee had been passed at the Congress the Times of India had expressed the opinion that the 'doctrine of disclaimer' is for all practical purposes the doctrine of disunion. After the acceptance of the Resolution it seems to be satisfied that the party which desired to use the Reformers wholeheartedly for the advancement of the country, in the confident knowledge that good work will be quicker being expansion of responsible institutions, substantially prevailed in the end. It adds that the exact wording of the amendment is unpalatable, and that, having though the final Resolution was: 'It was in the right direction and the main and important fact is that the Congress pledged itself openly to do, what in fact all had made up their minds to do, namely, to co-operate in the Reform.'

We comment on the above in our article

The use of the Vernacular—In a series of articles on the Calcutta University Commemoration's Report, the Indian Social Reformer made out a bold plea for the adoption of English as the medium of instruction in schools as well as in colleges and emphasized the need of English education for the people of India. It even stated that intercommunal relations would be most facilitated by English being and becoming the common language of India, and expressed the belief for the future of the foreign medium at the earliest possible, because it is only in that way that the student can in scores of instances regard it as a foreign medium. "The idea that by such a radical departure in our system of education was evidently an un-Anglicised India," as appears from the paper quoting with hearty approval the accuracy of Reza Khan Mohan Roy as having "placed on record his belief that India would one day be an English-speaking country." Leaving the articles aside, we find that our contemporary has very recently taken a position which in a fine indication of the evolution his views have undergone.

In a thoughtful article on the Moderate Conference the Indian Social Reformer remarks: "The Congress has become impossible for purposes of deliberations. It is more and more becoming an institution for in-
parting knowledge of and interest in politics to the masses. The increasing use of the Vernaculars has broken the position between the English-educated classes and the masses and the result is a sense of strength and power in both which was hitherto unappreciable. We had thought this evolution would prove infections. But it is certain that it has not trusted Mrs. Besant who writing in her essay on "The Indian Renaissance," says that the result of this is certainly a force for good.

We are afraid here is a bit of misunderstanding. The statement refers to Bengal, Bombay, Madras, and Baroda. It is not that the delegates from these provinces have left the Congress. The statement is that the delegates from these provinces have not attended the Congress.

Not only injustice but a political blunder—In almost all the representations sent to the Prime Minister by Muslims in England and India the dangerous consequences of putting Muslim minorities under the domination of non-Muslim minorities have been sufficiently well emphasized. Sir Asa Kahn, in a letter which has been forwarded to the Chairman, the Essai Hall Meeting, and that at Turkey is partitioned to satisfy the territorial greed of European States, the Peace Conference will have to consider the interests of the people. And we are told that the advocates of partition have acknowledged the wishes of the people who have gone further. Surly, something must be done to meet the demands of the people. The question of partition must be considered fully. It was not a wise decision to go in a Government of which Lord Curzon was a member.

The most essential trade in the world—His Excellency Sir George Lloyd addressed the students of the Agricultural College, Poona, at the annual gathering. His Excellency concluded his speech with the following valuable advice.

Your Principal is a practical man and is right in making you learn from actual experience the value of what you are taught in the classes. Almost all the very successful men in the world are men who have been through the mill themselves and have worked with their own hands in the departments of their businesses. We follow the same system as England where the men of the new and masterless large industries, however wealthy they may be, often start in with the humblest workmen and learn the difficulties of their trade. If this is true in the crowded and noisy factories of India it is still less a burden to do in the smiling fields and open country of India. It has been said of India that earth here is so kind that you can take till with a hoe and she laughs into a harvest, and some parts that is true, while in other parts the men all the skill and art of mechanics which knowledge can provide. But you are preparing yourselves for the widest and the most essential trades in the world and the most responsible. You are no longer asked
to be alighted about it. See that you make it requested and that you take your just pride in being an executor. The days have gone when it was a task for the ordinary people. It needs the best brains in the country.

THE DEAD SET IN EAST AFRICA.

Mr. Gandhi has addressed the following letter to the daily Press —

Mr. Andrews, writing from Mombasa says:

"Half draft proposed ordinance restraining Jewish political freedom read thus —

Firstly the bill may be used in removal of undesirable Ordinance 1910."

Secondly, any person within East African Protectorate not being a native who from any reason is not permitted by Governor-in-Council to reside in the Protectorate may be excluded by Governor-in-Council from the Protectorate, the alien Order.

Thirdly, any person committing such offence shall be liable on conviction to a fine until 1930 Rs. or on imprisonment of not exceeding six months or both. Such conviction shall not affect the power of the Governor-in-Council under preceding section against some person. Bill in Council meets January 19th. This ordinance entirely lacks safeguards against political misuse. Economic Commission's findings contain no valid substitute Indian moral depravity. Our withdrawal is thus characterised as carrying no menace that European determination to follow South African policy will be purely.

Hardly any comment is necessary on the cablegram. There is a dead set against the Indian settlement in East Africa. The proposed ordinance, in my humble opinion, most antipathetic in character and leaves every Indian at the mercy of an Executive sub-agent to the interest of the European agitation against the Indian. The unprecedented nature of the agitation is manifest from the utterly false charges flung about moral depravity against the Indian settlers. I regard the proposed ordinance as the Arab definite legal stop towards the exclusion of the Indian to complete servitude as has been decreed to be an equal status with the recently arrived European settlers. He has dared to claim an equal status with the recently arrived European settlers. He has dared to dispute the high position taken up by his European rival in trade. The latter has captured the Executive. The East African position admits of no compromise such as was possible and perhaps necessary in South Africa where the condition was totally different from the East African condition.

The Indian adds the right of priority to the ordinary natural right to live on terms of equality with every other kind of settlers in East Africa. And I venture to hope that his claim will be universally supported in India for the preservation of his full political and municipal status, and that the Government of India will exercise to the full its unbounded right and perform the duty of protecting the British Indian settler in East Africa.

IS BOYCOTT SWADESHI?

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Mr. Baptista has addressed himself to showing that Boycott is not only the same as Swadeshi but is superior to it. His reasons for saying so are that, whilst it serves the purpose of Swadeshi, it adds to it powers the use of home-made articles, and produces an effect upon the British merchant and manufacturer by touching his pocket. Mr. Baptista adds that my opposition to Boycott being purely a spiritual conception, as not understood, by the British people whereas they have always recognised Boycott as a perfectly constitutional and legitimate weapon which they understand.

To say that Boycott is the same as Swadeshi even in effect is not to understand either Swadeshi or an eternal principle whose neglect has brought untold grief to mankind. It means production and distribution of articles manufactured in one's own country. It means giving 72 c. of the population a much-needed supplementary industry. It is a constructive programme. Boycott, on the other hand, is a temporary makeshift resorted to in order to compel the hands of the British people by deliberately making them to feel the economic loss that they feel in the absence of other people. It may indirectly result, but it does not aim at permanent and prolonged, in greater manufactures at home, but it certainly means the introduction of another disturbing factor for, Boycott does not mean exclusion of all foreign goods. It means exclusion of British goods only. It, therefore, involves greater encouragement of other foreign agencies, for instance, Japanese and American. I certainly do not contemplate with equanimity the ever-growing influence of Japan upon Indian trade and commerce. Boycott to be effective has to be fairly universal whereas the observance of Swadeshi by a single person is so much to the national good. One can make Boycott successful only by an appeal to the masses and may ever lead to a permanent estrangement between parties. Mr. Baptista, however, deems that appeal to the masses is necessary consequence of Boycott especially if some one like me were to manage the
movement. I venture to challenge this position. A man suffering from an infection as exposed to the temptation of having his worst passions roused on the slightest pretext. By asking him to boycott British goods you insinuate the idea of punishing the wrong done. And punishment necessarily evokes anger.

Mr. Zaboor Ahmed who has also written to contest any position says that withdrawal of co-operation is in the same sense as boycott, only it is far less effective because it is almost impossible of execution. Now, if I am serving co-operating with a wrong, I am participating in the wrong. Therefore withdrawal of co-operation becomes a duty when a wrong is serious. And even if one man ceases to co-operate it is effective to that extent because of the performance of the duty by every one. But since boycott is a punishment and as no punishment can be a duty, boycott unless it produces the effect wasted energy. And boycott by half a dozen persons is like killing an elephant with a straw.

I admit, however, that my fundamental opposition to boycott is based on a spiritual conception. But that is to say that I am endeavouring to extend the spiritual law to the political world. I deny however that the British people will not understand it. I have no difficulty in making the Europeans of South Africa understand and appreciate it. Nor in order to render it effective, it is necessary to follow the spiritual conception of a spiritual act. My contention is that an act purely spiritual is the simplest to understand and the easiest to execute. Spirituality is nothing if it is not eminently practical. It is not difficult to understand that we must wash our hands where they are dirty. It is equally simple to do so. Yet it is essentially a spiritual practice. A man never makes a mistake in a doctrine of the soul. And even if we accept the necessity of cleansing dirty hands without a spiritual conception of cleanliness, we may accept the practical failure of boycott and the practical necessity under definite conditions of non-cooperation without waiting to understand their spiritual basis.

If boycott then practical? Mr. Bopanna has approved of boycott of the British goods. I hold that if the highest and present need of the country cannot be sufficient incentive to our merchants for supporting Swadeshi to the exclusion of foreign goods, an appeal to the merchants that in order to bring justice to the British people they shall temporarily stop their support, will I venture to intimate full that boycott after the event is no consequence. Boycott is an
and even if Mrs. Besant's information is correct, it would hardly have been proper for Mr. Gandhi to have pushed the matter to such an extreme. His amendment alone brought forth Mr. Pal's. The latter was purely tactical, not to gainsay, and Mr. Gandhi's, with thanks, a division would have been a duty. But Mr. Pal's amendment came as a shock, and also was an earnest of the extremist groups to consolidate an opposing amendment, so long as they could consistently do so. Mr. Pal's amendment, could not be accepted because of the offensive word "us" in it. Naturally, therefore, a third amendment providing a middle course had to be framed and comfort less unnecessarily in the fact of the compromise but in the fact that all were anxious to avoid an open division. Surely for the country it means that the Congress desires to co-operate with the authorities in so far as that co-operation can hasten the advent of the responsible government, and to thank Mr. Mon tagu for his valuable labours on the reforms. We would certainly have liked it better if the graceful language of the original amendment had been accepted, if thanks had been expressed and not tailored to Lord Snape. But it would have been wrong to divide the house after the principle of cooperation and thanks was rejected by the three leaders. We are unable to associate ourselves with the suggestion that L. Tilak in accepting the amendment wanted in use Messrs. Malaviya and Gandhi as his tool and, if they allowed themselves to be used, it would not be the Lokamanya who would be blamed, but Messrs. Malaviya and Gandhi would be entirely held blameworthy for their simplicity. For as party formation progresses we suppose it would be considered quite the proper thing for party leaders to use others as tools so long as there is no way to be used. Care therefore have to be taken either to purify our politics than for fear of being used as tools to hasten to take the right course. L. Tilak represents a definite school of thought which he makes no secret. He considers that everything is fair in politics. We have joined roots with him in that conception of political life. We consider that political life of the country will become thoroughly corrupt if we import western tactics and methods. We believe that nothing but the strongest adherence to honesty, fair play and charity can advance the true interests of the country. But we return, because of the essential difference just pointed out, to believe that in accepting the amendment L. Tilak was guided by his motives other than that of meeting his opponents' views so far as it was possible. On the whole, therefore, in our opinion, the analysis given by the Young India is the only true analysis of the position ultimately arrived at under the compromise.

Our Madras Agent.

Mr. Ganapati (3 Nellivaram street, Triplicane, Madras) is our authorised agent for Madras.

Manager

Young India

THE STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY MR. GANDHI TO THE HUNTER COMMITTEE.

Satyagraha.

For the past thirty years I have been preaching and practising Satyagraha. The principles of Satyagraha, as I know it today, constitute a gradual evolution.

Satyagraha differs from Passive Resistance as North Pole from South. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining one's end, whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form.

The term Satyagraha was coined by me in South Africa to express the force that was there used for full eight years and it was coined in order to distinguish it from the movement than going on in the United Kingdom and South Africa under the name of Passive Resistance.

Its root meaning is holding on to truth, hence truth-force. I have also called it Love-force or Soul-force. In the application of Satyagraha I discovered in the earliest stages that parent of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean realization of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self.

But on the political field the struggle on behalf of the people mostly consists in opposing error in the shape of unjust laws. When you have failed to bring the error home to the law giver by way of petitions and the like, the only remedy open to you, if you do not wish to submit to error, is to compel him by physical force to yield to you in by suffering in your own person by inviting the penalty for the breach of the law. Hence Satyagraha hugely appears to the public as Civil Disobedience or Civil Resistance. It is civil in the sense that it is not criminal.

The law breaker breaks the law purposefully and tries to avoid the penalty, not as the civil resisting. He never obeys the laws of the state to which he belongs but out of fear of the sanctions but because he considers them to be good for the welfare of society. But there are occasions, generally rare, when he considers certain laws to be so unjust as to render obedience to them a dishonour. He then openly and civilly breaks them and quietly suffers the penalty for their breach. And in order to register his protest against the nature of the law giver, it is open to him to withdraw his co-operation from the State by disobeying
such other laws whose breach does not involve moral imputation.

In my opinion, the beauty and efficacy of Satyagraha are so great and the doctrine so simple that it can be preached even to children. It was preached by me to thousands of men, women and children commonly called uneducated Indians with excellent results.

Rowlatt Bills

When the Rowlatt Bills were published I felt that they were a restriction of human liberty that they must be resisted to the utmost. I observed too that the opposition to them was universal among Indians. I think that no State, however despotic, has the right to exact laws which are repugnant to the whole body of the people, much less a government guided by constitutional usage and precedent such as the Indian Government. I felt too that the undermining of self-reliance and self-confidence was neither to collapse nor to run into violent channels.

The 8th April

I ventured therefore to present Satyagraha to the country engineers and Revenue officials, and it is partly an informal and partially a formal. I suggested the advisability of self-reliance and the recognition of all rights for one for the 8th of April. Here was a magnificent response for the length and breadth of India in all the villages. Many people adhered to the police with courage. The vast was turned to a place of action.

My arrest

The observation of the 8th April was followed by a series of events. I was the representative of the Satyagraha Sabha and selected certain political laws for disobedience. And I commenced the distribution of prohibited literature of a perfectly老实 type in pamphlets written by me, such as House Rule, a translation of Rudra Unto this Last, The Defence and Death of Secrets, etc.

Disorder

But there is no doubt that the 8th of April found India restive as never before. The people who were less interfered ceased to fear authority. Moreover, the masses had been suitably and not really swayed upon by them. They were undisciplined. They had found a new force but they did not know what it was and how to use it.

At Delhi the lesson had been difficult to resist the very large number of people who had remained unmoved before. At Amritsar, Dr. Satyapal was anxious that I should show and explain to the people the pre-counselling of the Swam Shri Ram and the Swam Shri Ram. It was written to me that I should pay my respects to the pre-counselling for explaining to them the nature of Satyagraha. I had never been to Amritsar and for that matter to the Punjab before.

Two messages were sent by the authorities and they knew that I was invited to both the places for peaceful purposes.

I left Bombay for Delhi and the Punjab on the 8th April and had telegraphed to Dr. Satyapal whom I had never met before to meet me at Delhi. But after passing Mathura I was arrested with an order prohibiting me from entering the Punjab. I felt that I was bound to disregard this order and proceed on my journey to Delhi. I was arrested at the railway station and taken to the border station. The Superintendent of Police who arrested me acted with courtesy. I was taken to Mathura by the first available train and then to Delhi early in the morning. I was met at the railway station by Mr. Amritsar and was taken to the Bombay House. I was discharged at Bombay on the 10th April.

But the people of Ahmedabad and Surat generally had heard of my arrest. They became furious, shops were closed, crowds gathered to render assistance, arson, pilage, wire-cutting and attempts to stifle followed.

Causes

I had worked in the midst of Kafirs muntazem but before and had heard among thousands of men and women that I had worked at this accident of Miss Amata Seshadri among the mill hands of Ahmedabad. The mill hands understood her philosophy and admired her. The fury of the labourers in Ahmedabad reached white heat when a false rumour was spread that she too was arrested. Both of us had visited and interested for the mill hands of Ahmedabad when they were in trouble. It is my firm belief that the excesses were due to the great resentment of the mob over my arrest and the summary arrest of Miss Amata Seshadri.

I have mixed with the masses in practically the whole of India and talked to them freely. I do not believe that there was any revolutionary movement behind the excesses. They could hardly be dignified by the term rebellion.

Measures

And in my opinion the Government are in proceeding with the due by the way. The heavy measures caused momentary discomfort to enforcing the law. This is imposed on poor Ahmedabad and they are the manner of enforcing it from the labourers.
was unnecessarily harsh and irritating. I doubt the justice of inflicting on the labourer a fine of large as 175,000 (one hundred and seventy thousand) rupees. The imposition of the cost from the factories of Bareilly and from the Bank of Punjab at Lahore was totally unjustified, and I sincerely think that the introduction of the law in the city of Ahmedabad was also unwise and that the arbitration named resulted in the loss of several innocent lives.

At the same time, and subject to the restrictions mentioned by me, I have no doubt that in the Bombay Presidency the authorities acted with considerable restraint at a time when the atmosphere was surcharged with mutual suspicion and the attempt at wrecking the train which was bringing the troops to restore order had naturally angered the authorities.

KHALIFAT AND BOYCOTT

SIR YAHOO RUHUR

We give below a summary of the memorandum recently published by Sir Yahoo Ruhur, Hon Secretary All-India Muslim League:

One of the resolutions passed at the Delhi Khalifat Conference was designed to prepare Indian Muslims for a progressive boycott of specified British goods in the event of an adverse settlement of the Khalifat or Khalifat question. The same resolution appointed a Committee to report on the practical methods of successfully organizing the boycott. As a member of that Committee, the memorandum has been prepared to serve as a basis for discussion.

India's largest import is cotton piece goods. Its value in proportion to the total value of all imports was 29 percent in 1918 and 32 percent during the four years preceding the war and all other imports, sugar, iron, coal, etc., have a lower percentage. The quantity in cases of yards was 109,749 and 211,681 in 1918 and 19 and a pre-war average respectively. The corresponding values in cases of ipees was 452,544 and 454,444.

In the piece goods import, the share of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is for the largest, its proportion to the total value being 77 percent in pre-war average years. The actual detailed figures for 1918 and 19 and the pre-war average year were 65,138 and 294,141 cases of yards respectively. The total value for the same year was in cases of ipees 37,234 and 43,069 respectively. These figures show that the British import trade has been steadily dwindling whereas its value has kept up at an average of about 40 percent of ipees.

The writer concludes from these figures that the thing that promises worst to the British public and the British cabinet to a diminution of the situation, as concentration of all those boycott of British piece goods. Of the 200 cases sent out to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Muslin share alone proportionately with the whole population would be less than 10 cases.

Citing the consideration of the possibility of a brief supply from sources other than England, the memorandum mentions three sources: the Indian mills, 12 handloom factories, and imports from foreign sources. It regards the last source viz. Indian mills, the total textile produced in 1918-19 was 145,000 cases of all kinds, for a war average year 110,000. We are further told that during the last year alone four companies of cotton mills with the aggregate capital of 3.00 crores were floated in India actually exceeding by 50 the aggregate capital of all such companies floated during the previous five years taken together. The future encouragement which they may receive from the present boycott is certain.

The other sources of supply are unavailable. The writer is unwise to quote any definite figures, yet he was all accounts from various quarters in the country show the effectiveness of imports in being more and more largely met now by the handloom which has naturally been encouraged by the prevailing high prices. He further pleads that there was a time in India when without any power have cotton mills but generally without imports the handloom supplied all Indian requirements. Then it is asked why it should not now at a pinch be even to supplement fairly and adequately the growing products of our increasing cotton mills just to meet bare necessities.

Regarding the third source viz. exports from foreign countries to which resort will have to be made in case the first two sources fail, the writer has shown by figures that while British import has been shrinking, the Japanese import has risen to 4000. The writer supplies all Indian requirements. Then it is asked why it should not now at a pinch be even to supplement fairly and adequately the growing products of our increasing cotton mills just to meet bare necessities.

A discussion about the method of making the boycott a real and rapid success follows. The writer next proceeds to reply to several objections to boycott including those of Mr. Gandhi. The main objection advanced is that boycott is opposed to his principle of Satyagraha as he considers that it was based on revenge and involves an attempt to gain an object by imposing suffering on others instead of by imposing benefit on oneself which is true Satyagraha must always seek to do.

The writer replies to this by refusing to believe that boycott and refusal to cooperate with the Government differ from each other in point of purity. It withdrawal of cooperation with Government is a
right of every citizen in order to mark his displeasure with the acts of Government, why should not boycott similarly be his right? The writer further analyses Mr. Gandhi's ideas of non-cooperation with Government and asserts that non-cooperation, if it were possible in practice to any considerable class of people, would cause infinitely greater suffering than boycott to both parties.

The second objection of Mr. Gandhi, as stated by the writer, is based on the impracticability of boycott, the cause of this impracticability being that British manufacturers would successfully smuggle foreign goods, as his own, any, through the agency of Japan or some other allied country. The writer refuses to believe that such a deception can be practised on any considerable scale and he also thinks that it is impossible to devise means by which such fraudulent attempts can be frustrated.

The third objection regarding the feasibility of the proposal in the sense that people cannot satisfy their requirements if they boycotted British goods, the writer thinks, cannot be raised after reading the facts and figures in the memorandum.

To the last objection that boycott should not contemplate differential treatment for the other Allies who share in the spoils of the Turkish Empire, for they are as much to blame as Britain, the writer offers two answers. In the first place, the Indian Mussalmans have to complain particularly against the Mussalmans of the British Empire. In the second place, boycott is a serious measure involving amount of sacrifice and it is not proper to tire our energies by attempting to do too much at the same time instead of concentrating attention on only a few essential matters to ensure success.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. Naidoo's Letter to G. Smuts

The following letter was addressed to General Smuts by Mr. P. K. Naidoo, Secretary to the British Indian Association, Transvaal on the 20th November 1919 —

Following upon the depredation that wasted upon the Hon. the Prime Minister on the 27th ultimo, I am directed by my Committee to forward the following supplementary observations for the right Hon. the Minister's consideration.

My Committee while appreciating the Minister's present delicate position, begs to submit that the Community though reluctant to raise up any matters that will cause any unpleasantness, cannot see its way to wholly fall in with the Minister's views that it would be detrimental to the Indian Community to have minded in the terms of reference of the proposed Commission, matters other than the trading question.

It is the desire of my Committee and Community to have this painful controversy over for all solved in a manner that would give the community at least the satisfaction of knowing that the Government are not to do injuries towards them.

I am therefore asked to respectfully desire that the Hon. Prime Minister may be good enough to direct the inclusion in the reference of the proposed Commission's enquiry the following matters— the Gold Law, the Townships Act, Local Ordinance of 1912, Law 3 of 1885 and Act 37 of 1912.

As much as it is the desire of my Committee not to embarrass the Hon. Prime Minister at this juncture, and particularly when the Hon. Minister has so many matters in hand to deal with, it cannot, on a occasion so momentous and far reaching from the standpoint of the Indian Community's future in the Union and, particularly in the Transvaal Provinces, commit the whole Community to the hinted enquiry of the trading question only.

I am further to point out that in the event of the enquiry being limited to the trading question alone the existence of the British Indians in the Transvaal will be jeopardised that their lives would be intolerable.

Under the Asiatic Land and Trading (amendment) Act 27 of 1919 the fact of existing Companies which have acquired fixed property before the 1st May, 1919, depends upon the judgment procurement of the Union Court. As it is the Municipal Council of Krugersdorp has instituted an action against Dadeo Limited, an Asiatic Company of long standing to have annulled the transfer acquired by that Company in 1912. In the event, as it was pointed out in the memorandum submitted to the Hon. Minister by the deposition on the 27th ultimo, if the Court's finding against Dadeo Limited, it will as it were with one stroke of the pen, ruin the entire Indian population of the Transvaal Province.

In view of the above-mentioned facts it would be a source of relief to the Indian Community to hear from the Hon. Prime Minister favourably.

I beg also to request for a copy of the minutes of the further representation made by the deposition on the 27th ultimo.

NOTICE

All communications regarding subscriptions, refusals etc. should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India", Claude Ct., Banker, Nainpur, Ahmedabad, Annual in India (with postage) Four Rupees.

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Notes.

"I should suffer too for conscience' sake."—The discussion that took place the other day between Sir Chimanlal Sheth and Mr. Gandhi as regards the determination of truth and qualifications necessary for one to be able to determine truth, was not mere casuistry. Sir Chimanlal's questions and the answers he expected, reveal a distinct attitude on his part. Sir Chimanlal would not deny every human being's right to determine truth for himself, but even his capacity to do so. And he found his Bahadur Bahadur Rammahlu to not assent to his views. This sartorial attitude of mind takes no count either of human nature or of history. In every age and clime there have not been found wanting men who suffered for their conscience. The thousands of Drikshobals who went through years of untold suffering did not use any great intellectual and moral equipment to determine that military service was a crime. And General Smuts also once frankly admitted that the passive resisters he had imprisoned were suffering for conscience' sake. If you do not posit the essential virtue in man to be able to determine truth for himself which alone separates him from the brute, you deny all human progress, and our national leaders if they have any faith in national progress can all ignore this basic principle. We commend to them the words of Gen. Smuts from an interview with Mr. Gandhi that took place in 1911—

"Gen. Smuts—What are you doing in Johannesburg?

Mr. G—Looking after the families of passive resisters.

Gen S—It has hurt me more than you to imprison these people. It has been the most painful episodes of my life to imprison men who suffer for their conscience— I should do the same thing for causes near' sake."

The South African Situation—Thus the Times of India:

"As we predicted from the general tenor of General Smuts and Mr. Burton's more recent statements, the forthcoming South African Commissions in Southern Africa is not to be confused with Transvaal affairs, but as our South African correspondent has telegraphed, it will inquire into questions in regard to the Union generally." Our correspondent does not specify what precisely are the questions to be dealt with by the Commission, but according to the latest and most reliable information, they are to be handling trade and labor questions in effect, the position has taken a decided change for the better since October last, when we protested against the narrow scope which General Smuts then proposed to give to the Commission. At that time it was proposed that the powers of the Commission should be restricted to inquiring into trade and labor rights only, with Transvaal and Natal, and nowhere else. Now the inquiry is to take in land ownership as well, and is to extend to the whole of the Union. When we say that there is a change for the better, we are well aware that the increasing strength of the ranks feeling in the Transvaal is an element of danger into the situation, but we are convinced that if the Commission is composed of upright and impartial men, and if the Indians are fairly and rightly presented, the Union has nothing to fear and much to expect from the finding of the Commission. In saying this we rely upon the justice of the Indian case upon the repeated pressures of due and proper treatment uner by General Smuts and by Mr. Burton, particularly at the 1917 and 1918 Imperial Conferences, until upon the South African well-known love of fair play."

Mr. Andrews' Services—We have pleasure in printing the following telegram which Mr. Gandhi received from the President, Indian Association, Montrose—

Indian Association records deep heartfelt gratitude for sparing Mr. Andrews from Punjab. We received greatest benefit from his visit which has put new life into our public work and moved our hearts to greater devotion towards motherland.

Abdul Nasul
President.
Young India.

An Appeal to Madras.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

I used the word Madras here in its popular sense, meaning the people of the whole of Madras Presidency, speaking all the Dravidian languages.

I observed that Mrs. Besant was disappointed that the proceedings of the Congress were conducted mainly in Hindustani, and she has therefore come to the astounding conclusion that it became a Provincial rather than a National assembly. I understand very highly regard for Mrs. Besant and her services to India. No one has popularized the idea of Home Rule for India with so much success as she. The best of all, much younger in age, are unable to approach her in her industry, zeal and organizing ability, all devoted to the service of India. She has devoted the best part of her mature life to the service of India, and she has deservedly attained to popularity in India second perhaps only to that of Lokmanya Tilak. But, for the present moment her views being unacceptable to a large body of educated Indians, she has become somewhat unpopular and it grieves me to have to dissent publicly from her view about Hindustani making the Congress provincial. In my humble opinion it is a grave error of judgment, and duty compels me to draw attention to it. I have attended all the Congress sessions, but one, since 1915. I have studied them especially in order to study the utility of Hindustani compared to English for the conduct of its proceedings. I have spoken to hundreds of delegates and thousands of visitors and I have perhaps covered a larger area and seen a much larger number of people, literate and illiterate, than any public man not excluding Mrs. Besant and Lokmanya Tilak, and I have come to the deliberately conclusion that no language except Hindustani—a resultant of Hindi and Urdu—can possibly become a national medium for exchange of ideas or for the conduct of national proceedings. It is also my deliberate opinion based upon extensive experience that the nation has very materially suffered by reason of the proceedings of the Congress having been conducted almost entirely in English during the last two years. I further wish to state as a fact that barring the presidency of Madras everywhere the majority of the visitors and delegates to the National Congress have always been able to understand more Hindustani than English. The astounding result therefore has been that the Congress has been national throughout all these long years only as a spectacle but never for its real educative value. In any other country in the world an assembly of this character that has become progressively popular from year to year would have, during thirty-four years of life, given a political education that would have entered every home because the people would have had various questions thrashed out before them in their own language. Whatever therefore the shortcomings of the last Congress, it has certainly been more fully national than any of its predecessors, by reason of the majority of the delegates and visitors having understood the proceedings. If the audience was weary of Mrs. Besant it was not because it was indifferent or disrespectful to her but because it could not follow her speech, interesting and able though it was. And an emotional consciousness develops as the appetite for political knowledge and education grows, as it must, it will become more and more difficult, and rightly so, for a speaker, no matter how able and popular, to command the attention of a popular audience if he speaks in English. I therefore appeal to the people of Madras presidency to recognize the national necessity for public use to learn Hindustani. And endeavoured audiences outside Northern India with its Hindustani eloquence and could be understood by even the common people without difficulty. That means that out of a population of three hundred and fifteen millions only over thirty-eight millions composing the Madras presidency cannot follow a Hindustani speaker. I have glanced the Mahomedan population for this common knowledge that the majority of the Mahomedans of Madras presidency understand Hindustani. The question therefore is what is the duty of the thirty-eight million inhabitants of that Presidency? Should India then learn English? Or should they for the sake of two hundred seventy-two million inhabitants of India learn Hindustani? The late Justice Kesar Swamy, with his uncaring instinct, recognized Hindustani as the only possible medium of expression between the different parts of India. I am not aware that the proposition is currently challenged by anybody at the present moment. It is not possible for thousands of people to make English their common tongue and it would be highly undesirable even if it were possible, for the simple reason that the higher and technical knowledge being acquired through English cannot渗透 to the masses, as it would if it became current among the upper classes through any of the vernaculars. It is easier, for instance, to translate the writings of Sir J. C. Bose from Bengal into Gujarati than it is to translate Huxley from English into Gujarati. And what does the proposition that the Madras should learn Hindustani for the sake of the rest of India amount to? It simply means that those public workers in Madras who want to work outside India and who want to take part in national assemblies outside the Madras presidency should devote an hour a day for one year to learning Hindustani. Such an effort would enable several thousand Madras to pick up sufficient Hindustani to enable them follow at least the drift of the Congress proceedings at the end of a year’s study. They be it not in several parts of the presidency Hindu Prachar Offices where Hindustani is taught free of charge to all who wish to learn.

I appeal to Mrs. Besant, who is already devoting “New India” from time to time to the cause of Hindustani learning, to support my appeal.
MR. GANDHI'S EVIDENCE

We give below an accurate and fairly full report of Mr Gandhi's evidence before the Hunter Committee.

EXAMINATION BY LORD HUNTER.

Q. I take it, Mr. Gandhi, that you are the author of the Satyagraha movement.

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Will you explain it briefly?

A. It was a movement intended to replace methods of violence and a movement based entirely upon truth. It was, as I have conceived it, an extension of the domestic law or the political field and my experience has led me to the conclusion that that movement and that alone can rid India of the possibility of violence spreading throughout the length and breadth of the land, for the redress of grievances.

Q. It was adopted by you in connection with the opposition to the Rowlatt Act. And in that connection you asked the people to sign the Satyagraha pledge.

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Was it an intention to enlist as many men as possible in the movement?

A. Yes, consistently with the principle of truth and non-violence. If I got a thousand more ready to act according to those principles, I would not mind enrolling them all.

Q. Is not a movement essentially antagonistic to Government because you substitute the determination of the Satyagraha Committee for the will of the Government?

A. That is not the spirit in which the movement has been understood by the people.

Q. I ask you to look at it from the point of view of the Government. If you were a Governor yourself, what would you say to a movement that was started with the object of breaking those laws which your Committee determined?

A. That would not be stating the whole case of the Satyagraha doctrine. If I were in charge of the Government and brought the case to face with a body who, entirely in spirit of truth, were determined to seek redress from unjust laws without resorting to violence, I would welcome it and would consider that they were the best constituted translators, as it were, of Government; I would listen to them by my side as advisors who would keep me on the right path.

Q. Temporarily as to the purposes or injustices of particular laws?

A. That is the main reason why violence is eliminated and Satyagraha gives him the same right of independence and feelings of liberty that he reserves to himself and he will fight by inflicting injuries on his per- son.

Lord Hunter: I was looking at it from the point of view of the continuance of Government. Would it be possible to continue the Government if you had set up against the Government a body of men who would not accept the Government view but the view of an independent Committee?

A. I have found from my experience that it was possible to do so during the eight years of continuous struggle in South Africa. I found General Smuts, who went through the whole of that campaign, at the end of it saying that if all conducted themselves as the Satyagrahis had done, they should have nothing to fear.

Q. But there was no such pledge in that campaign as is prescribed here?

A. Certainly there was. Every Satyagrahi was bound to resist all those laws which he considered to be unjust and which were not of a criminal character, in order to head the Government to the will of the people.

Q. I understand your view contemplates breaking of laws which a Committee may declare.

A. Yes, my Lord. I want to make it clear to the Committee that that part of the vow was meant to be a constraint on individual liberty. As I understood it to make it a mass movement, I thought the constitution of such a Committee as we had appointed was necessary, so that no man should become a law unto himself, and, therefore, we conceived the plea that the Committee would be able to show what laws might be broken.

Q. We heard that doctors differ, and, even Satyagrahis might differ?

A. Yes, I found it so to my own.

Q. Supposing a Satyagrahi was satisfied that a particular law was a just law and that the Committee did not obey that law, what would a Satyagrahi do?

A. He is not bound to disobey that law. We had such Satyagrahis in our ranks.

Q. Is it not rather a desperate campaign?

A. If you will consider the campaign as designed in order to rid the country of violence, then you will share with me the same concern for it that I think that any such movement of this character should live in the country in a parallel state.

Q. By your pledge are you not imposing a man's conscience?

A. Not according to my interpretation of it. If my interpretation of the pledge is found to be incorrect, I shall send my error if I have to start the movement again. (Lord H.——No, no, Mr Gandhi, I do not pretend to advise you.)

I wish I could disclaim the Committee of the idea that it is a dangerous doctrine. It is concerned entirely with the object of ridding the country of the evil of violence.

Lord Hunter here freely detailed the circumstances preceding the passage of the Rowlatt Act, the widespread general Indian opposition to the Act, etc., and asked Mr Gandhi to describe the nature of his opposition to the legislation.

A. I have read the Rowlatt Committee's report in the and the legislation formed itself in it, and I come to the conclusion that the legislation was not warranted by the facts presented by the Committee. I thought it was very restrictive of human liberty and that no self-respecting person or nation could allow such legislation. When I saw the debate in the Legislative Council, I felt that the opposition to it was universal. When I found the agitation against it, I felt that for me as a self-respecting su-
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don a general hartal throughout India. That hartal was to be a day when no business was to be done and people were generally to abstain from their usual occupations. A hartal means a general cessation throughout the whole country. Would it not create a very difficult situation?

A. Cessation for a great length of time would create a difficult situation.

Mr. Gandhi has explained how the observance of the hartal in some parts of the country on the 19th March, and all over the country on the 5th April, came about on account of a misunderstanding, not on account of the people in support coming to know of the Viceroy's assent to the Act earlier than the people in other parts.

Q. You agree that the abstention from work should be entirely voluntary?

A. Yes, entirely voluntary, in the sense that permission on the day of the hartal would not be allowed, whereas permission was passed on to the people and other prosecutions work on other days would be perfectly legitimate, so long as no physical force was employed.

Q. You do not agree of people interfering with dospas on the day of the hartal?

A. Certainly.

Q. You would not object to the police interfering in the case of such a disapprovable interference of the people at part?

A. I would not if they act with proper restraint and forbearance.

Q. But you agree that on the day of the hartal it was highly improper to go to work with other people and stay long?

A. From a Satyagraha standpoint I would hold it to be criminal.

Lord Hunter: Your leading instrument in Delhi, Swami Shraddhananda.—Mr. Gandhi interrupting: I would not call him my lieutenant, but an esteemed co-worker. Did he write you a letter on the subject, and indicated to you that after what had occurred in Delhi and the Punjab, it was manifest that you could not prosecute a general hartal without violence essentially arising?

A. I do not recall the contents of that letter. I think he went much further and said that it was not possible that the law breaking campaign could be carried on with impunity amongst the masses. He did not refer to hartal proceeding. There was a difference of opinion between me and Swami Shraddhananda when I suspected mild disobedience. I found it necessary to suspend it because I had not obtained sufficient control, to my satisfaction, over the people. What Swami Shraddhananda was that Satyagraha did not take a mass movement. But I did not agree with his view and I do not know that he was not opposed to my view to say they would suspend. The suspension of acts of disobedience was such necessary to prosecution for offences against law. I would like the Committee to frame a draft motion between hartal and civil disobedience. 'Hartal' was designed to strike the imagination of
the people and the Government. Civil disobedience was a
discipline for those who were to offer disobedience. I had
no means of understanding the mind of India except by
some such striking movement. Heretofore was a proper in-
dication to me how far I would be able to carry civil dis-
obedience.

Q. If there is a hasty side by side with the preaching of
Satyagraha would it not be calculated to promote vio-
ence?

A. My experience is entirely to the contrary. It was
an amazing scene for me to see people collected in their
thousands—men, women and even little children and
beggars marching peacefully in procession. The peace-
ful processions would not have been at all possible if Satya
graha was not preached in the right way.

But as I have said, a hasty is a different thing from
civil disobedience to practice.

In further reply to Lord Hunter Mr. Gandhi presented
the incidents connected with his so-called arrest at Fel-
wal. He characterized the proceedings of his being detained at
Felwal and turned back to Bombay under escort as, in
form and substance, an arrest and he was surprised to
find his arrest described in some quarters as his "supervised
arrest." At Felwal he was served with an order prohibit-
ing him from entering the Punjab and confining him to the
Bombay Presidency. The Police Officer who served him
with the order was exceedingly courteous to him. When he
resolved to disregard the order, prohibiting him from
entering the Delhi Province, the police officer reasoned
with him pointing out how much inconvenience would result
in his being arrested at a small wayside station. When he
proceeded to Felwal he saw the Superintendent of
Police, Delhi, with his officers and men. The officer pla-
ning his hand on his shoulder said, "Sir Gandhi, I arrest
you." He was asked to quickly remove his luggage from the
train and to point out the man of the guard who went
to accompany him. This was done. He was placed
under the watch of some police constables, and to show
that it was nothing else but a proper arrest, Mr. Gandhi
said, when he was to the side of the platform to wear
his thumb, as an officer challenged him. He did not seem
to imply that the order did anything wrong. He was doing
nothing more than his duty.

Mr. Gandhi then described how the officer arresting
him had no knowledge as to how he was going to be
processed with, how he was taken to Bawana Mathura
and there joined the Punjab Mail on which he was left
in charge of Mr. Bunting, how at daybreak next day Mr.
Bunting, after consultation with an officer who had held him told him that he would be free to
Bombay.

Lord Hunter: All that was required of you was that
you were to proceed to Delhi or the Punjab.

Mr. Gandhi: No, by the time I was arrested I had al-
ready committed an offense by proceeding to Felwal.
Therefore, I was not asked to go back to Bombay, but I
was escorted.

Lord Hunter: Then it amounted to this, that the conse-
quence of a Government order it was made clear to you that
you would not be allowed to proceed to Delhi or the
Punjab and that if you remained in the Bombay Presiden-
cy you would be allowed perfect freedom?

Mr. Gandhi: Yes.

Lord Hunter: That is a little different from arrested
you and throwing you into the jail. Is it not, Mr. Gandhi?

Mr. Gandhi: Nobody made that assertion. The only
complaint against Government is that they had no busi-
ness to turn me away from my mission of peace.

Lord Hunter: If the Government honestly thought that
it would be imprudent to allow you to go to a place to
propagate your doctrines which was already in an excited
state on account of that doctrine, then why do you object?

Mr. Gandhi: From that standpoint I have absolutely
nothing to say.

Lord Hunter: Suppose you arrest serious inci-
dents occurred in Delhi and the Punjab and also in Ah-
medabad?

Mr. Gandhi: Yes.

Lord Hunter: Now, the only matters that we have
got to deal with here are as regards Ahmedabad itself.
In Ahmedabad, as we have been told, you enjoy great
popularity among the mill workers?

Mr. Gandhi: Yes.

Lord Hunter: And your arrest seems to have caused
great consternation in that part of the world. Did it lead to the very unfortu-
nate actions of the mob on April 10, 11 and 12 in
Ahmedabad and Vizagapatam?

Mr. Gandhi: Yes.

Lord Hunter: So far as these incidents are concerned
you have no personal knowledge of them?

Mr. Gandhi: No.

Lord Hunter: I don't know whether there is anything
that you can communicate to us in connection with those
events to help us to form an opinion.

Mr. Gandhi: I venture to present the opinion that
I consider that the action of the mob, whether at Ah-
medabad or at Vizagapatam, was totally unjustified, and I
think that it was a very sad thing that they took self-con-
trary. But, at the same time, I would like to say that the
people among whom, rightly or wrongly, I was popular,
were put to a severe test by Government. They should
have known better. I do not say that the Government
committed an unpardonable error of judgment, and the
mob committed an error. On the contrary, I hold that it
was more culpable on the part of the mob than on
the part of Government.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi narrated how he endeavored
to do what he could to repair the error. He pleaded him-
self entirely at the disposal of the authorities. He had
a long interview with Mr. Pratt and other officials. He
was to have held a meeting of the people on the 15th but
he was told that it would not be possible to hold it at
that date, but as an act of Colonel Trooper's order, because
he was promised every assistance in connection with the
meeting, but that the notice of the meeting would be re-
newed to all the people that day. The meeting took place on the
16th. There he addressed what had happened. There
he had to see the terms "organised" and "educated" both of which terms had been so much quoted against him
and against the people. The speech was in Gujarati. Mr. Gandhi explained and hoped Sir Chumakkar Dastur
would bear him in mind a reference to the Gujarati speech
that the word only means those who can read and write,
and that he used the word and expressed the opinion as he
didn't the thing at that time.
He emphasized it was a previous organization that he meant, he meant to say, and there would be no mistake in the actual words in his speech, that the acts were done in an organized manner. He further explained that he was speaking of Abdullah only that he had then no knowledge of what had happened even at Vizianagaram, and that he could not retract a single statement from that speech. In his opinion, said Mr. Gaddru, violence was done in an organized manner. It cannot be interpreted to mean a deep conspiracy. He held special emphasis to the fact that while he used those expressions he was addressing the people, and not the police authorities.

If Mr. Guider stated that a single cause of the offenders was set forth among them, he was entirely mistaken; this was all that he had said, and that he had not the least conception that the term "organized" which the police used, was all the result of their being deceived by the verbal demeanor of the arrest of Miss Annes. There was a class of self-styled people who possessed themselves with false ideas from sources such as cinematographs and from silly novels and from political leaders. He knew that that was his way. He had met with them and had come across them. He had all the time that he had known them, he had known of their existence. He had heard about them. He had seen them working. He had quite succeeded in the understanding of the fact that there were 2-3 thousands of people who had ceased to belong to the school of revolution.

Proceeding, Mr. Gaddru said he had now given the whole meaning of what he had said. He had never meant that there were University men behind the disturbances. He did not say they were incapable of those acts, but that he was not aware of any highly educated men direct the mob.

Lord Hunter: Do you imply that there were any organized purpose on the part of the masters?

Mr. Gaddru: Yes, I do. I say that. It would be exaggerating to say that, but I think the common purpose was restricted to one or two or three men or parties who instigated the crimes.

Q: Did the agitation take an anti-European character?

A: I was certainly not anti-Government movement. I would from believe it was not anti-European, but I have not put made my mind as to that.

Lord Hunter: I do not know whether you want to answer this or not. According to the Satyagraha doctrine, is it right that people who have committed crimes shall be punished by the civil authorities?

Mr. Gaddru: It is a difficult question to answer, because (through passiveness) you anticipate pressure from outside. I am not prepared to say that it is wrong, but there is a better method. But I think, on the whole, it would be proper to say that a satyagraha cannot possibly quarrel with any preachment that might be made out to an offender and therefore he does not shoot Government in that sense.

Lord Hunter: But apparently it is against the doctrine of satyagraha to give assistance to Government by way of placing the information that a Satyagraha has that would lead to the arrest of offenders.

Mr. Gaddru: According to the principles of satyagraha it is incorrect for the simple reason that a satyagraha movement is not to assist the police in the method which is open to the police, but he helps the authorities and the police to make the people more law abiding and more responsible.

Lord Hunter: Supposing a Satyagraha has seen one of the acts as such as a crime committed in these riots in his own presence. Would there be no obligation on him to inform the police?

Mr. Gaddru: Of course, I answered that it is no pleasure to Mr. Guider before and I think I must answer it to Your Lordship. I don't want to magnify the youth of the country, but even then he cannot go against his own brother. When I say brother, I do not, of course, make any distinction of race or nationality. A Satyagraha is wholly in the interest of such a distinction. The Satyagraha's position is somewhat similar to that of a secret defacing an accused I have known criminals of the deadliest type and I may humbly claim to have been instrumental in weaning them from crime, and I should be forgetting their confidence if I disclosed the name of a single man. But supposing I found myself wanting to wean them I would surely not take the next step to go and inform the police about them. I do not hesitate to say that for a Satyagraha this is the straightforward thing to give evidence of a crime done over and order his man. But there can be only the rarest cases of such doctrine and even today I am not able to say whether I would not give over these a criminal when I saw caught in the act.

Asking as regards his view of the general situation, Mr. Gaddru said the impression made as his mind was that there was a security law and that he thought that the Government acted under the greatest restraint and forbearance. He said he could understand troops in a train, which was attempted to be described, being infuriated and he would feel it in his heart to express those troops of mad ones of fancy. He thought that the terms in which the military police counted was entirely capable of misunderstanding. He thought the goons were fired as without notice. There were, say, two or three men, and a tooth man met them out wanting to be the tooth man. It cannot be proper to fire on them and probably there was no use in giving notice to those who probably did not know of the military proclamation at all.

Asked as to his views as the work of the two tribunals, Mr. Gaddru said, in his opinion the Government erred in presenting the offenders for war. He met with that the work of the tribunals was constant with the laws of civilized justice. The rest one under which the proceedings were undertaken ought not to be brought into us. That lathy view had caused an arrested and disproportionate suffering. The fine imposed so poor Ahmedshah was heavy and the matter of collecting it from the labourers was unnecessarily harsh and oppressive. He wanted to differ there from Mr. Aminul's opinion as expressed by Lord Esher and he felt that Mr. Aminul had erred gravely against his people. He thought the aim of Government in imposing the additional police to Nadiri and Nandigaon was totally unjustified. The argument is urged by the Collector of Nadiri for indicating that fine were totally irrelevant and vindictive. He was satisfied that the people of Nadiri were state leagues with those who went to default the true hot gave every assistance to Government to raise the effect and get a hard sound acknowledgment and supplement from the Collector for their assistance.

YOUNG INDIA.

[Lord Kitchener having finished, Justice Rankin examined Mr. Gandhi. We hope to get this part of the evidence in our next issue]

EXAMINATION BY SIR CHIMANLAL

Sir Chimanlal: With regard to your Satyagraha doctrine, so far as I understand it, it involves the pursuit of truth and is that pursuit you invite suffering on yourself and do not cause violence to anybody else. Mr. Gandhi: Yes, Sir.

Q. However, usually a man may strive in his search for truth his notions of truth may be different from the notions of others. Who then is to determine the truth?

A. The individual himself would determine that.

Q. Different individuals would have different views as to truth. Would that not lead to confusion?

A. I do not think so.

Q. Honestly striving after truth is different in every case.

A. That is why the non-violence part was a necessary corollary. Without that there would be confusion and worse.

Q. Must not the person wanting to pursue truth be of high moral and intellectual equipment?

A. No. It would be impossible to expect that from everyone. If A has evolved a truth by his own efforts which B, C and others are to accept, I should not require them to have the equipment of A.

Q. Then it comes to this that a man comes to a decision and others of lower mental and moral equipment would have to blindly follow him.

A. Not blindly. All I wish to urge is that each individual, unless he wants to carry on his pursuit of truth independently needs to follow someone who has determined truth.

Q. Your scheme involves the determination of truth by people of high moral and intellectual equipment and a large number of people may follow them blindly being themselves unable to arrive at similar conclusions by reason of their lower intellectual equipment.

A. I would expect from them nothing more than I would expect from an ordinary being.

Q. I take it that the strength of the propaganda must depend on the number of its followers.

A. No. In Satyagraha success is possible even if there is only one Satyagraha of the proper stamp.

Q. Mr. Gandhi, you said you do not consider yourself a perfect Satyagraha yet. The large mass of people are then even less so.

A. No. I do not consider myself as an extraordinary man. There may be people more capable of determining truth than myself. Forty thousand Indians in South Africa totally untrained are to the conclusion that they could be Satyagrahas and if I could take you through those thrilling scenes in the Transvaal you will be surprised to hear what restraint your countrymen in South Africa exercised.

Q. But there you were all unanimous.

A. I have more solidity of opinion here than in South Africa.

Q. But you have a clear-cut issue, not here.

A. Here too we have a clear-cut issue viz., the Rowlatt Act.

Mr. Gandhi then explained how he presented Satyagraha as an instrument of infinitely greater power than violence.

Q. Does not suffering and going on suffering require extraordinary self-control?

A. No, no extraordinary self-control is required. Every mother suffers. Your countrymen in South Africa have got such a control and they have exhibited that in a very large measure.

Q. Take Ahmedabad. Did they exhibit control here?

A. All I say is, throughout India where you find these isolated instances of violence you will find a very large number of people who exercised self-restraint. Ahmedabad and other places show that we had not attained proper mastery over self. The Kaira people in the midst of grave provocation last year acted with the greatest self-restraint.

Q. Do you mean to say these acts of violence were mere accidents?

A. Not accidents. But they were rare and would be rare for a clear conception of Satyagraha. The country, I think, has sufficiently well realized the doctrine to warrant a second trial. I do feel sure that the country is all the purer and better for having gone through the fire of Satyagraha.

Q. Ordinarily your doctrine contemplates cooperation with the Government and abdication of resistance and involving self-suffering. Does not suffering create ill will?

A. It is contrary to my thirty years' experience that people have by suffering been filled with any ill will against the Government. In South Africa after a bitter struggle the Indians have lived on the best of terms with the Government, and Gen. Smuts was the recipient of an address which was voluntarily voted by the Indians.

Q. Is it possible to take part in the movement without taking the Satyagraha vow?

A. I would ask them to take part in the non-civil resistance part of the movement. The masses unless they take the pledge were not to do the civil disobedience part of the pledge. For those who were not civil resisters, therefore, another vow was devised asking people to follow truth at all costs and to refrain from violence. I had suspended civil resistance then and as is open to a leader to suspend one part of the vow I eliminated the civil resistance part which was not for that reason opposed to the people and placed the truth part before them.

Sir Chimanlal: Satyagraha, then referred to the question whether disobedience of the Rowlatt Act was contemplated in the vow and referred to Mrs. Besant's differences with Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi said that he had heard in Bombay that she had taken the vow less the Committee part of it. She said she had not done so.

Q. Did she not point out that to disobey the Rowlatt Act one would have to be an assassin?
A. She has certainly advanced that ground
Mr. Gandhi explained that the determining consideration was that the Rowlatt Act would not lend itself to active disobedience in a systematic manner.

Q. Is not the underlying idea embarrassment of Government?
A. Certainly not. A Satyagrahi acts not upon embarrassment but upon self-suffering for securing relief.

Q. Would not ordered government be impossible?
A. Ordered government cannot be possible if totally insouciant people break the law. But I would certainly make Government impossible if I found it had taken leave of its senses.

Q. In your message, you ask people to refrain from violence and still violence occurred. Does it not show that the ordinary mind finds it very difficult to practice the theory of non-violence?
A. After having tried methods of violence for years, it is difficult for them to practice abstinence.

In reply to a question whether he had any evidence in support of the statement that the disturbances were organised, Mr. Gandhi replied in the affirmative and said he had no objection to place the materials he had before the Committee although he would not disclose the names of the persons concerned.

Mr. Gandhi said, they did not suggest any destruction of life but only of property. There was some organisation arranged on the 10th and on the 11th. He said he had the testimony of those who were told to do violence, and of those who did so, and of those who were witnesses of the scenes. He said he had direct evidence, he had people coming to him to surrender swords in their possession but they had not the courage to do so. He said he could identify some of the informants, but it was impossible for him to identify all, as, for instance, there were people from various villages who came to him, and said they regretted what they had done, and that what they had done was from pure love for me. Asked as to how he could determine whether what they said was the truth, Mr. Gandhi said he thought he was capable of discriminating an untruthful statement from a truthful one. They took advantage of the temper of the people and put these ideas into their heads. The Khadi movement was committed by two or three individuals. They were drunkards and would not say that the act was a deliberately organised one. It was his conviction that the people in the town had no knowledge of the crime and if they had they would have prevented it. His view was based on the testimony of those for whom he had high regard. He could not tell whether the person convicted of the crime was the same who committed it because he had not learnt his name. Proceeding Mr. Gandhi said he came to the civil disobedience movement because he realised that the movement as a mass movement under present circumstances was not advisable. He would not expect the people to realise the wisdom of the Satyagraha movement but he would expect them to realise that it was better for them, if they could not join the movement, at least to refrain from violence.

Here Sir Chimanlal asked Mr. Gandhi to read from a leaflet of his, entitled, 'When will Satyagraha be resumed?' and asked if when he was saying that they should be ready to resume Satyagraha because the military dispositions would then be complete, he was not declaring that military dispositions should be kept in all parts of the country in order that people may have the pleasure to indulge in breaking laws. Mr. Gandhi said that that was not an interpretation warranted by his words. He would not be guilty of saying such a thing. He did not restart the campaign on the 1st of July as he had expected, much to the disappointment of his co-workers, only because the Viceregal and the Governor of Bombay asked him whether he wanted India to be an armed camp and to suspend the Satyagraha movement if he did not want her to be so, and he suspended it.

Asked as to the fines imposed on the Ahmedabad workers, Mr. Gandhi said the manner of collection was wholly bad, the principle of taxation was bad and the time fixed for collection was insufficient for collection. The fines were imposed in certain cases upon those who had nothing to do with the disturbances. He added that he was not going to say anything regarding the exemptions, and that he was not prepared to dispute the discretion vested in authorities. He said he would not be fair if he did not pay his testimony to the humblest manner in which the Collector of Ahmedabad had taken the measure he had thought necessary.

[To be concluded.]

Our Madras Agent,
Mr. Ganesh (G. Nalluramin Street, Trichinopoly, Madras) is our authorised agent for Madras.

Manager,
Young India

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Notes.

The South African Situation—The South African correspondent of the Times of India has in his recent communication given an account of the delay in the appointment of the Commission and the news of the three members who are to sit on it. He has also given the reports of the President of the South African League before the Local Government Commission: Johannesburg.

Our correspondent's communication in-hand adds, "the Secretary of the Local Government Commission has reserved a day for us to Tender evidence on the 13th February next". Our correspondent has sent us a letter from Mr. H. D. Shawa, Secretary for the Interior, to the Secretary of the Transvaal British Indian Association. The letter confirms the Times of India's correspondent's news of widening the scope of the Commission. The latter, most of all, brings us the welcome news that the deputation representing the Indian Government before the Commission in an advisory capacity will include an Indian member, i.e., a non-official Indian will accompany Sir Benjamin Robinson. Our correspondent says that the Indians in South Africa have proposed the name of the Hon. Mr. Shrawastri whose name we have suggested in your columns. We hope that the Government of India and Mr. Montagu who have succeeded in their proposal of a non-official member accompanying Sir Benjamin, will arrange to send the Hon. Mr. Shrawastri as our non-official representative.

The "Leader" misled—In the course of his examination Lord Hather asked Mr. Gandhi whether there would be an occasion for the Sathyagrahi to inform the police of the facts of the case and the reports of the incident in his own presence. Mr. Gandhi's answer to this question was as follows: "I have answered this question to Mr. Hather before and I think I must answer it to your Lordship. I don't want to mislead the youth of the country, but even then I cannot go against my own brother. When my brother I don't, of course, make any distinction of country or nationality. A Sathyagrahi is wholly independent of such a distinction."

Commenting on this, the "Leader" says: "We were under the impression that a Sathyagrahi did not recognize any distinction of country or race in the ardent pursuit of Truth. But it appears from Mr. Gandhi's evidence that the doctrine of Sathyagram is subject to moral consideration."

Evidently the "Leader" has been misled.

The spectacle of high prices—A Christian body of Lucknow has sent us a cutting from the correspondence columns of the Indian Daily Telegraph drawing our attention to the high price problem. The correspondent has quoted figures to bring out the amazing difference between the rates of the past and the present. The correspondent has suggested as a solution of this all-India problem a conference of the representatives of different Young Associations and Leagues to enquire into the question and to obtain representation on all councils for the purpose of looking after the interests of the working class.
Now, this question is under discussion in various provinces, and the strikes in different cities, which are universally acknowledged as one of the effects of high prices, make it impossible to delay the consideration any longer. The other day the Bombay Corporation discussed the problem, and various suggestions were made, including the introduction of a minimum wage. They were all agreed that the grievances had affected the workmen and middle classes as well. Mr. J. A. Wadia said, "Taking sugar, milk, cloth and kerosene oil together, the average rise in prices was about 140 per cent during the war period." The increase in wages during the period was, we are told, 50 per cent. Besides this insufficient increase in wages as a millhand, we hear complaints from Government servants of different departments regarding their insufficient salaries. The increase in wages and salaries alone can only be of short duration.

The remuneration was proposed by the different members of the Bombay Corporation were among others, the Government control over cheap grain shops, and the prohibition of the export of grain and cattle to places outside India. All these are being tried in different places. The first two had their failures. But, for these failures, we cannot condemn the system. We have to work them again more earnestly and with greater cooperation. The third remedy of stopping the export of grain and cattle has proved successful in large states like Indore. If we consider the effect of the third measure only in the case of rice, we can save 100,000 tons every month—what we have been exporting for the last three years. We do not send our rice outside; we keep our cattle for ourselves and in addition to these we arrange to feed our cattle well, and we achieve the major part of the benefit. As regards the other measures we, even what we are to-day, need not look for outside help except in the case of cloth.

In his letter to Mr. D. Andrews' letter—In his letter to Mr. D. Andrews, written from Mombasa:

"It touched me very much to meet the Parsee community. They were so poor and yet so educated and refined. I felt so proud of India when I saw their earnest, intellectual faces not one of them marked with any coarseness as I could see, and it made me, say, very indignant to think of the gross slander which had been brought upon them, when the Economic Commission called them 'morally depraved.'

I have seen very ill—once it seemed almost impossible to go on—but it was His will both that I should have this illness and also that I should recover. For when I was in the very hospital, by God's Providence, I was given the best testimony that I could ever have got about the Indian community which completely overthrew the Government Report in its hostile professions, and I also received the testimony of Sir Agopio Kagwe of Uganda which I should otherwise have missed.

Hindi or English—The following extract from Mr. C. Kagopaldharan's letter in the 'Hindu' will be of interest:

"It is rather strange that politicians who, when the question of constitutional reform is considered, are not bidden by difficulties, but in view of unanswerable obstacles resemble themselves to the greatest mixture of democracy and permanent-service rule, and when the question of a common language comes up, unanimously reject Hindi, because it is not at once a perfect solution of the problem. In this case, they adopt an attitude similar to that of the people who because it is not possible to have a complete democracy at once would keep up the present system of administration.

In the selection of the language problem the first question is, can the dominating language of Congress be, any longer, English? If not, then which of the spoken languages of the people has to take the place? Any one who has observed the character of the attendance at Conferences and Congresses held within the last few years would have noticed that the vast majority of the delegates are those who cannot follow English speeches. This characteristic is bound with the advancing pace of political education in the country, rapidly to increase.

The claims of Hindustani are not met by pointing to differences between Hindi and Urdu. It is significant that this Hindi-Urdu difficulty is not seriously raised by any one who attended Congress and who knows either Hindi or Urdu, any more than English-knowing people would pose questions as to the Latin or Anglo-Saxon vocabulary of the English speakers made in Congress.

Hindustani in one form or another is the language of an entire out of the thirty areas of India, and it is much more understandable to those more prone of men and women in Northern India than English can ever be. The South Indian difficulty is a very real difficulty. But can we insist that the question should remain for ever unsolved for all peoples, because of this great difficulty of ours? English does not solve it for South India except for the English educated minority. Is it not true that the English policy to insist on an English in our Congress held in Hindustani states, where the common people, men and women, are eager to take part?

After all, it is Hindustani so far as to us? It is the language spoken by our Musulman brethren in South India. It is too much to ask ourselves to learn this language as a second language—-for the sake of unity between North and South, between Hindu and Musulman? The present generation of politicians may be too old to learn a new tongue, but the youth of the country are impatiently waiting to become leaders and have time, opportunity and energy thus to fit themselves for work in United India. It is a far more important equipment than many an other subject over which our boys and girls are running their physical frames."
I. THILAK'S LETTER

To,

The Editor, 'Young India,"

Ahmedabad.

Dear Sir,

I am sorry to see that in your article on 'Reform Resolution' in the last issue, you have represented me as holding that I considered 'every thing fair in politics'. I wish to say to you that my views are not correctly represented hereon. Politics is a game of worldly people and not of saints, and instead of the maxim 'सत्यमेव जयसमुदय' as preached by Buddha, I prefer to rely on the maxim of Shri Krishna 'देव सभा नाम जयते निरीक्षित सत्यमस्समुदय'. That explains the whole difference and also the meaning of my phrase 'response to operation.' Both methods are equally honest and righteous but the one is more suited to this world than the other. Any further explanation about the difference will be found in my Gita-Kahayas.

Poona City, 18-1-1920

B. G. Tilak.

[The text continues discussing the importance of truth and justice in politics, and how the maxim from Krishna's message is more relevant in the modern world.]

Finally, when I wrote the sentence about 'everything being fair in politics' according to the Lokamanya's usage, I had in mind his oft-repeated quotation सत्यमेव जयसमुदय. To me it connotes bad law. And I shall not despise the Lokamanya with all his errors, as some enterprises surprise Indians daily with a philosophical dissection proving the falsity of the doctrine. In any case I get the experience of a third of a century against the doctrine underlying श्री श्री मदुराय. The true law is गृह में मदुराय सत्यमम्.

M. K. Gandhi]
THE "LEADER" MISLED

The "Leader" in its anxiety to make not a case against the Satyagraha movement from Mr. Gandhi's admissions, seems to have grievously neglected to consider his written statement and evidence as a whole. Publicizing upon his admission of his "having temporarily damaged the feeling of respect for law in some people", it has tried to prove how the Satyagraha movement would have led to deplorable or evil results and asks "Did not Mr Gandhi start the movement prematurely? Were all the other and milder constitutional means for securing the repeal of the Rowlett Act exhausted before he launched his movement?" Having satisfied itself that the movement was premature it darted into a half-ruined house on the necessity of "combating moral virtues with other high qualities of head and heart to promote public interest" and it concludes by saying that ordinary people are not fitted to apply the principles of Satyagraha doctrine rightly.

Now, every one of these objections has been completely answered in Mr Gandhi's statement and the evidence before the Hunter Committee. As regards the charge of starting his campaign prematurely Mr Gandhi says, "I apprehended on handover known Lord Chelmsford, and pleaded with him and with every English officer I had the pleasure of meeting and placed my views before them, but they said they were helpless... We had exhausted all the methods open to us." All the popular members of the Supreme Council had condemned the legislation. The nation had expressed itself as one man through the unsatisfactory meetings throughout the length and breadth of the country and the same was not controversial as the head. Can our contemporary point out what "other and milder constitutional means" were left untried? If any were left other leaders would certainly have tried them when Mr Gandhi gave them an opportunity to do so by suspending Civil Resistance. It is more than six months since Mr Gandhi wrote in his reply to Mr Abdul Aziz, as follows:

"If you have a remedy other than Civil Resistance by all means apply it and if you are successful Civil Resistance falls away automatically. The period of suspension is the period during which you and all the leaders who dared or disapproved of Civil Resistance can work with all your might to bring about the desired result."

Secondly from a mere statement of Mr Gandhi that his propaganda resulted in "temporarily damaging the feeling of respect for law in some people" the "Leader" jumps to the conclusion that "if it had been persisted in for a sufficient time it would have affected a larger number of persons with even probably more deplorable results." The "Leader" even fears that "the spirit of lawlessness in the people as a whole would have been created." This conclusion is supported neither by facts nor by logic. On the contrary, it was Satyagraha that prevented the more deplorable results which would have followed in the wake of the bitter agitation provoked by the Government's chicanery. No doubt, Satyagraha has undermined the fear of laws as law in the minds of people, but it has created in them an intelligent and deep respect for law and order as being the basis of all social stability and advancement. "A Satyagraha ever obeys the laws of the State to which it belongs not out of fear of the sanctions but because it considers them to be good for the welfare of society." And when on rare occasions he breaks the law to maintain his self-scrupulosity and honor he does so openly and calmly. His actions, therefore, cannot embarrass the Government. The experience of Karra and Chaspuran and the brave stand of the Indians in South Africa are, we believe, ample proof of the self-restraining influence of Satyagraha. Even in the matter of the Rowlett Act agitation the country as a whole presented an exemplary restraint inspite of the gravest provocation and whatever violence did take place the Satyagrahas were invariably and consistently on the side of law and order. The disturbances occurred not as the "Leader" thinks because of Satyagraha was preached but because Satyagraha was not sufficiently preached and because the people had not developed the capacity to stand any amount of suffering and provocation.

In the face of all these facts will the "Leader" still persist in regarding Satyagraha, which is nothing but truth and Almas, as being unsuited to be preached to the masses? If it does, it will merely betray its want of faith in human nature and the power of good over evil.

THE QUESTION OF IMPERIAL PREFERENCE.

The risks run and the dangers overcome in the war with Germany, have taught England the value of Imperial consolidation and it is urged from many quarters that the Empire is so vast and produces such a variety of raw materials and manufactured goods that it may become self-sufficient more easily than any other political organization in the world. The desire of making the Empire self-sufficient is obviously based on the advantages expected from the industrial and commercial independence. The simple remedy of achieving this independence for our Empire is to make every component part of the Empire self-sufficient. We, however, know that this simple remedy, perhaps for its very simplicity, will be laughed at as a faddist's solution. We know the so-called vulgar ideas of the present day economists will not allow them to accept this solution.

Leaving aside for a moment this solution even these economists will agree to the fact that to make the Imperial Preference policy successful all the component parts of the Empire should be equally free to adopt this new policy. As regards our country, the new Reform Act says that the Secretary of State should do so as far as possible abstain from intervention in fiscal matters when the Government of India and the In-
diss Legislature agents, and should only intervene to safeguard the international obligations of the Empire, or any financial arrangement within the Empire to His Majesty's Government as a party. There is a controversy whether this provision gives enough autonomy to accept or abandon the Imperial Preference policy. It all depends upon the manner of working this part of the Reform Act. We cannot have always, as Mr. J. B. Peth observed the other day, a Montagu or a Sinha at the helm of India to guarantee a liberal interpretation. But, as the question of Imperial Preference is to be decided in the present unsalaried Council, we shall miss the advantage of getting our public opinion sufficiently represented in the Council and other advantages the Reform Act has brought us.

Sir George Barnes speaking before the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber observed that a Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council would be appointed to go into the question of Imperial Preference and to submit their report. Such a Committee cannot be expected to properly represent the public opinion of India. The Honble Sir Horace Bayly president of the Industrial Conference has asked that this Committee should have wider powers under the terms of reference so that it can go into the whole questions of duties and not simply deal with one aspect of the fiscal question namely, Imperial Preference. He has hoped that this Committee will take public evidence regarding this question. The expression of public opinion through witness would be some gratification under the circumstances. His Excellency the Viceroy addressing the Conference of Indian and Ceylon Chambers of Commerce has pronounced as “not to adopt a policy of preference without full discussion and full support from enlightened public opinion.” But His Excellency has warned against any hasty opinion on the matter. “Let no one, he said, express ideas without a close examination of the statistics and of the condition of the trades concerned.” No statistics can, however, prove that it was the interest of India to sell, for instance, cotton and to buy cloth. The resolution of the Industrial Conference sums up the demand of the nation, which reads as follows. —

The Conference strongly disapproves the policy of Imperial Preference attempted to be introduced as manifested in the recent legislation regarding the exports of indigo and jute and urges that no measure of Imperial preference should be adopted till the whole question has been examined by a Committee fully representative of the various industries and commercial interests of the country, and charged with powers of taking public evidence regarding all fiscal questions, to be instituted in the Despatch of the Secretary of State reviewing the report of the Indian Industrial Commission, and until the Indian Legislature is in the position of deciding for itself the fiscal policy best suited to the interests of the country, and of carrying it into effect.

P.

OUR DUTY TOWARDS OUR ARTS AND INDUSTRIES.

We give below a reprint of Mr. Charles Webbing's letter from the pages of *Natesam*; "The Swadeshi movement": —

"For myself, I have practised and preached Swadeshi for thirty-five years. Indian clothes, shoes, sarees, umbrellas, draperies, ornaments. As I look around, everything in my little drawing-room, except the engravings and books that are from the East, most of them from India. I went into the family museum of a gentleman who has been living on Swadeshi clothes. I saw no Agar marble no Delabos - marble no lacquers no Baroda bronzes. Japar ornaments no Punjab wood-carving. Many beautiful and tasteful things were there from France and Italy. In damasc, marble and glass but nothing from India. Just the same in another residence of an Indian ruling Chief is not a country-made article in your house Lord Curzon placed upon the floor, at the back of which the property of your patronising the English artists. In your own house Lady Fraser to my knowledge personally uses Manmatti fabric. In your own house in the Banerjee house wealthy Indians patronise Agar marble work and lacquers. Models of silver. This is a simple test the precious things of the Dhoti and Raj have been publicly auctioned at Shela and Calcutta. Except one Agar table, which I bought and presented to the Calcutta Museum, there was not a single specimen of high-class or any Indian art ware in the magnificent collection, even the crown which cost about ten lakhs was made by an English firm. The Queen's Empress, whose coronation robes at Lady Durand's instance were prepared in Agar, has probably done more for the Swadeshi movement than all the princes of Bengal. There are many flourishing arts and crafts in the United Provinces and the Punjab. Thirty years ago, I pointed out as editor of the *Ouida Gazette* all the industries, which might be followed with success. Especially I dwelt on glassware, for which marbles in the fathom-deep on the Ouse plain. This is being worked, the tall chimneys of a glass factory can be seen from the camera road. But the owner works quietly, has no time to talk, does not sell even advertise. Who have pushed the tea, coal and manganese industries in Bengal, the Central Province and Madras of recent years? Mr. Turner, Turner Glass, Oliphant and myself, and no one gave me more cordial support than Mr. J. B. Fuller. He is also the author of a most valuable and elaborate work on tobacco, oil-seeds, cotton hemp and flax, which was sold out to me out of Tippars collectionary library for two rupees, as no one ever looked at it. Such is the backwardness of Bengal. Did Sir Edward Balfour last all the money, as Neath and many another did before him, in starting Indian industries? Have myself spent about ten thousand rupees, nearly all lost. How often have I been called our Indian rag-bag in my domestic circle, for wearing Indian garments even in London.
Please advocate justice to English officers and their wives, who have felt for the poor patient artisan and done their best for him. Remember that 33% per cent excise on Indigo mill fabrics, and customs duty on Manchester goods, whatever its defects, is a protection for the handloom weaver. The principal mates in the matter are the middle classes of India. Often have I pointed out to a Congressman that everything he was wearing was of English make, while my entire customs, the hat was country-made. By all means, boycott English or German-made clothes peacefully, orderly, and persistently. In doing so, I tender one word of advice: Let each patriots make and stick to the rule that at least half of his expenditure on clothes must be on country-made articles, while imported cigarettes should be avoided like poison.

We must be thankful to Mr. McKinnon for his zeal for the Indian arts and crafts, and for the interesting facts about how some Britishers are actively working for the encouragement of Indian crafts. These facts are a direct proof of the possibility of the Englishmen cooperating in the cause of Swadeshi in Swadeshi to the act of all other countries. Inadequate as I may be, it is indeed sad to reflect that while some Europeans show in practice their love for the beautiful articles of Indian manufacture even at the risk of some social ridicule, our people and our living men of means should go in for foreign articles in order to satisfy their vulgar love of imitation. All honour to those Englishmen who are risking their safety to give a start to our Swadeshi industries. It is, however, the duty of Indians to show that their arts and crafts are in the hands of Indians themselves or those who have made India their home. In the connection it is important to note the following extract from an article of Mr. Nihal Singh -

"If the labour difficulties and the increase in wages and other costs of production are the thoughts of British industrialists towards building factories where raw materials are available in abundance, rather than continuing the present policy of importing them from places thousands of miles distant and thereby paying heavy shipping and other various charges. Some time ago a captain of industry told me that he had acquired land in a colonist part of India with a view to pulling up work there."

The safest comes, therefore, for the Indians would be to vow that they shall encourage local production and consumption of articles of use and comfort.

The 33% percent duty on mill-made fabrics may be taken as a protection for handloom weavers. But the fact unfortunately is that the protection does not reach the Indian weaver.

Our Madras Agent

Mr. Ganesan (3, Noorvunnesan street, Trichur) Madras is our authorized agent for Madras.

Manager,
Young India

Minimum Muslim demand

The Khilafat Deputation has issued the following statement:

The Viceregal reply, whilst it was perfectly courteous, was equally disappointing in that his Excellency said in emphatic language that Turkey, when she had her choice, deliberately drew the sword against the Allied Powers and must take the consequences. We protest this decision to Turkey for having joined themject Central Powers, contrary to the solemn declarations made by Mr. Asquith, the then Prime Minister, after Turkey had made her choice. His Excellency pointed out that whatever the pressing, Indian Muslim loyalty would remain unaltered as ever. We desire to place on record our firm conviction that the peaceful terms would unsustainably to Muslim religion and sentiment, they would place no bind them upon Muslim loyalty, and knowing as we do the universal feeling in India, as men with a full sense of responsibility, it is not possible for us to give the assurance that His Excellency has expected to the Peace Conference that is now sitting, to ourselves and to the Empire to which we are a sovereign, to move in explicit language the minimum that will satisfy Muslim sentiments. Arabia, as dominated by the Moslem authorities and the Holy Places of Islam must remain under the control of the Khilafat, full guarantees being given, consistently with the dignity of a sovereign State, for greater Arabian self-government should the Arabs desire it. We accordingly call on His Excellency to conclude an arrangement that will be thoroughly to the satisfaction of the Khilafat, and therefore consider that the Allied States' mere repeal would result to injury and would only be understood by Indian Muslims as an affront given to them by a combination of Christian Powers. Whilst, therefore, we must reject upon the pledge given by Mr. Lloyd George on the 5th January, 1918, being fulfilled in order to show that we desire more than strictest justice, we concede the right of the Allied Powers to ask for such guarantees as may be considered necessary for the full protection of non-Arabian races living under the Sultan. We hope even at this eleventh hour that British Ministers will give due weight to and appease Muslim sentiment in India, supposed as it is by practically the whole of enlightened Hindu opinion. His Excellency has stated that it is just possible the peace terms may be completed and declared within a few days, and we can only hope that it is not yet too late to undo what mistakes may have been committed. We claim that the British Imperial Government is as much trustees for Muslim and Indian interests as for Christian. It is, therefore, not enough that our sentiments and wishes are placed before the League, but it is essential that the British Ministers make our case their own.

INDIAN GRIEVANCES IN UGANDA

We have the following from the Times of India,

The Uganda Herald has just issued a report of an address presented to His Excellency the Governor of Uganda Protectorate by the Kampala India Association at Kampala, in its country. The occasion was the departure of the Governor for England, whether he was pro-
ending to discuss with the Colonial Office numerous questions touching the development of the country. The ad-
dressed numerous points which the Indians advanced as grievances. It asked for a grant and freehold building site for the encouragement of education and complained that when the Assam Government applied for a plot for a school building they could only obtain one on lease of 15 years, which was useless. It compli-
cated that moving to Government drawing distinctions be-
 tween Europeans and Indians regarding the allotment of land for residential quarters in the principal towns, the
Indian institutions had become congested and insanitary. Among other complaints made was one that though Indians had the privilege of trial by jury in India there was no provision for trial by jury under the British Criminal Procedure Ordinance. A demand was made that Hindu and Muhammadan Law as regards succession and marriage should be recognised in the Princely State and the Indian High Court valid and should be allowed to practice in the East Courts of the Princely State. The address requested that hospital accommodation which had just been provided in the Lakhani community should also be made for Indians. It also feared that free
hold land should be given to the non-landowning Hindus and Muslims and the Assam Government promised to regulate that the land should not change hands until the lease ends.

Mr. Andrews Final Address To Mombasa Indians

Mr. C. G. Andrews addressed a large number of Indians at Mombasa. The Hon. Mr. A. B. Davis was in the chair and speaking in English Mr. Andrews said—

"The time has come at last to my departure from Mombasa. I expect to visit Kinstead and other villages in the way to South Africa and on my return journey. As a person of another, I hope to be able to see most of the towns in Africa, where Indians have made their home and some of the sanitary districts also. I must not tell you that my heart is absolutely with the poor, with those that are cut out of the way with those that are far from them from their fellowmen. This frequent journeys I have had to make up and down the Indian Railway have been a pleasure to me owing to the fact that every single station, however small, wherever the goods train or the mail train stopped, I have met the Indians, sometimes only a few families and have been most cordial to Indian mothers and their children as also to the men. And then, how can you tell all about the Indian who has travelled to every place? It has been a pleasure to talk of these things, with kindly words behind them, growing older and other without any of the jokes that are usual for the Indian."

IN UGANDA.

"I have been twice to the site of your new college school at Mombasa, which our beloved President, the Hon. J. H. A. A. M. Williams, has founded in honor of his race and noble spirit. When I was in Uganda I heard his father's name mentioned on every side as one of the greatest and greatest of all that wonderful Prov-
tective. There was no chance, over there, for turning the Indians out of the country. It was entirely the re
verse. One of the most difficult, after I had been the emperor of the Young Europeans, the Asmara was born, when they opened their roads to me and told me all their aspirations. I found among them the very same spirit that I have found among my own students in India. They had the same national
hope that their parents had bore, the same pride against the Indians for better, for better or for worse, they would not allow their hands to turn for us. We were speaking together in the French private school. And with me the re
vice was the same. I am proud to be an Indian. It was this that they desired the protection, because they had found them good. They repudiated the charge that had been brought against them and asked me if I was able to tell all the Indians in Bombay how the whole country needed opening up to trade and that they wished to have direct and friendly dealings with the best Indian merchants. The Indian was born; himself was born in the premises of the Indians, both on that and on other reasons. When I had the priv
lege of speaking with him, the Indian Chief Justice told exactly the same point of view, and the ruling Chiefs also.

Our enterprise from my own subject taught. After enrolling up and down the country many times and so some things from many different parts of the country have come back. In a country condition I have returned to it inARIABLEn old to all my people. Water follows. That politics by themselves will never help you, but that the contrary may become to some a weapon or intervene in a dangerous position. On all sides, especially among my own countrymen, I see this land suffering from political fever—and that is not a healthy state of things, in a new country. It was quite a relief to get to Uganda, where, for the sake of the word of politics I was able to get back to education. So politics by themselves will never help you, but education will help you, and I will be your salvation.

EDUCATION

My address was at Nairobi, at Kisumu, at Nakuru, at Kilgoris, and at the other places has been very simple. It has been that 1st Indians sacrifice all they have to get schools built for their children. I wish I could make clear to you how, if only you would constantly do this, then politics would look after themselves. For example, if it is an Indian Commission Report wo-
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have failed, and that I should go to punish people there. I was not going there to disobey Government laws for this purpose. The Satyagraha vow was proceeding to help the authorities.

Here also Justice Banerji asked Mr. Gandhi to supply any documentary evidence in his possession, as to the

Justice in reply Mr. Gandhi, you say in your speech of the 14th April that the action of the mob prevented you from carrying out your vow of going again to Delhi for research. It was not a passing thought, I suppose?

Q. It was not a passing thought. It was my intention?

Q. What was your object in seeking further investigation?

A. My object was to seek imprisonment again and again until the objectionable Act was removed.

Q. That is not the object of the Satyagraha as I understand it?

A. It is not always. I did it in order to invite self-suffering.

Mr. Justice Banerji Was it your idea that that would induce the country and be effective in removing the legislation?

Mr. Gandhi Not at all. If it was, I would have proceeded to Delhi straight away. I had no idea of what had occurred at Amritsar and elsewhere and had urgent messages from Ahmadabad the day after my arrival in Bombay.

Mr. Gandhi then explained why civil disobedience was suspended, why he again thought of starting it but yielded to the desire of Lord Chelmsford conveyed through the Government of Bombay to desist from restacting it. He emphasised that during the interval various attempts were made to educate the people and there was even devised another vow by which people were asked to pledge themselves to the truth part and nonviolence part of the former vow.

Q. Do you think that for India as a whole, by a misinterpretation of your doctrine, there has been an undue tendency to sympathise with lawlessness?

A. I don't think that it is so.

Mr. Justice Banerji Pardon the question, Mr. Gandhi.

Do you feel having done anything to damage the law-abiding instincts of the people in India?

Mr. Gandhi I feel guilty of having temporarily damaged that instinct in certain people.

Justice Banerji There are certain parts in India e.g. Punjab where people were more liable to incite repeated year after year.

Mr. Gandhi No. There were certain people so liable to misinterpret. As to the Punjab, I have found there people who could best understand Satyagraha, and wherever I have gone I have met people who sincerely regret the excesses.

Justice Banerji You said Mr. Gandhi, finding the law by a Committee was meant as a restraint. Did you mean that such a Province would have a separate Committee?

A. Yes, each was to have a separate Committee. But we were made President everywhere so that we should have the same policy everywhere. But of course I did contemplate the contingency of different laws being broken in different places.

Mr. Gandhi then explained all the differences between passive resistance and civil disobedience and said that passive resistance did not exhaust the methods of protest.

[We regret we could not give this same Mr. Gandhi's examination by the other members of the Committee.]

From Shankerlal G. Banker at Nana Jivjee and published by Misrakoo H. Dossa at the same place.
Notes.

The Khilafat Deputation—We are asked as a rule to deputations going to England. If we wish to contribute to the impact of this petition, we must generate and cultivate public opinion in India. That would tell on public opinion outside. In other words, we must learn more and more to rely on our own strength. But there are occasions when a deputation to the centre of the Empire strengthens opinion in India. The Khilafat deputation perhaps falls under such a category. Fortune has favoured us in this matter. The Supreme Council has found the Khilafat question not quite easy to decide. It is easy when the straightforward means are taken. But if removed to be trusted, tremendous pressure is being brought to bear on the Supreme Council to recognise Turkey and to deprive the Khilaf of much, if not all, of the temporal power of the Christians. Powers are combining to do such an unchristian act. For, dismemberment of Turkey or the deprivation of the control of the Holy places of Islam can be justified by no code of honour or morality that we know. And the very strength of the Christian powers should dictate to them a policy of strictest justice to Turkey and the most scrupulous regard for the sentiments of the Mussalmans of the world. The Khilafat deputation can by a judicious, a true and humble handling of their trust raise the conscience of England if not of Europe. Even whether they succeed in doing so, not a judicious, temperate but firm presentation of the case before the Christian Powers cannot but rest upon us here.

The Royal clemency—Effect is being given to the Clemency clause of the Royal Proclamation with due despatch. But we would urge the Governments concerned to be quicker than they have been. Nothing has perhaps eased the situation to such an extent as the gracious act for which the country has been thankful to Mr. Montagu and perhaps more to Lord Rama than to Mr. Bonar. We see Lord Smith's hand in the many passages of the Proclamation. But the good effect can be easily neutralised by hasty or niggardly action on the part of those who are responsible for giving effect to the wishes of the Sovereign. Quickness of execution enhances the natural effect and after all are not clemency and gifts mere terms of courtesy? If a person does not desire to be discharged, it would be a wrong done to society to the charge him. In the case in point the country considers the vast majority of those who have been and are being discharged to be totally innocent. In their estimation these discharges are but belated acts of justice, a token of repentance on the part of the authorities. But actions of Governments are not weighed in golden scales. And it is the proper thing to remind the people whenever the prerogative of the Crown is exercised. Let us hope that the Central and Provincial Governments will do nothing to chill the glow of satisfaction that pervades the country at the present moment over this act of clemency. We have been receiving letters from all parts of India giving names of those who should be discharged in terms of the Proclamation. We have advanced petitions in every case in the confidence that those in charge of the matter are expediting releases with all possible despatch.

The question of Indians abroad—The two letters that Mr. Gandhi received from Sir George Barnard and sent by him to the press, show that the Government of India is willing to hear this question and that they are taking effective steps to guard the rights of the settlers in South Africa and East Africa. Sir Benjamin Robinson has just visited South Africa. The problem he has to handle is delicate, this prejudice he has to work against. We have confidence in his diplomatic tact. He knows that there can be but one solution to the South African question. The clemency of our countrymen who have lived in South Africa their second homes must be fully protected. We have dealt with the latest African question in our leading columns. Sir
George Barnes letter while fully sympathetic needs a corrective which Mr Gandhi's reply has supplied. No doubt it is right in theory that every country has a right to turn out undesirable going to them from other countries. But Sir George Barnes ought to know by this time the many unlawful uses made of the term 'Undesirable'.

Since the above was written, His Excellency the Wazarat's opening speech in the Council has appeared in the daily papers. His Excellency has in this speech given us sufficient assurance that his Government will do, as it already has done, everything in the power to defend Indian interests. We are thankful for this timely assurance which will go a great way to create calmness for which His Excellency has so earnestly pleaded. In the matter of the Fiji and Guano degustations we are glad he has done the most proper thing to do in leaving the question almost entirely to the discretion of the people's representatives.

Wanted Dr Anna Shaw—The Springfield Daily Republican describes the life of Dr Anna Howard Shaw whose lifetime devotion to women's causes has been crowned with the passing of an amendment of the Federal Constitution by the United States Congress whereby the American women are emancipated from their political inferiority to men. It should have an interest for everyone who has had a cause at heart and especially when our women have been left alone to fight out their own cause in our legislative assemblies. The Journal writes:

The life of Dr Shaw, coming to America as infant child of an immigrant family from England, was the sort that we like to regard as typically American. Living in a log cabin in the woods of Michigan, struggling for and obtaining an education under exceptional difficulties, forcing her way, always with the best interest of her kind as the main object, into activities seldom undertaken by women, she became a power for social good by her personal, individual contact with people about her and by her eloquence, administrative ability and good sense. The need which led her to make 100 speeches before election day in 1880, the year in which she retired from the office of president of the national woman suffrage association, was nearer to her in her strenuous campaigns for temperance and still nearer to her in her successful efforts to enter the Christian ministry and to her missionary work both to her little congregation on the Cape and to the poor of Boston.

It was to make her Christian ministry most practical that Anna Shaw pursued the studies for which she obtained her first doctor's degree, that of doctor of medicine. She could not be satisfied with missionary work that was principally preaching, but she was after all chiefly the doctor in the constructive meaning of the word—the healer. This was formally recognized by the conferring upon her of the other degrees which she held—those of doctor of divinity and doctor of laws. With an exceptional endowment of personality and a keen sense of humor, Dr Shaw was peculiarly fitted as a leader in trying and doubtful times. As administrator of the National Association of Suffragists she helped to guide the great movement along the lines most certain to lead to victory. She was an aggressive campaigner, a shrewd champion of her cause, but she never showed a trace of ill-feeling or contemptuous phrases toward men. She illustrated in her own person the truth which she preached.

Sathyagraha—Sir Chummanal Swatavd in his examination of Mr Gandhi asked if the Government did not require high-intellectual and moral equipment to apprehend truth.Replying to the question directly, he wrote on Sathyagraha, the Indian Social Reformer says:

"The question in our opinion betrays a strange ignorance of what truth is. The test and criterion of truth is that it can be apprehended by all." Another question of Sir Chummanal was equally noteworthy. He asked "Honesty strung after truth is different in every case. Would that not lead to confusion?" Mr Gandhi replied "That is why the non-violent path was a necessary corollary. Without that, there would be a confusion and waste." These replies together make the basis of Sathyagraha clear. In this connection the Social Reformer observes "If the people understood Sathyagraha in the sense that Mr Gandhi understands, there will be no need of more effective means of national salvation."

The tradition current in Northern India of the people having used Sathyagraha against Aryanisation connected with a baptism ceremony at Mathura can be quoted as an example of the populace having understood Sathyagraha in the sense of Mr Gandhi. But such traditions which have not unfortunately found their place in the pages of history are closed with the former stories. The story of Indian Sathyagraha in South Africa is explained away by some by attributing to special circumstances the understanding of Sathyagraha by the masses, if we cite the recent peaceful Hartal, the credit is put to the amount of the military force English history and the possession of the Quakers, and their success in getting their demands recognized by the Legislature. The history of these brave sufferers also may not we afraid, be regarded as sufficient to warrant a generalisation for all nations, because, it may be argued, the English Dissenters were cultured enough to understand the non-violent path of their creed. Surely topping all these is, in point of conviction to those that demand a precedent in history, the touching history of the Doukhobors, a band of peasant Sathyagrahas of Russia. There is a man of a people certainly not more cultured than our masses here. The descendants of the brave men of these Sathyagrahas are present in Canada our fellow-citizens of the Empire. We admit that the capacity of the masses for suffering for truth may be under certain circumstances limited. That, however, cannot detract from the fact that their possessing such a capacity, [We reproduce elsewhere the history of the Doukhobors.]"
TWO DOCUMENTS

Our readers are aware that a false charge of moral depravity has been made against the Indian settlers in East Africa, and it has been stated by interested Europeans that the natives of Africa have been hurt by the presence of the Indian settlers. Mr. Andrews, who has rendered yeoman service to our countrymen during his short stay in East Africa, has succeeded in disposing of both the charges on what must be termed unanswerable testimony. He has prepared a certificate from Dr. Albert Cook whom he describes as "the most famous doctor in all Africa." On the first charge, Dr. Cook says: "Having been in charge of the largest hospital in Uganda for over 20 years I have never witnessed, except in Kapsaka, any other outbreak of venereal disease amongst the Indians that has been described as anything but scarlet fever. There is no hospital in South Africa where such a surfeit of cases is seen."

There cannot be anything more emphatic or conclusive than this certificate from an eminent hospital surgeon. We are reminded of a similar charge having been made in South Africa during the early nineties, and it was set at rest by the testimony of medical men who had large practice amongst Indian settlers. The doctors became ashamed of themselves when they found that they themselves were the worst offenders so far as moral depravity was concerned. So our writers on South Africa, one simple reason for the trade competition and hostility due to it. It is not only due to nothing more than fear of our expert surgeons and medical men. But the old charge is being trotted out in order to scoff at the public mind and to encline the sympathy of disinterested persons. Whatever may be the result in the end, Mr. Andrews has at least cleared the ground and brought the only issue to a head.

The second charge about the native Africans disables has been equally satisfactorily answered by the production of a document signed by the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice, two ministers of the native Parliament. Mr. Andrews says in his covering letter that this is the only document, and we consider it to be gratefully and self-governing body of Africans in Central Africa. "Their voices," he adds, "should be heard in such matters." Let us hear that voice of Sir Apollo Kayya and the Prime Minister, and Mr. Stanhope Enagayi, the Chief Justice, say in their letter to Mr. Andrews:

With reference to our meeting with you in a recent Parliament the other day, we beg to mention that our opinions were expressed in the following two points which came out, namely:

(a) We do want the Indians to remain in our country, as we consider that their bare presence would improve our country, and would do a lot of good, and would do us more harm to the country. Besides, we find them moral people. We would of course like better Indians.

(b) We do not want our country to be united to any other country for, he considers that it was when it would greatly interfere with our Uganda Treaty, 1906, and our customs. We have other reasons besides. There fore, we would very much like this for the future to remain as it is.

So the Africans not only do not consider these to be undesirable, but they do want the Indians to remain in their country. This, as the Prime Minister, did in his letter in the original. And they want them because the Indian settlers improve our country and would do a lot of good and would do no harm.

It is against such people that an unscrupulous agitation is being carried on in your country, and we do not understand why the Government of India is wide awake and we trust that before long the cloud hovering over our countrymen in East and Central Africa will disappear.

PARTY ORGANISATIONS.

With the coming of the Reform, it is inevitable that Indian public opinion should crystallise into parties. It is no longer possible to secure the unity which the Congress presented so long in its deliberations. The Congress will present and will have to make provision for a variety of views. Replying to a letter in Augst last of Mr. G. S. Arumale Mr. Gandhi wrote:

"You suggest the desirability of unity. I think unity of soul we have. But party we shall have—we may not find a communal component for improvements. For some want to go further than others. I see no harm in a wholesome variety. What I would find myself in, is discord of one another and impulsive of motives. Our objecting and our difference but our beliefs. We wrangle over words, we fight over and less the substance. Is it not our difference that really matters? It is in the meaning behind it is ugly."

These few words sum up the soul of a healthy public life that ought to be honoured by public men. With our political advancement new issues are, as is natural, coming forth. Now comes the time to see whether we continue in loosely indulging in vituperation and groundlessly attacking motives to our co-workers, or we exercise restraint and enrich ourselves with a noble self-restraint. Toleration is a virtue commendable not only in our religion, but it is, at least equally, necessary in the domain of politics. The immediate occasion of repeating this caution is the likelihood of a new danger as we see creeping into our politics. Proposals are seriously made to establish party organisations, which will, among other effects, shape the present unregulated vituperation and systemised intolerance will begin. It is one thing to have honest differences of opinion and parties to represent them, but must conduct our public life on party lines through rigid party organisations as is done in the west, is totally different and highly undesirable. The leader of Almeda writes:

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Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 9th February, 1930.  

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Young India.

February 4, 1920.

"Even assuming that it is possible for the two parties to meet on a common platform in the shadow of which both took part, it does not follow as a matter of course that in the actual working of the Reform, too, there should be one and only one party.

"As we have pointed out in a previous issue, the whole fabric of modern responsible government rests on the party system. It may be foreign to our history and it may be distasteful to our sentiment that those who have worked together on the same platform, which was a platform for agitation and demonstration, should divide themselves into parties when they are face to face with practical men. But the fact is that a party in power without a party in opposition cannot be trusted in running efficiently the complicated machinery of responsible government.

"Owing to the necessity of a party in opposition and a party in power our contemporary happens to vote even the extreme leaders of the other party. Our leaders, irrespective of their party, unite hitherto uncommonly in supporting an unhealthy system. The spirit of this system is sufficiently manifest in the West. The Prime Minister who is expected to be the best representative of this product of this system, is concerned more about his power than about the welfare of the Parliament. His energy is concentrated upon securing the success of his party. He cares not always that the Permanent Council has been throughly insulted merely for party advantage. Another instance of this system is the President of the United States. We are told by Vincent Bryan how an eminent American said to friends who wished to put him forward, "Gentlemen, let there be no mistake. I should make a good President, but a very bad candidate." --which means that under party organizations, for a man to succeed in the election he must possess qualities other than those required of a good President. Other wise he has no chance.

In the case of the election of other members of popular assemblies, the honesty of a layman will be surprised and shocked in the human mind used by the managers of the organizations. The military discipline to be observed by the members of the men of their independence, and the fascination for political life created by the trumpet of the party newspaper, tempts every man to offer himself for party candidacy. They choose in favor and power, but lose in their independence and patriotism. On this point 'The American Commonwealth' has the following words: 'The abuses of party discipline leave little freedom of individual thought or action to the membe of a legislature, the ordinary politician has little interest in anything but the regular party program, and in as party are the sinner at large permitted to select their candidates. Wherefore, therefore, no man is safer than for opinion which runs in the right channel of party to give effect to itself frequently and extraordinarily, making or border than for opinion which wanders out of that channel in and legal and moral means of bringing itself to hear upon those who govern either as legislators or executive officers. This is the weakness of the American party system, perhaps of every party system, from the point of view of the independent-minded states, as it is the strong point from that of the party manager."

"This system of organizing parties reduces even the press to an disgraceful position. It carries on the to a great extent anything and everything that pays in return by increasing popularity and sales.

"The condition of the voter is no less pitiable. Before an ordinary voter can calmly form his opinion on a certain subject, newspapers pour in on him a set of views which he cannot but unreasonably follow. They may not be of any use when he has to vote, he votes as a member of a party, his party prepossessions and party allegiance lay hold on him. "Bringing men onto the poll," Vincent Bryan says, "as like passing a steam roller over stones newly laid on a road, the irregularities are pressed down, and an appearance of smooth and even uniformity is given which did not exist before. When a man has voted, he is committed he has thereafter an interest in holding the view which he has sought to make prevail." Proceeding, the author observes, "We cannot fail to see how small a part of the view which the average voter entertains when he goes to vote is really of his making. His original impression was formed perhaps shapeless in its present form and strength and mainly due to what he has heard and read. He has been told what to think, and why to think it, and arguments have been brought to him from without, and controversy has embalmed him in its mold. Although he supposes his view to be his own he holds it rather because his newspaper, his party leaders all hold it. His acquiesces do the like."

"So we see that the element of pure personal conviction, based on individual thinking, is small. This state of things is no less applicable to the commercial and professional classes than to the working classes, for few really take the pains, or indeed possess the knowledge, to enable them to form an independent judgment.

"So the party organization system creates a wolves world. The party papers and party leaders fail upon the thinking power of the voter and the demand of publ opinion ignites the independence of the leading men and the press. Once get into this it becomes increasingly difficult for man to keep the franchise of the system and give expression to what his actually feels. Our new electorate is to be formed. The new voters will look to the leaders of their party for guidance. It is now that the provincial leaders are likely to be dazed by the bright side of the party organizations. In their enthusiasm for achieving their immediate object they are very likely to be blind to the dark side of the system. If these provincial leaders who are in contact with our voting power unite, great and small, sacrifices independent thinking, they may unconsciously fall victims to the seven fascinations of public life. If they have inside the import of their political evil, they must cultivate independent thinking in themselves. They have to be industrial in collecting first hand facts and figures
THE LIBERAL PARTY AND THE CONGRESS

Among the resolutions passed by the Congress, the Reform Resolution still continues to be discussed in the columns of some amnestied journals. Refusing to agree with the Times of India's reasonable conclusion on the subject, one of our correspondents points out that what they wrongly term "the so-called compromise" isn't one of the reasons justifying the maintenance of separation of the Moderates from the Congress. Rightly or otherwise, many of our Moderate friends seem united in advancing it as a plea for disunion.

But the Leader of Allahabad has gone further and has advanced some funny reasons why the Moderates should continue to work apart from the Congress. In an article "The Liberal Party and the Congress," the journal observes: "But these are not the only reasons for the maintenance of a distinctive Liberal Party in India. The unsatisfactory and indestructible campaign of calumny against the Moderate membership of the Viceroy's Council in connection with the Row lathe Act, was followed by the Satyagraha demonstrations which the Moderates certainly disapproved of. Later, the Congress Sub-Committee's boycott of the Hunter Committee, once supported and endorsed by the Congress itself, was another act which could not be approved by those who were averse that the country should derive the fullest advantage from the Committee's investigation. By their action the Congress Sub-Committee did all they could to nullify the efforts of the Moderate delegation to England in getting an independent public enquiry. For yet another vindication of their wisdom in abstaining from the Amritsar session, we may refer the reader to the regrettable resolution to keep alive the painful memory of Jallianwala Bagh." We certainly appreciate the courage of our contemporaries in fearlessly expressing its own convictions against the majority of our national leaders. But these reasons, when added as reasons of holding aloof from the Congress, will be endorsed by very few even from among the Moderate party. The Indian Social Reformer who yields to no one in his courage of expressing its convictions, has ably met with all the arguments of the Leader. If reasons like those adduced by the Leader can justify a permanent division in the national assembly, there will remain no necessity of tolerance in conducting any institution. However, the Leader writing on the same subject in testimony of January 13th says in conclusion, "Taking the constitution of the Congress as it is at present, we cannot see how the Liberals with the views they hold and which they are not prepared to abandon, can find themselves in those bodies. If those who are in power in the Congress think that the Liberals are not yet political autodestructors and that they may yet again be induced to exert some small pressure under the condition that the Constitution of the Congress seems to be necessary."

This scathing inquiry into the objectionable wording is promising enough of a spirit of compromising in the light of this, the reasons referred to above obviously seem to be the result of one-sided thinking. This conclusion breathes a true spirit of public life readiness to give and take without sacrificing one's essential principles. The Congress has appointed a thoroughly representative body to consider the whole constitution of the Congress. After the new constitution is formed, we hope that all the old veterans of the Congress will again adorn the Congress scene.

RUSSIAN SATYAGRAHIS

Doubtless

We summarize below the history of the Doukhobors from the Emigrant Russia, 11th Edition —

Doubtless, a name given by the Russian Orthodox clergy to a community of non-conformist peasants. The word etymologically signifies spirit-fighters, being originally intended by the priesthood to convey that they fight against the "Spirit of God," but the Doukhobors themselves accepted the term as signifying that they fight, not against, but for what the Spirit of Life, however, they have been driven to give up this name and call themselves "Christians of the Universal Brotherhood." The religious community was first heard of in the middle of the 18th century. By the end of that century or the beginning of the 19th their doctrines had become so clearly defined, and the number of their members had so greatly increased, that the Russian Government and Church, considering the sect to be particularly obnoxious, started an energetic campaign against it. The foundation of the Doubkobors' teaching consists in the belief that the spirit of God is present in the soul of man, and directs him by its word within him. They understand the coming of Christ in the flesh, his works, teachings, and sufferings, in a spiritual sense. The object of the suffering of Christ, in their view, was to give an example of suffering for truth. Christ continues to suffer in us even now whose we do not live in accordance with the beliefs and spirits.
of his teaching. The whole teaching of the Doukhobors is penetrated with the Gospel of the spirit of love. They pray sincerely at all times, on fast days they assemble for prayer meetings at which they give each other externally with low bows, thereby acknowledging every man as a bearer of the Divine Spirit. Their teaching is founded on tradition which is called among them the "Book of Life," because it lives in their memory and hearts. It consists of sacred songs or orations partly composed independently and partly form the contents of the Bible, which however has been evidently gathered by them originally, as until quite lately they were almost entirely illiterate and did not possess any written book. They found alike their mutual relations and their relations to other people—and not only to people but to all living creatures—exclusively on love and therefore they hold all people equal and brothers. They extend this idea of equality also to the Government authorities, obedience to whom they do not consider binding upon them in those cases when the demands of these authorities are in conflict with their conscience, while in all that does not infringe what they regard as the will of God they willingly fulfill the desire of the authorities. They consider killing, violence, and in general all relations to living beings based on fear or opposed to their conscience and to the will of God. They are inhuman and inhuman to their living beings and living beings to their standard of their faith, they present one of the nearest approaches to the realization of the Christian ideal which has ever been attained. In many ways they have thus a close resemblance to the Quakers or Society of Friends. For these beliefs and practices the Doukhobors long endured cruel persecution. Under Nicholas I in the years 1840 and 1850 the Doukhobors, who on religious grounds refused to participate in military service, were exiled from the Government of Russia—whether they had been previously transported from various parts of Russia by Alexander I to Transcaucasus, near the Karabakh Frontier. But neither the severe climate nor the neighborhood of soldiers and warlike inhabitants shook their faith and in the course of half a century, in one of the most unhealthy and unfertile localities of the Caucasus they transformed this wilderness into flourishing colonies and constructed to live a Christian and liberal life, making friends instead of fighting with illimit. But the wealth to which they attained in the Caucasus widened for a time their moral fervor and little by little they began to depart from the requirements of their faith. As soon, however, as events happened among them which disturbed their outward tranquility, the religious spirit which had gained their fathers immediately revived in them. Any sense of calamities was accepted by Doukhobors as a punishment from God and a means of an even more energetic character issued. They again advanced tobacco, wine, meat, and every kind of rations, many of them dividing up all their property in order to supply the needs of those who were in want, and they collected a new public fund. They also resumed all participation in acts of violence and therefore refused military service. In confirmation of their sincerity in the summer of 1885 the majority (about 12,000) of the Doukhobors burnt all the arms which they had taken in protection from wild animals, and those who were in the army refused to continue in service. In 1895 the Doukhobors became victims of a series of persecutions. Cossack soldiers tried finding, hunting, beating and maltreating both men and women in every way. Many were banished and they suffered from exhaustion and distress. When information reached Count Leo Tolstoy of their miserable plight he together with the Society of Friends raised funds for alleviating their suffering. At the same time Tolstoy and his friends appealed to the public and the Government in their favor. The Doukhobors themselves asked for permission to leave Russia which was granted them in 1898. About 7000 Doukhobors emigrated to Canada where they were officially received by the population of the Canadian Port town. In April 1901 in the Canadian House of Commons the Minister of Justice made a statement about them in which he said that "not a single of them had been committed by the Doukhobors; they were law-abiding and if real conduct was a recommendation, they were good subjects."
February 16, 1860.

A few of ordinary abilities also can develop more fully. No doubt I regard history among my people as desirable and I consider it necessary to educate them, but it is not at all impossible to imbibe the Satyagraha principle in an absolutely literate race. This is my long-standing experience.

Here Mr. Gandhi briefly cleared the distinction between Satyagraha and Satyagrahik. Satyagraha was not an integral part of Satyagrahik. It should be read to mean only when necessary. He tried to express it succinctly in connection with the deportation of Mr. Morison and the Khilafat movement.

Q. You can resort to no other remedy to oppose the irresponsible, foreign officials and that is why you have started this movement. Is it so?

A. I cannot say that with certainty. I can preserve the essence of Satyagraha in opposition to the ideal Satyagraha movement. Our members can never be able to defend themselves in the face of their ignorance, whereas such a defense is available today for the English officers.

Q. But with all the rights of self-government, we shall be able to discuss the ministers.

A. I cannot feel on that point so assured for over 100 years, it often happens that ministers cannot continue in the executive even though they lose all the confidence of the cabinet. The same thing may happen here too, and therefore I can imagine a state of things in this country which would need Satyagraha even under British Rule.

Q. Would you think that there should be no further coming after the Satyagraha movement?

A. Not only I do not think so; I would be disappointed if there were no one case may self and Satyagraha were arrested. But that arrest will not take the shape of violence. It poses a Satyagraha to see others suffering and Satyagraha will follow each other to jail. I do wish for such an arrest.

Q. On your return to Bombay on the 11th April, who did you go to Pydhonie?

A. I went there as there was danger of violence breaking out.

Q. Is it and that people there refused to hate to your advice?

A. It would not be all correct to say that the crowd refused to hate to your advice. Those who heard me followed my advice explicitly.

Q. You have a report before me to the effect that you pretended to be ill although your steps are quick.

A. All that I can say is that I am ill. The report further says that you were over-tired and uncooked yourself in the house. I think otherwise. I saw the charge of the medical officer of the crowd. I went to Mr. Griffrith to talk to him on this very thing.

EXAMINATION BY MR. KEMP

Q. You say that martial law was not at all necessary in Ahmedbudd?

A. Yes, that is my opinion.

Q. But, Mr. Gandhi, if the military officers said it was necessary, what will you say to that?

A. From the facts in my possession I concluded that they did not warrant such an order.

Q. You say some innocent men were killed.

A. That is my deliberate opinion.

Q. Can you say you have got any positive proof for that?

A. I have got proof enough to satisfy me.

Q. Did you write to Mr. Chelmsford about that?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Did he ask you to send the complaints to him?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you then take any steps?

A. I took no steps because martial law was withdrawn on the very day I wrote to Mr. Chelmsford. I consider Mr. Chelmsford's noble officer. I am very few officers have been so honest and straightforward. I should be very sorry to say anything that would amount to a criticism of his conduct. I see his nobility even in his mistakes. But I should like to put this point further. I have gathered that the severity with which the Bombay Government acted during the month of April leaves nothing to complain of.

But when I have to analyze the whole situation it is my duty to point the mistakes also with all the humility I can command. And I have done it. I do not want to make it a serious complaint by emphasizing the fact that some innocent people were killed.

Mr. Kemp referred to his evidence and asked if your evidence is fair and candid. I don't want to put you any more question.

EXAMINATION BY MR. JIVANLAL DE剖析.

Q. A large crowd attacked the station and arrested on the 14th of April.

A. Yes.

Q. There was perfect peace and order in that meeting and not only was there perfect order but the men were very polite and courtly.

Q. Mr. Gandhi says that you denounced violence to swell the ranks of your followers and that some cases you refused to disclose the names of the culprits.

A. I never say Mr. Gandhi has unreasonably done violence to me.

Q. On account of his illness our reporter could not supply us with the complete report. And a detailed report of examination by Bachha Maha Aham Zulian has appeared in the "Bombay Chronicle." Have you any objection to give it in our columns?

CORRESPONDENCE

SIR GEORGE BARNES LETTERS.

Delhi, 1st Jan. 1860

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Thank you for your letters of the 13th and 14th instants, forwarding a copy of the telegram which you have received from the Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association, and also of the letter which you have written to the press on the subject. His Excellency the Viceroy had already received a similar telegram from Mr. Aswol. As you see, the telegram raises three separate questions, namely

1. The desirability of the Transvaal Provincial Court in the Kruger gold case that the acquisition of fixed property by Indian controlled companies is on fraudulent basis.

2. The desirability of the Transvaal Superior Magistrate that the presence of Anglo-Indian subjects in the Transvaal and their commerce, and that on Indian can therefore apparently...
he refused a licence under section 36 of the
Treaty Local Government Ordinance 2 of
1912, as the grant that he is understandable
within the meaning of paragraph (e) of the
section.

(3) The demands which are being made by Euro-
peans before the Local Government Committee
that Municipalities should be granted complete
sovereignty, with special reference apparently to
the issue of trading licences.

2. So far as the terms of reference are at present set-
died, all these questions will come within the scope of
the Committee's enquiry, and Sir Benjamin Robertson
will state the Indian case and press it strongly before the
Committee. The first question, however, came at once
and in an acute form the question of fixed property
already acquired by Indian companies. As Mr. Aswat
has said the New Act No. 37 of 1910 did not in this case
validate rights already secured. Section 3 of the Act
merely asserted that the provisions of Law No 3 of 1885
should be construed as from the 1st of May 1910 as pro-
lating the ownership of fixed property by companies
terminated by Assamans. The legality of such succeeding
was until the 1st of May 1910 left open, and the Com-
munity of lands specifically stated in paragraph 13 of their
Report, that as an act was pending in the Supreme Court of
the Travancore in which the validity of such companies
would be tested. Previous decisions of the Courts, as you are
aware, have upheld the validity of such companies, but
as the case now stands, these decisions have been upset.

3. I need not assure you that the Government of India
are fully alive to the seriousness of the situation with
which Indian Companies in the Travancore are now faced.
Immediately upon receipt of Mr. Aswat's telegram has Ex-
cellency the Vicereine telegraphed to the Secretary of State
and requested him to represent at the Colonial Office that
no further action should be taken to Indian interests should be
taken, at any case, until the Committee has reported.
We also telegraphed to Mr. Aswat assuring him that we
were moving in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) G. S. Barnes.
Delhi, the 1st Jan. 1920

Dear Mr. Gandhi,
In your letter of the 13th instant you ask me to give you
some information regarding the difficulties which are
arising in East Africa. The information which we have
so far received is far from complete, but I will tell you
what we know and what we are doing.

In my answer to a question put by Sir Dinshaw Wavdas
at the meeting of the Legislative Council on the
13th September last, I told him how the position stood.
You will remember that a deputation of Indians
from East Africa, headed by Mr. Alibhai, came to Delhi
last March. I was then away on leave, but I understood
that Mr. Thomas Holmwood, who received the deputation,
in my absence was impressed by the fairness and understanding
with which they stated their grievances. Their memo-
rail was forwarded to the Secretary of State with a des-
patch, on which the Government of India urged that there
was no justification in a Crown Colony or Protectorate
for assigning to British Indians a status in any way in
fatal to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects.
We further urged not only that the more galling discri-
nations of Indians in East Africa should be removed, but
also that the claim to a share in the government of the
country should be sympathetically considered.

3. We have now heard from the Secretary of State
that he has pressed these views on the Colonial Office,
and that Lord Milner, as his return from Egypt, will dis-
cuss the general question of the position of Indians in
East Africa with the Governor, Major-General Sir E.
Northey, who is now in England.

4. Meanwhile a new mutation has arisen from the
publication of the report of the East Africa Economic
Commission and the proposed Ordinances for the Removal
of Undesirables. We have not yet received a copy of
the report, and we know no more about the proposed
Ordinance than what has appeared in the press. On the
13th I received a visit from the Hon. Mr. Phadke,
one of the Indian member of the East Africa Legislative
Council, who is coming to visit this country, and he told
me that he had

5. As Colonial Secretary, said in his reply to a question
put by Mr. Bennett in the House of Commons on the
23rd December last, the Economic Commission's report
must not be regarded as expressing the views of the Gov-
ernment of East Africa or of the Imperial Government.

The proposed Ordinances, if they are to be correctly
reported, is not extremely directed against Indians, and it
is not possible to question the right of any Government
to remove undesirables from the country over which it
exercises jurisdiction. At the same time, I can assure
you that the Government of India are fully alive to the
general tendency of events in East Africa. His Exel-
ency the Vicereine has already telegraphed to the Secretary
of State asking for full information. He has also
argued that the Indian case should be fully represented at
the forthcoming discussion between Lord Milner and Gen-
eral Northey in London and that no occasion instrumental
to Indian interests in East Africa should be taken,
meanwhile.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) G. S. Barnes.

MR. GANDHI'S LETTER
Lahore, 29th January, 1920.

Dear Sir George Barnes,
I thank you for your letter of the 21st instant regarding
the situation in East Africa and for the sympathetic
assurances contained therein. May I however draw your
attention to certain matters in your letter? With reference
to the proposed 'Undesirables Ordinances,' you say, 'It
is not possible to question the right of any government
to remove undesirables from the country over which it
exercises jurisdiction.' Whilst the above statement is
perfect as a theoretical proposition, in the East African
case, seeing that the legislation is aimed at Indians and
that the term 'undesirable' has an artificial meaning,
I venture to think that it is not only open to the Govern-
ment of India but it is their duty to protest against this
proposed measure and its use.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd) M. K. Gandhi.
Notes.

Will it help Mr. Lloyd George in one of his recent speeches warned the English people of their responsibilities. He said that the world was watching England and that England's failure meant the failure of the western civilization. Many other Englishmen of common sense are regretting over the fact that relaxation in constructive work coming after the great war has affected England also. The increase in the number of crimes in England is only a proof of the same evil. We in India have to learn much from that. But Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai expresses his fear that none of the crimes in England will not be used by Indians in correcting their faults. He even goes further and says:

"Shall we go on holding up to public gaze the follies, faults and crimes of our country?"

"No good will come to the homeland, the salvation or redemption by publishing her failings in big type in newspapers to be read by her enemies. When the domestic pests are not seen and told, they turned into the race of the millions that are mistrusting the Providence of our care. Then let us always place high ideals before those capable of understanding them, and on to a simpler and less gifted, show ourselves by every act we do superior to those we are governing, and finally let our journals be purged of those stories which only lower us in the eyes of the nations in the ease.

It would have been quite fair for him to say against this news, "Andi alteram partem." West may not be so bad as these crimes would suggest. But disregarding facts is a false policy and too unwise to be adopted by nations that pose to teach the world. Besides, is it possible for the West to hide its dark spots from the East?

Mr. Hormin's passport—Everybody was looking forward to Mr. Hormin's return before long. If the Royal Proclamation includes any political cases, all Mr. Hormin's is undoubtedly included in it. We therefore regret to find that Mr. Hormin's passport has been or is reported to have been refused at the instance of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, Mr. Hormin's fault lies in his strength and his fearless exposure of wrong. His language, we admit, is sometimes reckless, but his is a recklessness that tells because it is combined with knowledge, Mr. Hormin's recklessness comes from conviction, it is not a result of bravado.

Sir George Lloyd is going presently to lead a democratic assembly. Surely he is not afraid of a man who has been evidently successful in refusing the democratic spirit in us. Nobody who wants to do only what is right and just and does not mind frank and forcible criticism of his policy, need fear Mr. Hormin. We trust therefore that His Excellency will reconsider his decision and withdraw the reported embargo on Mr. Hormin's passport and thus enable Bombay to welcome one who has endeared himself to it and India by a thousand services to those who needed them.

Mr. Gandhi's message—In the meeting held in Bombay on Saturday, 31st January, Mr. Ayyar, Secretary to the Khilafat Deputation, read a telegram from Mr. Gandhi addressed to Mr. Shamsut Arif from Lahore in which it was stated:

"Deputation has done excellent service. It has appealed not merely to Imperial Government and British opinion but has won world opinion. It strengthened its ability to appeal to reason and justice. It must therefore be moderate in presentation and firm in demand. Odes from a work of point seem heavily against us but in Prophets' words majority of two when it has God on its side can face overwhelming numbers with confidence and hope. In my opinion India is solidly on your side for your cause is not merely spiritually true but it is morally just and presently England will be on our side when through Deputation Englishman learn that British honours are at stake in this question for we are asking nothing more than what British Ministers have pledged to give, May God guide Deputation."
Indians in E. Africa—Thus the Times of India.

In regard to British East Africa the policy of the Government is equally clear and right, as also, so far as it goes, is their action. Unfortunately, it does not go far enough. The view, propounded by the Vicereine, that all British subjects of whatever race possess equal status in a Crown Colony or Protectorate, is a sound principle of Constitutional Law. The instances of the Government of India that India should be fully represented at the forthcoming discussions in London between Lord Milner and the Governor of East Africa is also a step in the right direction. But we would urge the Government not to content themselves with mere representation. The Government should immediately take means to repair their self-admitted ignorance of facts in East Africa. The representative of India in the discussions must be armed with first-hand knowledge, and must not go to London merely to plead for an abstract principle. He must be prepared to debate the implications of that principle in the particular case of East Africa, and in order to do that he must, to put it mildly, know what he is talking about. But it is not only the Government of India that is ignorant of the situation in East Africa, and the Government as soon as it has possession of the facts, should take the first opportunity of issuing a statement to the Indian public. In the case there is no need to await the findings of any Commission, if the facts do not come to the Government, the Government must go to seek them.

TWO FIGURES

The following has been received by Shrimati Sarodei Chaudhram from the Government of India—Government of India Army Department, Delhi Dated 6th Dec. 1918

Madam,

I am directed to refer to the list published in the Gazette of India dated the 8th July 1918 in which you were mentioned for valuable services rendered in India in connection with the war 1914—1918 and to forward a copy of a letter and a mark of approbation of the Government of India the war badge and

Limb
Your obedient servant,
(Sd.) G H Bingley
Major-General
Secretary to the Government of India

To Mrs Dutt Chaudhram

She was instrumental in sending many a Bengali youth to the war. It is said that it was her poetry, her touching songs and addresses that appealed to the masses and inspired them to offer their services and co-operation. Hence the badge she has only just had the honour of receiving.

New two to the other picture

To

The Committee of the Lahore Pardah Club.

Government House, Lahore. 17-4-19

My dear Fransis,

As President of the Lahore Pardah Club I wish to let you know that the names of Chaudhram and Chaudhram Rambhuj Dutt have been taken off the Government House list.

I should like the Committee of the Lahore Club here to consider at once the desirability of first giving the Chaudhram the opportunity of removing her membership of our Pardah Club before taking steps to remove her name from the list of our members.

It is obvious that the wife of the Lieutenant Governor cannot belong to the same club as the wife of Chaudhram Rambhuj Dutt.

As Mr. Ridley is away and has appointed one to take his place I am taking upon myself to act as secretary and I am writing to Mr. Ridley to that effect as soon as I can.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) Anna O'Dwyer
Encl.
April 22nd 1918

Dear Madam,

I unrequested by the Committee, Lahore Pardah Club to ask you to send in your resignation of membership of this Club and to forward to you the enclosed notice.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) M. Ridley
Hon. Sec Pardah Club.

[The notice sent to Shrimati Sarodei in the draft notice referred to in the following Ed V J]

Notes from the President of the Committee of the Lahore Pardah Club sent to Chaudhram Rambhuj Dutt dated 2nd April 1919.

We the English and Indian members of the Committee of the Lahore Pardah Club in consequence of what has happened, consider that your name should no longer appear among its members and understand from this that you will not in future be sent to any of our meetings.

(Sd.) M. Ridley
Hon. Sec Pardah Club.

Copies of member signatures
Anna O'Dwyer (President)
Mildred Kates
Mrs. B. J. Rustomjee
Mrs. S. Rustomjee
Regina Sahib Bina Khan
A. N. Mohamad Shafi
Marie Watters
Mrs. K. Ramatullah
Mrs. Tusur
P. W. D'Cruz
P. R. Sarkhuda
Mohini Muteeth
P. B. Ahmed Hussen
Nancy Evings Laxam.

Let it be remembered that Chaudhram and Chaudhram Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhram were simply deported along with other Lahore leaders on mere suspicion. There was nothing proved against him. The trial followed a considerable time later. But the day after his de-
Young India.
Ahmedabad, Wednesday 14th February, 1920

BRITISH GUIANA AND Fiji DEPUTATIONS.

(BY M. K. GANDHI)

There are at present two deputations in India from the oversea. The one headed by its Attorney-General Dr. K-home, is from British Guiana, and the other by the Bishop of Polynesia is from Fiji. Both these deputations have arrived from their respective colonies for the purpose of obtaining Indian labour. Both have had indentured labour in both the existing indentures, and it has only been cancelled.

His Excellency the Viceroy whose attitude on the status of British Indians living in the different colonies has been generally correct, yet the popular case is very clearly when His Excellency said that India could not be expected to consider the convenience of the colonies at his own expense nor could the Government of India present these Indian settlements if there were Indians who wanted to go to any of the colonies with a view to bettering their own position. His Excellency further added that a committee of probably non-official members would be appointed to confer with these deputations and consider their expectation, and that the Government would be guided by the advice of that committee.

Now let us examine the position. The British Guiana deputation was free Indian settlers of the labour type for 10 emigrants. The Fiji deputation was from the places of indentured labour. Both ask counties that are growing sugar cane. There is while South Africa and the Uplands of East Africa cannot hold Indian colonists. These have a lot of European colonists, but they are being developed by European capital assisted by Indian labour. If they cannot get Indian labour whether as servants or other workers, they must tap some other sources, possibly China.

I had the pleasure of meeting both the deputations. The British Guiana more than once. From British Guiana there have been no complaints of ill-treatment of the indentured Indians. There is no doubt that there are some legal inequalities in British Guiana. In Fiji too there are probably no glaring inequalities in law. I believe too that the Fijian Government and the planters are now willing to treat the Indian labour better and offer better terms.

The question for me, however, is, do we want Indian labour to go to these colonies, and, if we do, are the terms such as would make the Indians morally and materially better?

In my opinion we want all the labour we have in India. A sowing labourer has ample scope for earning a substantial living in India. Our industries require Indian labour, it is not overpopulated. The pure agriculturalist does not need to go out of India to earn a living. Emigration cannot solve the problem of Indian poverty. The causes are too deep and widespread to be solved by a scheme of emigration. No matter how ambitious it may be a few thousand emigrants going out every year can produce no effect on the deep and deepening poverty of the vast mass of India. My conviction is that the returned emigrants in the majority of cases disrupt the home life, without doing any counterbalancing benefit in society. In general the members of the home so disrupted as to be in need of assistance, and the Government of India is not entitled to the right to force emigration.

We are not a colonising nation in the modern sense of the term. The labourers are not followed by their better class countrymen who would want to earn a living would make it dependent upon their services of their countrymen. The religions and the social ties are broken. The restrictions of Indian environment do not follow the emigrant. Going therefore from environment which has become debased in servility and degraded by the inevitable immorality of the system used in which his predecessors have lived, the new emigrant amenities to that environment. It is not right to expose the world to such grave, moral risks.

Both the deputations have urged that it is our duty to send more emigrant families in order that the solvency on the female Indian population may be increased. In other words we should send more women to these colonies. I totally dissent from the view. I would not be a party to sending a single woman to be exposed to a life of slavery. The only remedy for the evil to which both the colonies and the Government of India have been party, is for the superfluous young men, if they are so minded, to come to India, get decently trained and take their
What should be the medium of instruction is a century-old question. It has been threshed out in many Government Despatches and by successive Educational Commissions. A rapid review of the history of this question will help us in understanding it in its proper perspective and to formulate a course for its immediate solution.

The origin of this problem dates back to 1857 when Mr. Charles Grant, in his treatise submitted to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, suggested English as the medium of instruction for Indians. This treatise was seen by few till it was issued in a Blue Book in 1858, and the Company took no action in regard to it. The movement for an English education instead of Sanskrit or Arabic was purely non-official. The Hindu College opened in 1857 created a taste for English. And there arose a fundamental difference of opinion. The Orientalists wished to continue education in the ancient tongues and to get Western works translated into the latter, whereas the Anglicans wished to "establish new seminaries for giving instruction in English and the vernacular languages, at the places where such institutions were most in demand." Lord William Bentinck's Government settled the controversy by the well-known Resolution of 7th March, 1858. The Resolution stated that "the great object of this Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone," and that money saved by discontinuing expeditions for native learning should be employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language. The Sadler Report unmistakably tells us "in regard to the vernacular all parties were agreed. They thought that the vernacular contained neither the literary nor scientific information necessary for a liberal education" but this did not mean that they underestimated the importance of the vernacular. On the contrary, says Travestyam, "it was an article on all sides that the instruction of the masses of the people through the medium of their own language was the ultimate object to be kept in view, but meanwhile teachers had to be trained, a literature had to be created, and the co-operation of the upper and middle classes of society had to be assured." This aim set forth in 1858 was embodied in the great Despatch of 1854. This very aim was repeated and pushed forward by the Commissions of 1857, 1862 and 1892. The Commission of 1857 recommended that the vernacular should be used as the medium in the middle schools, they refrained from making any definite recommendation in regard to high schools, but commanded that the decision in this respect should depend upon the local circumstances and that the freshest course should be left to the managers of the schools. The Commission of 1892 condemned the use of English as a medium at too early an age, and the poor teaching both in English and the vernacular.

**THE CRUX OF OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.**

**MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION.**

The Government of India have issued a Resolution giving a forecast of the legislation which they intend to pass on the recommendations of the Sadler Commission Report. It is not a question of whether the Government's action is in accordance with the Commissioners' recommendations, but it is necessary to emphasise what we consider the most important suggestion of the Commission viz. the use of English as the medium of instruction.
In schools. Reviewing the whole policy of Government up to August 1917, the Sadler Report pronounces that during all these 34 years the policy of Government has been 'answering' in its double aim of conveying western education in its highest form through the medium of English to the Indian peoples, and of encouraging the development of the vernaculars so as to fit them for every use.

We do not propose to dispute today the view of the 'Anglicists' of the beginning of the last century. But we do say even in this modern age our Government has not succeeded in substituting English as the language of instruction, because the officials were too old and too set in their ways. Translations of Western works into Arabic and Sanskrit are also not encouraged, because the languages would be unnecessary for the Indian people to think at the abundant fountain of Western literature and science. But what do we find today? Even teaching the national, the upper and middle classes, do not know much of genuine European science. The modern, we have gained and we bear some decent proportion with what it has cost, can be due to any teacher's convictions of the Compendium of 1682 and 1802. We are not quite wonting the corpse when we ourselves these failures. We must only examine to point out what would have been the result of the earnest and consistent attempts to carry out this original policy. A large number of our educated men would have translated the best part of Western sciences into our own vernaculars and today, our sons would have ventured to stand on their shoulders as naught to replace English in our educational system. Moreover, our educated men could not have continued to remain merely intellectual agents waiting at the doors to impart whatever the Western brain had shopped out. They could have added their own, they could have certainly created out of their own intelligence a literature and science which would have been more truly and extensively received in the country. These would have been amongst real actual progress have we made? If any, does it warrant any hope for the future?

The Sadler Report indicates our progress—slow, very slow, though it may be. The Commission of 1882 as above recommended vernacular-medium for middle schools and left the question of high schools to the Local Governments' discretion. The Sadler Report recommends vernacular-medium for high schools except in the cases of English and Mathematics. The Report recommends that English will be the medium of instruction for the two years above the middle medium stage. Perhaps the grip is a little vague, perhaps it. But even without attempting to stem the natural tendency in favour of vernacular medium, what we have in a distinctively forward step. We are glad that the superstition about the necessity of the English medium as a means of proficiency in that language and as a means of promotion of European science among us is more and more exposed by its absurdity. We shall discuss the other questions in our next.
the assistance of a few European and Indian ladies and gentlemen is organizing a Children's Welfare Scheme on a large scale for the whole city of Bombay and the people are being asked to give their sympathy and interest and financial support to it. Already a Children's Welfare Scheme is being privately conducted on a small scale by a philanthropic and high-souled lady doctor, Dr. Domedal J. B. Dadabhoy. It is now proposed to evolve the scheme and widen its scope so that the whole city could take advantage of it. Altogether a capital of 20 lacs has been estimated to put the scheme into operation and keep it permanently working. It is proposed to establish with it 10 centers each of which is to remain in charge of a fully trained health visitor. There will be a lady supervisor over the whole establishment, who will keep the assistance of the health visitors will try to remain in touch with the expectant mothers with the view to giving them the necessary advice and assistance, to attend during child birth mothers who do not take advantage of Maternity Homes and persuade mothers to bring their children regularly to the welfare centres for advice and assistance. A regular will be opened at each center containing particulars (including weights) of infants brought there. And each infant that is brought would be carefully weighed and examined on the occasion of each visit.

The working estimate of the annual cost of the Scheme has been given as under —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Cost (Rs)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lady Supervisor</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Visitors</td>
<td>18,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>(each at Rs 150)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>42,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>18,000</td>
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<td>Medicine, etc.</td>
<td>9,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contingencies</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>110,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For imparting practical training and instructions to mothers, health visitors, mid-wives and nurses, it is further proposed to found an Institute, having attached to it a Maternity Home and a Children's Hospital. Surely this new object will appeal to all of whatever race creed or colour, though at the same time we cannot part have to turn from the over-expensive nature of the above scheme. What we feel most needed is not so much of buildings and institutions, of costly Homes, hospitals and qualified lady doctors, as of door to door propagandists work on the rules of ordinary hygiene and sanitation and end of popular and trained midwives and nurses thoroughly acquainted with the conditions of the localities or centres where they are made to work. In fact, our efforts should not be directed to taking precautionary measures only but also in removing the causes altogether in the long run. However, the encouraging results attained by some of the best Welfare Centres such as in London, where as a result of their persistent and incessant efforts the death rate has been brought as low as 23 per thousand, lead us to hope that the Bombay Welfare Committee will by its own persistent efforts achieve results of similar nature, if not the same proportion.

This about Bombay. But what of other parts of the presidency, say of the whole country where the conditions are as gloomy and alarming and infant-mortality nearly as high if not higher than that of Bombay? Surely some move is necessary in the direction both in large and small towns and in cities and groups of villages and if we cannot afford much expensive schemes as in Bombay, we can do something on a much smaller scale. If we cannot build big Institutes we can at least start small Maternity Homes and hospitals. And if even that is not possible, why then we can surely carry on the administrative and instructive work, advising mothers on matters of general hygiene and sanitation, of proper care of themselves and their children during the prenatal and natal period — only if we put our hearts in it.

L. A.

A REVIEW

"THE SEED OF RACE."

The essay on Indian Education from the pen of Sir John Woodroffe is a powerful plea for "Home Rule in Education." Sir John submitted a brilliant vote to the Calcutta University Commission in which he pleaded for making Indian culture the basis of Indian Education. The criticism which that note provoked has led him to enlarge his views in the present essay. He says —

"The Seed of Race in the Indian Brahma which has produced the minds and bodies of the Indian people of our time amongst whom some are regarding their Dharma as a whole, others are reciting only what they deem to be corrupt material with a view to recover essential principles and others again are adhering to a firm and sometimes fanatic devotion to every thing which they have received from their fathers. Sir John prefers the middle path which he says is here, as in so many other cases, the best. For it is the path of Evolution, whilst the first is an attempt at revolution with little chance of present success, and the last is an endeavour to crystallize for all future time what is itself the product of ages of change. He therefore recommends "The Seed of Race must be first disencumbered of all which impedes its development and then fostered by an education suitable both to its instrument and subject matters. The disencumberance of which I speak, refers not only to foreign impositions but also to the depredating products of the past growth of this seed". In short the author wants the principle of "Swadharma" which is a law of each one's own form-to be
applied to Indian Education. The only contribution which India can make to the general Indian world is one which springs from her own Mind and Heart and not from that of any other. The danger, therefore, of education should be increasingly placed in the hands of the right type of Indian—a man who has knowledge of Indian culture for his admiration; and will carry it with him with devotion to truth and the needs of Indian men and women. The facts of science may be taught by any. But to understand the large largely enter into the question of its purpose to teach Indian religion, philosophy, literature and art.

The author then proceeds to deal with the question what should be taught. Of course he is for supplementing the Indian culture and the English culture. Parsi segregation and separation is becoming increasingly difficult. The more the Indian people know of the rest of the world and its thoughts the better for them, provided that what is taken in can be assimilated that is adopted without prejudice to the individuality of the Indian organism, he says. The point before us is not who their English language and culture should be taught, but whether in the Indian culture will be neglected. It has been these in the past. It should be given co-ordinate rank. The time has come aporetic. In other places also the tone is similar. Indian culture also should be taught to Indians. "Indian culture should take place with English study. The reason to be unfortunate Indian culture also must be taught. No Indian culture must be the base, but the superstructure, and the crown of the cultural order. It makes a world of difference whether you give the national culture the first position or make it seem that position with a rival. A knowledge of the English language and culture are valuable, no doubt. But they must not form the superstructure of Indian education. Western people also need a knowledge of the Western culture.

Mr. Ghandi writes in the Times of India, February 11, 1920.

"Young India."

YOUNG INDIA.

The only contribution which India can make to the general Indian world is one which springs from her own Mind and Heart and not from that of any other. The danger, therefore, of education should be increasingly placed in the hands of the right type of Indian—a man who has knowledge of Indian culture for his admiration; and will carry it with him with devotion to truth and the needs of Indian men and women. The facts of science may be taught by any. But to understand the large largely enter into the question of its purpose to teach Indian religion, philosophy, literature and art.

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We cannot quarrel with Sir John for not taking this view which would have been more enunciated with his own note submitted to the Sadhu Gomani-Gum. He has earned for himself the gratitude of the Indian people by showing to them the importance of their own culture and creating in them respect for their past and an intelligent hope for the future. Before taking leave of this delightful brochure we would like to give the following thoughtful remarks of the author:

"The old Indian idea that the king is the father of his people was a beautiful one, and his carried amongst us today in the notion that the Government and its officers are "Ma'ap. But the trend of political evolution is away from such ideas. The people and the State tend to become one and in this country, with every step towards political advancement, the Indian people will become more and more their own masters. The salt of Government which they eat will be eventually discovered to be so in fact it now is, theirs to salt. Therefore, if they would retain their independence, they must themselves work for that end and none other can save it for them.

They will gain power (Shekta) to uphold their race and will receive all their desires if they serve their country in the belief that our service (Sates) of Shri Bharat is worship (Satra) of the Mahabharat, Shri Bhagwati who, though appearing in one of our forms as Shri Shakti, Shakti is not merely a Div of the Hindus but their name for the one Mother of the world.

CONDITION OF LABOUR.

Mr. Ghandi writes in the Times of India, February 7th.

Two paths are open before India today, either it introduces the western principle of 'might is right' or upholds the eastern principle that truth alone conquers, that truth knows no murder, that the strong and the weak have alike a right to secure justice. The choice is to be made with the labouring classes. Should the labourers obtain an increment in their wages by violence, even if it be possible? They cannot resort to anything like violence however legitimate may be their claim. To use violence for securing rights may seem an easy path, but it proves to be theory in the long run. Those who live by sword die by sword. The summer often dies by drowning. Look at Europe. No one seems to be happy there, for not one is contented. The labourer does no trust the capitalist and the capitalist has no faith in the labourer. Both have a sort of unrest and strength not even the welfare movement. They fight to the very bitter end. All nations are in progress. We have got no reason to believe that the people of Europe are prospering through possession of wealth does not argue the possession of any moral or spiritual qualities. Kung Durgishan was a master of untold wealth, but with all that he was a prayer in compensating Vibhinn and Sadhams. To-day the world admires Vibhinn and Sadhams, whereas Durgishan's name is remembered only as a byword for the evil qualities one should shun.

What shall we do then? The labourer is in Baseney made a line stand. I was not in a position to know all the facts. But this much I could see that they could fight in a better way. The will move may be wholly in the wrong. In the struggle between capital and labour it may be generally said that more fo-
Mr. MAHOMED ALI INTERVIEWED

We give below the most important part of the interview between Mr. Mahomed Ali and the "New Times" Correspondent.—

"Our houses", declared the Muslim leader, "is to amass the vastness of the mountains, and the power of the Allied and Associated Powers the matter of the religious obligations which bind the Muslims of India as well as Mussalmans of the rest of the world with regard to the question of the Khatifat, the Holy Places of Islam and the ambitiously known as Arab, the Island of Arabia, including as it does, Syria and Palestine as well as Mesopotamia and other provinces of Arabia, including the Hijaz, Yemen, and Egypt."

"In other words", I said, "Mussalmans will not accept any Muslim control in any shape or form in Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia."

"Not," he said, "no more than they will have it in the Hijaz."

"I know your amenability is a counsel of perfection. But will you be heard in view of the scruples for territory so glaringly least felt in the European Powers?"

"But we have a duty imposed upon us and we must discharge it. We are going to explain thus to Europe and America, and after outstripping everybody concerned not to ignore our most solemn obligations, we shall be compelled, if necessary, to declare that the consequences of such deliberate neglect of our responsibilities in the matter of our Faith would be most serious. And this time at least, the question will not be as in which 3,000,000 Muslims are concerned, but 30,000 of Indians and another 30,000 of Muslims abroad. Speaking purely from a material point of view, I do not know if there are any region of God's earth valuable to powers in agricultural land, in natural and mineral wealth which any European power could profit by, by obtaining it at the tremendous price of an open declaration of war against half of humanity. We may be weak to-day, but the weight and time has many surprises for these petty opportunists who can think only in terms of prices and hours and not forget that in the Lord of all ages, centuries are but fleeting moments."

"Suppose, Sir, your mission fails, what then?"

"Do not be anxious as to that, pray. The very nature of our mission precludes the possibility of failure. We know the difficulties in the way of proclaiming the truth to civilized Europe is in spite of the boost of free speech and free Press. But if we can get the ear of the masses, our work is done. If they do not heed what we say that will not be our failure but theirs, and speaking for myself, at least I think that my own salvation is assured when I have carried this message to Europe. And part by any means to them is that we have behind us no less than 30,000 of people to-day, and then it would not be our work but their peoples' to see that this declaration be not belied by any furthering of their part."

Printed by Shankerlal G. Basher at Nava Jivan Maha Munnaya, Chak Oj, Pankow Naka, Ahmedabad and published by Mahadev H. Desai at the same place.
Mr Gandhi and the colonisation scheme—

In his letter to the Leader "Ek Bharatya Hridaya" writes:

It appears from an article in the Chronicle that Mahatma Gandhi has agreed to try the scheme. He has suggested that some pioneer families should be sent to British Guiana and after six months or a year the condition of these pioneer families should be investigated by one or two men chosen by the popular leaders of India. With my respect to Mahatma Gandhi, I must say that he is committing a great mistake. I wonder how he has been persuaded to try the scheme in face of the protest of the British Guiana East Indian Association. Can he claim to speak with greater authority on the colonisation scheme than the Association of British Indians? Will he call it a colonisation scheme when it is only a scheme labour exploitation scheme according to the Indians of the British Guiana? When the British Guiana East Indian Association, with its usual knowledge of the circumstances in the colony "reserves" its scheme disapprove of the labour scheme and considers it "unworkable and detrimental to the incoming East Indians," surely, Mahatma Gandhi ought to pause for a while and think three before he gives his approval to the scheme.

So there seems to exist some misunderstanding in regard to Mr. Gandhi's having volunteered his definite support to the free immigration scheme proposed by the British Guiana and Eip Deputation and that is now being discussed in Delhi between the non-official Committees appointed by the Imperial Legislative Council, and the two Deputations. The basis of the above belief, to my mind, lies in the Hon'ble Mr. Suresh Nath Bajaj's remarks in the Imperial Legislative Council, which he made while moving the resolution for the appointment of the aforesaid Committee. Our friend seems to have divested on this support of Mr. Gandhi and quoted with approval Mr. Gandhi's opinion that he would not oppose any scheme of free colonisation which would assure and guarantee equal rights of Indians in regard to political, communal, legal, commercial and industrial matters. However, we hope, Mr. Gandhi has sufficiently cleared his position and expressed his views on the whole aspect of the question in his article on "The British Guiana and Fiji Deputations" appearing in our last issue. He has made it clear in it that while he would not and cannot oppose any scheme of colonisation that rested on equality, fair play and justice, his acquaintance with what cannot be opposed in its own merits, does not mean and should not be taken as such, that he welcomes or supports or as a matter of fact approves of the scheme or even the very idea of Indians going abroad. He goes to the very root of the question of Indian colonisation, says forth his case as clearly as he can and confines the issue on the best of the following question:

Do we want Indian Labour to go abroad? If we do, are the terms such as would make the Indians morally and materially better?

After a detailed and critical analysis of our own wants of Labour in the field of industrial development, the question of social equality in every part of the British Empire, the unhealthy influence of the debased environment to these colonies perpetuated by the demoralised system previously in vogue via the Indentured System, and a number of other important and necessary factors, Mr. Gandhi arrives at the inevitable conclusion that whilst he would not interfere with any agriculturist voluntarily going anywhere, he would not encourage him to leave India unless there was a distinct moral advantage to be gained by emigrating—which is a close and critical examination of the existing conditions, there is more.

Indians in E. Africa—The "E. A. Chronicle" writes: It was decided by the recent Congress of Indians, held in Nairobi, to send to Britain a deputation of prominent members of the East African Indian Community to bring to the notice of the authorities the grievances and aspirations of the Indians in this country.

The deputation has been selected and is now on its way having reached Bombay where Mr. S. Achara joined Messrs. A. M. Jacob and S. D. Thakore, who had already gone to India.
Children's spirit must go—We are as a rule adverse to recording any event of personal character which is likely to prejudice the relations of, and to breed racial fashions and bitterness between, the European and the Indian in this country. But unexplainably, these unpleasant incidents repeat themselves so often—only they do not always come under public notice—that we cannot help pointing out to those who are conscientiously or unnecessarily responsible for them, the evil effects that their rash and uncomposing conduct creates upon the public mind and the smooth relations between the European and the Indian. The latest incident of this kind is the recent affair offered to the President of the Moderate Conference, Sir Sivaramam Ayyar, by one Captain Childers of the Burma Police, while the former was sleeping in a first-class compartment of the train, on his way to Mandalay. Captain Childers is reported to have walked into the compartment, waked him up, and told him to peremptorily vacate it. We shall describe the unhappy incident in Sir Sivaramam's own words.

I asked him why, and he said that he wanted to travel. I told him that they might get into the next compartment. He said it was occupied by a gentleman and went on grumbling. The guard at the station master then came up to me, and asked me if I would vacate the compartment. I asked him why they could not go into the next compartment. I told him that they might ask the other gentleman to come into my compartment and that I would be most pleased to make new acquaintance with him. And with my luggage etc. After a few minutes, the European Officer re-entered my compartment with his wife, and said, 'You are a学会了 ladies, it is disgraceful, I have never heard such a thing in my life, a refusal to a lady'! I said, 'You have no business to talk and to see in this way' and then he said 'look sharp'. He and his wife then took their seats on the opposite berth which was quite vacant. When I got up at seven o'clock he said, 'I want to let you know if you will' I did not quite follow him, and then he asked me, 'do you understand English? I said 'yes'. The facts are clear, there were the European gentleman, the Superintendent, Engineer of one compartment, and an Indian in the next compartment next to myself. Captain Childers did not venture to disturb Mr Ayyar or ask him to go over to my compartment. He thought that as I was an Indian I should be asked to get out and go to the next compartment. It must be also remembered that Mr Childers was not travelling alone but in the company of his husband, that is, a man who was no question of his going to sleep and that the whole of the opposite berth containing two seats was available for them.

Those who know Sir Sivaramam as we do, can testify to the extremely courteous and amiable nature of the man. And we are sure, no one Indian or European can blame Sir Sivaramam in this case of the slightest discourtesy or want of consideration. On the other hand, the conduct of Captain Childers was, to say the least, most offensive, rude and unbecoming. We are glad Sir Sivaramam Ayyar kept his own dignity and showed the better Indian element in him by not relenting in the same tone. We are here reminded of the Clayton-Jean incident where too, the latter though under great provocation exhibited the best side of the Indian character—the Satyagraha spirit—without being in the least violent or vindictive.

We have no desire to dwell on the personal aspect of these incidents. They may be forgotten. But the bitter and harmful impression they leave behind has a permanent effect on the cordial relations and intercourse between the European and the Indian. We believe that most of the present in India is due to the thought of the personal conduct of Captain Childers. And at the same time when our common interests essentially demand that the relations between the two communities should be more cordial and friendly, the blemish is the more unfortunate and regrettable. We however, hope good sense will prevail with Captain Childers and he will make suitable amends to remove the unfortunate impression.

The Late Vishnu Bacs Jorg—We read with great sorrow the news of the death of Brahman Vishnu Bacs Jorg of Poona. He was recognized as a prominent leader of the great religious organization of Mahanadda of mediole times, viz., the order of the Vaishnavas. Gifted with a splendid physique, he rose when young to be a wrestler of no mean repute and could count many well-known wrestlers among his disciples. The vow of Brahma charia led him to religious studies and he poured over the works of the Mahanadda with a devotion all his own. He soon established himself as a powerful exponent of the Bhakti school of Pancharupa and crowds of people gathered to hear his exposition of Dhaneshwari and the songs of Tukaram. The skill of his knowledge was the subject of much conversation and he was always ready to extend his help and aid to those who sought his assistance. But it is a sad commentary on the death of this great scholar that the Vaishnavas have lost their greatest contributor to society and will be with our Poona contemporaries, serve as a worthy memorial to this great Brahmachari.

Be Indians of the Indians—We take the following from the 'Catholic Herald of India'.

We have several times discussed the chances of the Catholic Church under Indian Home Rule, whatever its form, and come to the conclusion that wherever the Church has become Indian and sunk into the heart of the Indian people, even in the north of India, and some parts of the south, she has had an adhering to fear. On the particular question we last week interviewed Msgr. Forni, Bishop of Mangalore. He declared he had no misgivings on the subject, as long as the missionaries identified themselves with the Indian people, becoming Indians of the Indians, wherever their work lies among them.

More weighty still are the words of His Holiness the Pope, which the reader will find in another column. It would be hard to state more unfavourably our own condition, which so much shocked some of our readers, that it is true that the Church in India should gradually come to a sort of ecclesiastical colony of the Church in Europe and should be allowed to take its own steps. We have ever held that a variety of religious in our country cannot come in the way of national unity.
A cry from Utkal—Utkal is a much better term than Orissa. The Hon'ble B B Cumberchand Naoroji, ex-secretary, Utkal Union Conference and President Utkal People's Association, Bhubaneswar, has circulated a printed letter in which he says—"Orissa has been placed under five administrations, viz., British, Maharaja, Bonga and Central Provinces, they are in a minority everywhere. An autonomous growth is impossible in their case. For the last fifteen years they have been struggling for administrative union. Decade and non-agitation as they are, their repeated prayers have caught the sympathetic ear. Advancement of India does not prejudice a part of India. The new Indian nation cannot be built upon the bones of an ancient race."

"We need not cavil at the language used by the Hon'ble B B Cumberchand Naoroji. The challenge is in the air. The complaint is sound and acute. The large quantum of population on a linguistic basis. This is not enough to make the natural advance which is its due if it is uplifted into four dimensions for sound reason and we trust that the Oriya Movement will be examined by the public with sympathy and care and attention."

**Young India.**

Ahmedabad, Wednesday 14th February 1920

**JALLIANWALA BAGH.**

(By M K GANNAH.)

There was an unfortunate hint about the purchase of this Bagh for the nation. Thanks to the efforts of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Saryan Swami Shri Shradhhandu and the local leaders it has now become the property of the nation subject to the full payment of the purchase price within three months from the 6th inst. The purchase price is Rs. 530,000. And the amount must be raised within the prescribed period.

It is, therefore, necessary to examine the propriety of making the purchase on behalf of the nation, especially as it has been questioned even in enlightened quarters. With the Congress Memorial before us, the attitude is not to be wondered at. But with all respect to objectors, I cannot help saying that if the Bagh had not been acquired, it would have been a national disgrace. Can we afford to forget those five hundred or more men who were killed although they had done nothing wrong either morally or legally? If they had died knowingly and willingly if realizing their innocence they had stood their ground and faced the shots from the fifty rifles they would have gone down to history as saints, heroes and patriots. But even as it was, the tragedy became one of the chief class nationalist movements. Nations are born out of trauma and suffering. We should forget all title to be considered a nation, if we failed to treasure the memory of those who, in our battle for political freedom might innocently or for the crimes of others, lost their lives or otherwise suffer. We must, therefore, protest against the terms on which they were ruthlessly measured. We may decline if we will to anguise the wrong. The nation will not do if we did. But shall we can we afford to—decline to perpetuate the memory and to show to the surviving members of the families of the dead that we are answerers in their suffering, by creating a national tomestone and by telling the world thereby that in the death of these men, each one of us has lost dear relations? If national interest does not mean at least this much kindness, it has nothing for me. I hold it to be our duty not to let the present generations yet unborn that we will march towards true freedom. We must be prepared for repulsions of the wrongs such as the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. We must proceed against them, we must not seek them, but we must be ready to face them if they came again. I would not have this mission from the battle of national life. The supreme lesson of the American Congress was that the suffering of the Pueblo did not dismunite the nation but that the nation treated them as a matter of course. Some of us made stupid mistakes and the innocent suffered for them. We must in future try to avoid the mistakes but in spite of our best effort, we may fail to convert every one to sanity. We must, therefore, be ready for the repetition of the sufferings of the guiltless by telling the country now that they and others shall not be forgotten but that the memory of the innocent dead shall be regarded as a sacred trust and that the surviving relatives shall have the right to look to the nation for maintenance in cases of need. This is the primary meaning of the memorial. And has not the blood of the Mahomedan mixed with that of the Hindus? Has not the blood of the Sikhs mixed with that of the Santal and the Saujans. The memorial should be a national emblem of an honest and sustained effort to create Hindu-Muslim unity.

But the objection to the memorial has not been answered. Will not the memorial also perpetuate bitterness and ill-will? It will depend upon the trustees. And if I know them, I know that that is not their intention at all. I know that such was not the intention of the late assembly. I do not wish to convey that bitterness was not there. It was there not in any way expressed. But the idea of the memorial had nothing of bitterness in it. The people want to, they must be encouraged to forget the the past and be ready. What General Dyer did we may all do if we had his responsibility and opportunity. To err is human and it must be held to be equally human to forgive if we though being fulfilled would like rather to be forgiven than punished and remembered of our mistakes. Nor does that mean that we may not ask for General Dyer's dismissal. A lunatic cannot be kept in a position from which he can do harm to his neighbours. But just as we do not bear ill-will towards a lunatic, so too we may not bear ill-will even towards General Dyer. I would therefore ask from the memorial all ideas of bitterness and ill-will but treat it as a sacred memory and regard the Bagh as a place of pilgrimage to be visited by all irrespective of class, creed or colour. I would invoke Bhakti to appreciate the feeling in the matter ask them by subscribing to the memorial in the spirit of the Royal Proclamation to make common cause with us in our endeavour to regain consequence, to realize the same freedom that they enjoy under the same constitution and to realize Hindu-Muslim unity without which there can be no true progress for India.
SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The South African Commission has at last been appointed and the personnel announced. It is not an impartial Commission, it is not a strong Commission, the terms of reference are not bad. They include both the rights of property and the rights of trade. The reference covers the whole of the Union. Our countrymen have tried to have the whole position overhauled by the Commission. The members who are to serve on the Commission would hardly have done justice to such an impartial question. In the circumstances, therefore, we welcome the restricted reference. We do not think that time has arrived for considering the full status. The relations between the two communities—the European and the Indian—are too strained to permit of a dispassionate view taken of the question. There is a parallel nearer home. Much as many of us would like to obliteratae the many cruel disabilities that Hindi prejudice inflicts upon the uncalled depressed classes, most of us are powerless to do more than deplore the fact and plead with the prejudiced to rid themselves of their prejudices. So it is with the European trader and the simple-minded but prejudiced Bour. Recognition of this position is necessary to make us patient so far as the ultimate goal is concerned. Political equality will come only after a long and prolonged fight and then perhaps not until we have cleared the atmosphere in India itself. But there can be no patience with injustice which no prejudices can be permitted to take away. They must be defended against all odds. That power to protect life and property must be maintained in a constitution that calls itself liberal or civilized. The interested European trader may not wish the Indian settler to hold property or to trade subject to his observance of the general laws of sanitation. No commission can take that right away with impunity. Our strength, therefore, lies in the inherent and absolute justice of our cause. But even a strong case may be lost by a weak advocate. Happily the Government of India represented by the Vicerege and Sir George Barnes is firm on the question. Let us hope that they will remain firm to the end and instruct Sir Benjamin Robertson to insist upon the preservation of the rights of property and trade remaining intact. Not even a decision of a court of justice can be pleaded as a bar to the preservation of that right. If the law is held defective, it must be remedied. We hope that such a move will be kept steadily before the country and all would be well.

The Temple of India is needlessly hard upon Mr. Andrews, 'Worst situation since 1913, every right endangered,' an apocalyptic sentence, but it is perfectly clear to those who know Mr. Andrews how by his message warned the country against being begoggled by any misfortune. He has gone there to arrive the political status for the Indian settler nor has he gone there to secure unrestricted immigration from India. But as a Christian and as an Oriental, he cannot tolerate any attack on rights of property and trade. And he says that even these rights are in danger. Our countrymen have no other rights.

THE TURKISH QUESTION.

The Mahommedan leaders have been, as they ought to be, patiently but ably putting forward the justice of their cause. The dictates of justice, self-determination and settlement are all in their favour. Some from the other party, however, evade the name of the principle of self-determination and enter into the labyrinth of the old records of Turkey. These impeachments also have not been left unanswered. Mr. Ameer Ali, whose knowledge of history cannot be questioned, even by the opposite party, in his letter to the London Times, writes: 'The Ottoman State in the midst of its power did good service to Western Europe. In the 15th and 17th centuries, Turkey took the lead in the sphere of science and the arts. In the 18th century, it was the first country to send the first European troops to crush the great Indian Mutiny. In the conflict of the East India Company with Tipu Sultan, Turkey sided with the Indians and fought for liberty and justice.'

Just the same must be said about the old records of Turkey, in the opinion of the Dismemberment Party, another force in their favour. They state that 'Constantinople is the hands of the Turks have been a constant 'source of discord' to European nations.' To this the Mahommedan leader says: 'Was not this discord due to the rivalry of ambitious European Powers as to who should possess himself of the apple?' Mr. Ameer Ali ventured to predict that the settlement proposal will not put an end to the discord for the moment: it would only shift the danger-spot from Europe to the East. Again, has 'international control' answered where it has been tried? I might refer to Tangier as an illustration.' Mr. Edward G. Browne takes up the same argument and puts it to the Dismemberment Party: 'Apart from the success of Tangier, all the Anglo-French dual control in Egypt worked to harmoniously that we should wish to try the experiment of a triple control in Constantinople.'

As distinguished from all these and other such arguments of the Partiote, a new and equally strong line of argument is put forward in a recent letter to the Times which appeared over the signature of several eminent men. These letters correspondents do appreciate the Mahommedan sentiment in regard to the Khilafet question. They observe:

It is of vital importance that we should do nothing which would offend the religious sentiment of so large a proportion of the members of our commonwealth and of the French Empire. But we see the stalling of their statement when we come to read their 'unique' reason of justifying the internationalisation of Constantinople. They hope to reconcile the Mahommedans by pointing out that the city as the headquarters of the League of Nations would play a higher role than it has ever been played by that ancient city or any other. From being the seat of the Sultan, it would become the 'world's Temple of Peace.' They also venture to state that the interna-
The Underdrables Removal Bill

Mr Asiaman Secretary B L Africa Indian Association gives the full tone of the bill outlined, an ordinance to provide for the removal of undesirables as below:

1. This Ordinance may be cited as "The Removal of Undesirables Ordinance, 1894."

2. Every person within the protectorate and not being a native of the Protectorate who from information actually received is deemed by the Governor-in-Council to be an undesirables may be ordered by the Governor to remove himself from the protectorate within a date to be prescribed in each order.

3. Any person evading an order given under the preceding section shall be liable as a conviction to a fine not exceeding Rs 1,500 or to imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding 6 months or for both such punishments by the Governor Department of opening and examining all correspondence.

(The From the E. A Chronicle)

WE BILL FOR THE REMOVAL OF UNDESIRABLES.

The following letter has been addressed to the Governor of E Africa by Mr Davis on behalf of his Association:—

I have the honor to inform you that at the Committee meeting of my Association held yesterday, after full and free discussion of the Bill for the removal of undesirables, the following resolution was carried unanimously —

"The Indian Association, Natal, most respectfully but strongly protest against the Bill for the Removal of Undesirable, because the Bill is drafted strictly at the very root of British laws of Liberty and justice, grants the Governor-in-Council arbitrary powers without affording an opportunity of defence to the victim of this Bill and places the liberty of the individual subject of His Majesty the King in the hands of the Government. The Indian Association, therefore, requests the Government to abandon these proposals in the following among other grounds—

(a) That the Bill does not define the word "Undesirable".

(b) That the Bill gives arbitrary powers to the Governor-in-Council without affording opportunity of defense to the victim of this Bill.

(c) That the Bill is framed in such a manner as to be made out of the hands of the Governor-in-Council.

(d) That the Bill as drafted fully in absence of any safeguards whatever, and in view of the representation of Indian interests to the Executive Council, will certainly curtail the liberties of Indian subjects of His Majesty the King.

(e) That in view of the existing law of association it is unavoidable to have fresh legislation in such as this Bill provides.

(f) That the Bill goes to the extreme of the powers which may be outside the accepted Penal Code.

I would like to make it clear that my Association is not against the principle contained in the Bill.

THE CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS

THE INDIAN A FAKIN WITHIN THE EMPIRE.

We give below a summary of Mr Andrews' comments on the Convention Resolutions passed by the Convention of European Associations in B. A.

It is clear, when comparing actual dates that December 1898 and January 1919, were the two months in which the Indian question reached a very critical stage in East Africa. The Executive Committee was at that time bringing its numerous sessions to an end and it was already looking forward to framing the main outlines of its report. The Armistice had just been concluded with the Central powers, and the greatest excitement had been aroused in European minds by Sir Theodore Morison's ill-advised proposal that the conquered territory of German East Africa should be made into a special reserve for Indian colonization. I was in India at the time that this suggestion was made, and I can hear witnesses that the leaders of Indian public opinion either ignored it altogether, or else disowned it.

During the months that followed the Armistice, new boundaries were being marked out on the map of the world every day with bewildering rapidity. It seemed almost impossible, in December 1918, that the Home Government might decide at once, under the sanction of the Great Powers, the fate of the conquered German territory, without any consultation.

This, among other matters, appears to me to account for the very great activity of the European Association in British East Africa on the Indian question as soon after the termination of the War. It was a time of intense excitement, a feverish period of strain and tension.
exhibition, the very worst time for calm constructive statesmanship. The documents, which I shall bring for word in this chapter and in that which follows, have all the earmarks of an unblended and excited national imagination and must be judged accordingly. I must help reading in to the Economic Commission Report itself, where it is when the Indian question, the more excited mental feeling that, at least, is the genuine impression left on me as I have visited them, coming fresh from the outside. And I would add, quite frankly, that I have felt the very atmosphere of this protestation, where I have been living both among Indians and Europeans alike, to be abnormal and the outlook on life to be distorted. I have felt that this long education has been necessary before getting the Convention resolutions, because I am coming more and more to believe that they do not represent the final opinion of my own fellow countrymen, but rather the uninformed opinion of a period of excitement immediately after the war.

It is important to notice that five of the Economic Commissioners took a leading part in the Convention of Associations held at Norwood in January 1919 about which this chapter is written. They are signatories, both to the Economic Commission report on March 21, 1919, and also to the draft resolution, circulated on Dec 21 1918, on behalf of the Convention. Thus they were actively participating in the different Committees dealing with the Indian question at the same time—the one official in character and the other non official. What follows may be taken as representing a very high percentage of European opinion in East Africa.

THE CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS.

The Convention wishes to point out to the Government that during the discussion of the petition of the Indians as also those affecting the native peoples of the country they had the assistance of our Missionaries, one being Roman Catholic and three being from the Missionary Conference, which was sitting in Nairobi at the same time as the Convention.

That whereas our notice has assumed responsibility for the future of the indigenous East Africa peoples and of the countries they inhabit;

And whereas our national ideals of enlightenment and progress are crystallized in our Christian western civilization and it is our duty to make sure that the best can be derived therefrom, so readily available for the needs of awakening Africa;

And whereas the maintenance of this country depends entirely on the prestige and force of character of the White men;

And whereas certain Indians have entered this country as traders, clerks and artisans;

And whereas these people follow all things in our fashion which is Eastern and in many respects remote to ours;

And whereas their social status brings them more frequently into contact with the African and thus subjects him to unwholesome influences, antagonistic to the ideals of the West;

And whereas the Africans has shown that he possesses latent qualities which under Western guidance hold promise of material development, and aptitude for filling various needs of industry, more particularly those which involve the use of mechanical appliances.

And whereas India's competition does not all these to submit the opportunity of advancement;

And whereas the Indian community in this country are gratified for adult suffrage and by this means seek to gain control over the destinies of the country;

And whereas the Imperial Conferences at a meeting held on July 24, 1918, considered the matter of reciprocal migration between India and other component parts of the Empire, and passed four resolutions, of which the principal are as follows:

This is an abstraction of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth including India that each should enjoy complete control over the communities of its own population by means of restrictions on immigration from any other communities.

And whereby the Imperial Conference, on the principle of self-determination shall govern immigration and the composition of population,

We, the Convention of Associations, representing the white community of the country, pray His Excellency the Governor to approach the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies so that the functions thus solemnly pronounced to be inherent in the Government of the British community may be exercised by declaring forthwith that the right of self-determination rests with the Europeans and to trust for the native peoples and should ask the Secretary of State to rule that the position should not be prejudiced by giving any system of franchise to Asians, nor by allowing them to acquire land except on townships, nor by the employment of Asians in Government work and these should be taken as one to restrain Asiatic immigration in order that the strength of European Colonization in East Africa may stand beside her sister Colonies in their Asiatic policy and farther we beg His Excellency the Governor to make known to the Imperial Conference through the 3rd Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, our earnest petition that to the conquered territory, formerly called German East Africa the same policy towards the Asians be applied, for the reasons as given in this country and of the conquered territory are of the same type even to the extent of towns having been formed (several) and numerous railway stations old having been interrupted by the late artificial frontier.

We cannot comprehend the reoccupation of the territory in Germany, of the transmission were uninterrupted and more certain to our hands than the betrayal to the Asiatic of a section of the African peoples whose destinies have fallen into our hands and whose present are unable to protect themselves. We submit that the devs, India or other squatting at the expense of the Natives of Africa would be a policy neither wise nor honourable.

In view of the far reaching issues involving the whole future of the East and Central Africa, which are at stake we the Convention of East Africa pray His Excellency the Governor to make immediate application to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, for the appointment of a Representative, shown by the British Colonies of this country, on the Imperial Conferences Delegates to the Imperial Conferences.

It was proposed, seconded, and carried, that this Convention very strongly urges that it be secured the right to represent the country at the Imperial Conference.

And, in the event of this being unsecured, that Lord Delamarre should be nominated by Government to the post.
EMISSION TO BRITISH GUIANA,
OTHER SIDE OF THE SHIELD

We take the following from a letter which appeared in the Leader of the 11th instant (The correspondent is "Ek Khariaiya Hariya" who has our readers will remember, given a leave study to the question of Indians abroad :)

I am, indeed, much obliged to Mr. J. A. Luckhoo, secretary of the British Guiana Deputation, for the earnest reply that he has given to my letter published in the Leader of Jan 5. No doubt, Mr. Luckhoo's reply contains some valuable information. It is really gratifying to know that the British Guiana Government is ready to pass legislation which will give all the necessary guarantees to the Indian Government, a Declaration of Rights Ordinance, if necessary, will be passed and that the Indian Government will deal directly with the Colonial Government, as a necessary safeguard. Mr. Luckhoo has promised to do all he can for the future advancement of Indians in British Guiana and we ought to be thankful to him for his promise.

Realizing the good intentions of Mr. Luckhoo, I would urge more strongly how to thresh out the whole question as the main experience raises in my previous letter. Here I have already written about the terrible effects of the Marriage Ordinance of British Guiana which released the Indian women and children of Indians in illegitimate marriages. I know of at least two cases of ten years only 70 were recognized as legal. And now I received Mr. Luckhoo's letter. There are stories of great pain and distress which resulted in the death of Indians and the wounding of more than thirty.

Even Mr. McNeill and Chinnamal, who were at that time in British Guiana, had to write to their local papers. The acts of the authorities (in British Guiana) were an unhappy union of harshness and injustice. And what was the result of their harshness and injustice? It came to his death from bullet wound of the head, and to his death from bullet wound of the abdomen. These are a few cases of many hundreds who have died or been wounded.

[An excerpt from a document discussing the challenges faced by Indians in British Guiana, focusing on the situation described by the correspondent, Ek Khariaiya Hariya, in his letter to the Leader on January 5, 1920. The text highlights the need for legislation to protect Indians from illegitimate marriages and the harsh effects of such practices.]
The issuing of the said pamphlet is unauthorised and we disapprove of the conclusions and terms therein set out as the same tend to establish a labour scheme and not a co-operative scheme.

It is noteworthy that Mr. Lushko is the president of the Association. This resolution makes us rather suspicious. The authorities have not been consulted on this question. The British Guiana Imperial Co- operatives Society is not an authorised scheme and the pamphlet disapproves the labour scheme set out in the said pamphlet as unworthy and detrimental to the interests of the Indian Association.

Certainly, this is a serious charge against the Indian members of the British Guiana Deputation, and I hope they will kindly explain how the members used in the pamphlet. Whether they do so not, I am afraid that this scheme which the British Guiana Deputation has put forward, is not approved by the representative body of the Indian residents in the colony. The representative Association has not only disapproved the scheme, but it has even gone to the length of disapproving its president for issuing the unauthorised and misleading scheme.

In connection with this, the following cable from the special correspondent of the London Times, published in its issue of Jan. 16 is significant:

The Indian Overseas Association has been informed that the Imperial Government will give the fullest consideration to the protest and representation of the Indian residents in the colony. The representative Association has not only disapproved the scheme, but it has even gone to the length of disapproving its president for issuing the unauthorised and misleading scheme.

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Mr. Lushko wrote: The percentage of Indians, convicts or beggars among Indians is not higher than that of the rest of the population.

But Dr B. N. Narayen wrote to the London Times from British Guiana. "Let me give you the figures of beggars, lunatics and convicts of the place.

Beggars—60 per cent Indians, 1 per cent Chinese.

Lunatics—78 per cent Indians, 10 per cent negroes and 12 per cent Portuguese.

Convicts—78 per cent Indians, 10 per cent negroes and 12 per cent others.

Now Dr. Shams and Mr. Lushko both are our countrymen. The question is where to believe Mr. Lushko: 'About 78 per cent of the Indians in British Guiana, who, and they say, are convicts, would have lived a "hand-to-mouth" existence in the colony, now a large landowner's son prosperous merchant's.

The British Guiana Indian writer in the London Times of that colony, the pecuniary of the people (English, British Guiana) live a hand-to-mouth existence, which thousands and thousands of us are found in the towns and villages as mechanics, vagrants and beggars, out to squander or many more to the hospitals, the Almshouse and the Lunatic Asylum."

The sentence comes again, shall we believe?

The British Guiana Deputation has been giving a very glowing account of the condition of Indians in the colony. They write in their scheme that Indians new residents to the colony are to be found in all walks of life, e.g., members of the Legislative Assembly, school principal, lawyers, merchants, agriculturists, land owners, druggists, estate hospital dispensers, etc. etc. etc. But the writer whom I have quoted above says that the percentage of those professionals is only about half a dozen.

What will the Labour Save? Nearly a month ago I received a copy of the British Guiana Imperial Co-operative Scheme in the same I read:

Cost of living in British Guiana—The Indian resident should be able from the minimum rate of wages to live comfortably and save about one-third of his earnings. So it means a saving of 35 per cent.

In his letter of the 19th January Mr. Lushko writes to the London Times: 'The labourer earning the minimum wage will be able to live on half of his earnings.' It means 50 per cent saving.

A member of the British Guiana Deputation writes in the Times of India of the 29th January: 'The cost of living in British Guiana is only 37 per cent of the average earnings.' The saving comes to 63 per cent.

Now I see at a loss to understand what the actual saving will be, 50 per cent, 50 per cent, or 63 per cent.

May I request the British Guiana Deputation to explain this sudden increase in the percentage of savings during one month? This is a very important matter. The deputation must take note of the fact that we are not going to send our brethren 14,000 miles away for a mere 5 per cent on the average earnings. Will the deputation please work out the savings, giving precise figures of wages in British Guiana?

Mr. Lushko says: "There is no fear that racial friction will arise. But we must take a long view of the matter. Supposing Indian immigration is resumed, after 30 or 40 years when the Indian migrants build their trade and business; prosperity there is every probability that racial friction will spring up. How are we going to provide against the trade jealousy of the Europeans?"

Mr. Radhakrishna says in an article about the British Guiana Co-operative Scheme: 'Whilst at present there is no strongly-marked anti-Indian feeling in British Guiana, newspaper statements seem to point out that it would not be difficult to work it up. One does not want to see the unnecessary introduction of racial differences where they have not heretofore existed.' Who can say Mr. Radhakrishna is wrong here?

I learn from an article of one of the British Guiana Deputation of that if the scheme is approved, Information heretofore will be established in certain unpopulated districts of the United Provinces, Bihar and Madras. But an ordinary talk is quite illogical and I believe he is expected to make any use of such information heretofore. I can afford these bureaux to degenerate into a form of police depots, and I can imagine simple farmers being brought in to these bureaux by our old friend, the drunks or heretofore the Company and after a few questions and answers by information they would be despatched 14,000 miles away.

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Notes.

Welcome Lalaji! We cannot imagine anything more painful than the enforced separation of any man from his motherland. What must have been the thoughts of Lalaji Dastur who when he was refused a passport to India, the land of his birth and the land he has been serving with the whole of his being, and that too in the cause of the Defence of India? The bitterness of this situation must have made him homesick doubly joyful to him. We assure him that his return has been equally joyful to his countrymen not only in the Punjab but throughout the length and breadth of India. The country is passing through a critical stage and the people naturally long for a proper lead from their trusted leaders. We hope the country will greatly benefit by the rich experience of a long stay in foreign lands which Lalaji brings with him.

The Qib of Indian Culture—It is a happy augury that the leaders of Indian thought are directing their efforts towards determining what system of education would best help the development of the national being. Philosophers, historians, scientists, sociologists, captains of industry and politicians must all combine in arriving at a proper solution of the all-important question. But it is given to the poet to look into the future and draw a prophetic picture for the direction of the rest. The poet is able to see things which others may not see at all even by close search and solemn reasoning. Dr Tagore has given his best thoughts and energy to the solution of the educational problem. His thoughts therefore command respect and careful consideration at the hands of every earnest worker. His thoughts on National education he has put together in a beautiful pamphlet under the title of The Centre of Indian Culture. He has dealt with the problem in all its phases in his usual poetical style where every simile or metaphor comes with the force of an irresistible argument and the joy of an agreeable surprise. We wish our readers will peruse the delight and edification which this pamphlet will yield them. The only way open to us to tempt our readers to go to the original is readily to tear a few sentences from their poetic setting and string them together into a summary which our readers will find elsewhere.

The question of real convenience—Not long ago the appellate bench of the Allahabad High Court gave its decision in a case where an Indian had been convicted under section 100 of the Railway Act for having unlawfully entered a third-class compartment reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians and refusing to leave it when asked to do so. The decision of the appellate bench was that the man was within his rights to enter the compartment as the Railway Act did not empower the authorities to reserve a compartment for a particular class of passengers. Their Lordships however upheld the conviction maintaining that it was merely a case of proving for the general convenience of the travelling public and that such a reservation was therefore legitimate and did not involve racial preference. They however observed that if any citizen of the country found anything objectionable in the rule, he may remedy by through the authority of the Governor-General-in-Council and he had certainly not been left to work out the remedy himself by a deliberate breach of the rule.

Now with regard to the first observation of their Lordships, while we do not dispute their ruling so far the particular Act is concerned, we do dispute the plea advanced by their Lordships that it is merely a case of providing for the general convenience of the travelling public whereas no racial preference or oppression is involved. Apparently their Lordships mean to be totally unacquainted with the condition of the third-class Indian passenger who like his brother European or Anglo-Indian third-class passenger pays the same fare and is therefore privileged to enjoy the same right comfort and convenience as the latter, but who are reeled round up and packed like sardines and not seen human beings, or almost
every railway where there is the ground for belief that the Railway Companies by providing this 'special reservation for one class of passengers' have at heart and at all times to provide for the accommodation and convenience of these passengers generally'. Even if the phrase 'providing for the general convenience of the travelling public' were interpreted the other way as it was done in a case of similar nature in the Benamoy Court, viz., that the mass of 3rd class travelling public, the orthodox Hindus do not believe, certain habits of the European and the Anglo-Indian such as eating beef or mutton, it cannot be a sufficient excuse for and does not justify this exclusive reservation. For when an Indian knowledgeably and of his own will, comes and occupies the compartment-provided there is no occasion— it follows that he has an equal scruple and objection against the European's habits are. As instances of this nature can be cited of the Kalka-Sanawar Railway where compartments are reserved for untouchables but if any other member of the travelling public desires to share the accommodation, he can do so provided the number does not exceed the prescribed limit.

We do not however grudge our European or Anglo-Indian brothers the necessary comfort and convenience which, as a human being, is entitled to. But it is, the accommodation provided by reservation for the Europeans and Anglo-Indians is much more of proportion both as to their number and necessary convenience. This does not mean that, because we are huddled up like cattle and thrown as a heap we want them also to share our fate. But what we want is that regard should be paid and provision be made, at least for some measure of convenience of the Indian passenger as well. Otherwise the feeling of racial prejudice and oppression creeps up whenever such a case may like to disregard it.

Thus as regards their Lordships' second observation in the right of an individual to seek remedy in a breach of a rule, even we are already well known. A deliberate breach of a rule which is intended to have no legal, much less a moral sanction is an officer. Of course we always say that this is a remedy to be applied in such a case as it is absolutely necessary to get a wrong righted and when all other legal means such as petitioning and appealing have failed. In this particular instance however, we are of opinion that instead of going to the Governor-General to get the particular rules of reserving compartments for Europeans and Anglo Indians rescinded, it would be far more valuable, and to our mind effective, if we directed our united energies in bringing the right cause of such complaints permanently removed by pressing on the Railway companies the need of providing greater accommodation and convenience for the large mass of 3rd class passengers, than exists at present.

To the Inventors of the Improved Spinning Wheel—We may state in reply to inquirers that several competitors are in correspondence with Mr. Gandhi in connection with the progress they have made as a tree attempts to manufacures a good machine doing the work of the common reiva and shawls. The time for making this machine was the 31st March last. Mr. Gandhi will be the judge and his will be the last word. The cost of the machine is Rs. 5,000.

HINDU MAHOMEDAN UNITY

(By M. N. Gandhi.)

Mr. Castle some time ago asked us in an interview whether, if we were anxious in my preference for Hindu Mahomedan Unity, I would eat and drink with a Mahomedan and give my daughter in marriage to a Mahomedan. This question has been asked again by some friends in another form. Is it necessary for Hindu Mahomedan Unity that there should be intermarriage and intermixing? The questioners say that if the two are necessary, real unity can never take place because scores of Hindus would never reconcile themselves to intermarriage, much less to intermixing.

I am one of those who do not consider caste to be a harmful institution. In its origin caste was wholesome, and promoted national well being. In my opinion the idea that intermarriage or intermixing is necessary for national growth, is a superstition borrowed from the West. Eating is a process just as vital as the other sanitary processes of life. And if mankind had not, much to its harm, made of eating a fetish and indulgence, we would have performed the operation of eating in private even moreso it performs the other necessary functions of life in private. Indeed the highest culture in Hinduism regards eating in that light, and there are thousands of Hindus still living who will not eat their food in the presence of anybody, I even recall the names of several cultured men and women who ate their food in secret, for fear their privacy might be interfered with. They all lived in the midst of society.

Intermarriage is still more difficult question. If brothers and sisters are to live on the friendliest footing without ever thinking of marrying each other, I can see no difficulty in my daughter regarding every Mahomedan brother and sister I hold strong views on religion and on marriage. The greater the restraint we express with regard to our appetites whether about eating or marrying, the better we become from a religious standpoint. I should despair of ever cultivating amiable relations with the world if I had to recognize the right or the propriety of any young man offering himself in marriage to my daughter or to regard it as necessary for me to dine with anybody and everybody. I claim that I am living on terms of friendship with the whole world, not because I have never quarrelled with a single Mahomedan or Christian, but for years have taken nothing but fruit in Mahomedan or Christian households. I would most certainly decline to eat cooked food from the same plate with my son or to drink water out of the same cup which he or she have touched and which has not been washed. But the restraint or the exclusiveness or asceticism in these matters by me has never affected the closest companionship with the Mahomedans or the Christian friends or my own.
But interdining and intermarriage have never been a bar to discord, quarrels and worse. The Pandavas and the Kauravas flew at one another's throats without composson although they intermarried and intermarried. The intercourse between the English and the Germans has not yet died out.

The fact is that intermarriage and interdining are not necessary factors in friendship and unity though they are often emblems thereof. But insanities on either side can easily become as today, a bar to Hindu-Mahomedan unity. If we make ourselves believe that Hindus and Mahomedans cannot be one unless they intermarry or interdine, we would be creating an artificial barrier between us which might be almost impossible to remove. And it would seriously interfere with the growing unity between Hindus and Mahomedans if, for example, Mahomedan youths consider it lawful to court Hindu girls. The Hindu parents will not even if they suspected any such thing freely admit Mahomedans to their homes as they have begun to do now. In my opinion it is necessary for Hindus and Mahomedan young men to recognize this limitation.

I hold it to be utterly impossible for Hindus and Mahomedans to intermarry or interdine, in fact, to respect each other's religion. And the true history of Hindu Mahomedan Unity has much more to do with his own religion and yet being free to each other. For, we are thinking of Hindus and Mahomedans even of the most orthodox type. Being able to regard one another as natural friends instead of regarding one another as natural enemies as they have done hitherto.

What then does the Hindu Mahomedan Unity commit in and how can it be best promoted? The answer is simple. It amounts to our having a common purpose, a common goal and common sorrows. It is that promoted by cooperation to reach the common goal, by sharing one another's sorrows and by mutual toleration. A common goal we have. We wish this great country of ours to be greater and self-governing. We have enough sorrows to share. And today we see that the Mahomedans are deeply touched on the question of Khilafat and their cause is just, aching and must be powerful for winning Mahomedan friendship for the Hindus so to give his whole-hearted support to the Mahomedans. No amount of drinking out of the same cup or drawing out of the same bowl can band the two as they help in Khilafat question.

And mutual toleration is a necessity for all times and for all races. We cannot live in peace if the Hindu will not tolerate the Mahomedan form of worship of God and his masters and customs or if the Mahomedans will not tolerate the Hindu form of cow worship. It is not necessary for toleration that I must approve of what I tolerate. I heartily dislike drinking, meat-eating and smoking, but I tolerate all these in Hindoos and the Mahomedans because from each wanting to force the other to his view,

THE ONLY SOLUTION.

The working of the Reforms, all have agreed, requires cooperation between Government and the people. But the preparation for these Reforms needs a greater cooperation among the people themselves. Before the Reforms come into actual operation, rules have to be made under no fewer than nineteen sections of the Bill. The whole burden of this preparation appears to have been put by the Joint Committee on the Viscoy and his colleagues, but there is no doubt that the Government of India will share this responsibility with the people. Several committees will have to be appointed. Among the questions before these committees, the question of representation in the various aspects is expected to be the most controversial. Increase of rural as compared with urban representation in the council, provision for representation of the urban wage-earning class, additional representation of the depressed classes, reservation of a proportion of seats for the non-Brahmans of Madras and the Mahrattas of Bombay, conditions of the franchise for women where it is adopted by local authorities, revision of landholders' representation and revision of European representation in Bengal—these lists of the various aspects indicate the form that this controversy may take. We may find the controversy between provinces, classes, communities and races.

One of these controversies is already raised in Madras. The non-Brahmans of the state have refused to be satisfied with the various proposals of partition for them. We are not here dealing with any particular of these proposals. We only wish to suggest our solution of the question of representation in general. The representation of Mahomedans in the Madras University as another question of the same sort before us. These and the like questions are sure to arise on account of the self-consciousness arising in the various classes and communities of the nation. To stop this self-consciousness properly is in the interests of the nation as a great responsibility on our leaders from more enlightened states and provinces. This responsibility lies in creating the newly awakening part of the society, a true spirit of cooperation and to create such a spirit co-operation, leaders coming from the more enlightened sections have ever to return to the people. This liberal brotherhood and self-consciousness underlying a liberal policy repays for all the sacrifice that it demands in its initial stages. Any other policy will multiply the intensities of the problem.

We do not feel any difficulties in securing a proper response to our request from the associations which claim to be more enlightened than others, and their leaders. For, the liberal spirit like the trust-for-district policy is shown in all the other banks and by some of these leaders. The other day in the Madras Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Narayana Iyer gave a magnificent reply when he was told that a Punishment rule would be the result of the compulsion education. He said that if the Punishments were raised to the height, he would shun not tears of blood, but tears of joy. It is this spirit above that will solve many of the knotty questions of to-day. Would to God that the selection of such a spirit spreads far and wide.
HOME-RULE AND HOME-DEFENCE.

But there is one gift which yet remains and which the progress of a country cannot be consummated, the right of her people to direct her affairs and defend her interests. The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of common imperial interest and pride. The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may be generously expected to take upon her shoulders. The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment—Royal Proclamation.

These memorable words were uttered by His Majesty the King-Emperor in his Royal Proclamation to the people of this country. These words heralded the Royal Assent to the Government of India Act which in the words of the Proclamation gives an opportunity for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase in the control and internal administration of our country. The Reform Act gives an opportunity in the direction of the civil government of the country. There yet remains to be given a similar if not equal opportunity in the sphere of military administration, which, it is hardly necessary to emphasise, exists for the defence of our country from foreign aggression—a duty defined in the Royal Proclamation as one of common imperial interest and pride.

At the same time it forms a provision for the internal defence of the country which again is a part and parcel of the domestic concerns referred to above and wherein His Majesty has conceived to be an ever-growing opportunity. The question now arises, are we Indians going to be given this opportunity and if so, in what form?

The Pioneer which is supposed to know and speak the Government mind beforehand with some knowledge and accuracy tells us that the Government of India is contemplating an Act which is to replace the Indian Defence Act on its expiry. The Pioneer further tells us that Netaji Subrahmanya is the author of the Act and that it applies only to European British subjects in India, who are to receive pay and allowances for their drill and military service. We are thus left to understand that no provision is to be made and no opportunity is to be given to Indians to take their rightful share in the internal defence of their country. This looks incredible and causes grave apprehensions. All that we can feel towards is the extreme nervousness and over-sensitivity of the Government to safeguard and protect its European British subjects with formidable weapons against all emergencies. We have however nothing to say against this. But we do want to say that any measure which reduces the least opportunity to the Indian subject of His Majesty in the discharge of the burden of defence of his country whether from foreign aggression or from internal disturbances, and places upon the European and Europeans alone the entire responsibility of this defense, is calculated to hurt and humiliate to the utmost our national pride and susceptibilities and undermine the very root and the letter and spirit of the Proclamation. For, has not His Majesty recognising the inherent right of his Indian subject to direct his country's affairs and defend his interests, expressly declared that the defence of India against foreign aggression was a duty of common imperial interest and pride, that the control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may generously expect to take upon her shoulders and that opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase in the exercise of this control and in the fulfilment of this obligation?

And we ask, not the internal defence of the country a part of her domestic concerns? And if opportunity is not forthcoming for the Indian people in the near future to fulfill this obligation, it will go far to destroy the spirit of which the Government of India Act is an embodiment. It will thwart the expressed wishes of His Majesty and defeat the very object and the letter and spirit of the Royal Proclamation. And the burden and responsibility of so doing will lie on the shoulders of those in whose lands His Majesty's wishes have been frustrated for their faithful and accurate execution.

While on this particular measure for the supposed origin and existence of which the Pioneer's statement is responsible, we are naturally drawn to the work and proceedings of the Army Committee now sitting at Delhi. The Committee has collected and continues to collect a mass of evidence on matters pertaining to the Army in India and its reorganisation. The whole business of the Committee is being conducted as a camera and we do not know the substance or the nature of the enquiry and the problems the Committee proposes to deal with and report upon. While we are already thus placed at a disadvantage the Englishman somehow believes that it is pretty certain that the report will not be made public. We recognise that secrecy in matters of strategic value may be necessary but hearing in mind the manifold importance of the question and the urgent need of immediate reform both as regards the efficiency and organisation of the army, we would insist that the report when submitted should be made public and the country given an opportunity to know the nature of the recommendations of the Committee. As we said there are a number of important things that the committee has to report upon. One of these is doubtless about the question of throwing open the King's commissions to Indians without racial restrictions and limitations, and on equal terms and status with the European British subject of His Majesty. Whatever may be the nature of the evidence submitted before the commission we are confident that the commission, while considering this question will not only bear in mind the fitness of the Indian as shown by his apti-
THE IDEAL OF EDUCATION IN INDIA.

On each hand is the duty laid, to keep alive the own lamp of mind, as its part in the illumination of the world. India has proved that it has its own mind which has deeply thought and felt and tried to solve according to its light the problem of existence. This mind of India has to be concentrated and made common of itself and then only can it accept education from its teachers in a right spirit, judge it by its own standard and make use of it by its own creative power.

The idea is that, in education, the most important factor must be the inspiring atmosphere of creative activity. This should be brought together and full scope given to them for their work of intellectual exploration, and the teaching should be like the overflow water of the spring of culture, spontaneous and unchangeable.

The last point in that education should be in full touch with our complete life, economic, intellectual, social and spiritual.

MONEY OR MONEY-EGGS.

The modern Indian Educational system has grown so familiar to us as our own physical body, unconscious giving rise to the belief that it is never be changed. Yet just there lurks, in some depth of our self-satisfaction, a sleep which does not last too deep to be wakened. We say that the only thing wrong in our education is, that it is not in our absolute control, that the boat is not ours, only the help lies in our own hands to secure the future and pass on to our children. We have only external freedom to initiate foreign institutions. It is uselessness to blame our foreign authorities. Let us blame our own weakness in being obsessed by the idea that we must have some artificial wonder-egg of an education of foreign make, simply because we imagine that we have no legs of our own to stand upon.

We imagine that we are living in a solution of the best postgraduate of Cambridge, Oxford and a host of the European Universities, patched together in an eclectic perfection. We forget that the European Universities are living organs of the life of Europe, where each finds its natural bush. The European Universities exist before our eyes full-grown. That is why we cannot think of a University except as a fully developed institution. An hope that striving for results and an unfortunate weakness for hallucination have led us to cherish such an unreal desire for a National University full-fledged from its very birth. But these would be like hard boiled eggs which you cannot repeat without getting a new sort of blisters. For our European school-master seems to have forgotten that his University has grown with the growth of the nation. It was the indirect means which were the source of his educational prosperity as the first teachers and most of the students at one time were poor. I quite understand that

and as it seems to eat it out of, are both useful to man.

Not that there is a shortage of food, a necessity to regard to which has also become necessary. Nor that the ... and the professional idea of the importance of the teaching art. But simplicity is the heard of luxury. To be simple without becoming poor is the problem which each must solve according to his temperament.

PERMANENT SCHOOL-BOYS.

What then is the ideal course of education that is to be taken? To begin with, it was nearly six hundred years ago when we first entered our English school, and we have not even yet been able to get out of it, we have permanently remained school-boys. We have not the same kind of shelter as it is a refuge in the trap—the threats to us so awkwardly entertaining.

That education is true which acknowledges the mind to be a living thing and therefore stimulates it. It grows not merely in quality, and quantity, but what is imported from the outside. Let us judge our education by these standards. We have been repeating great words, learning great truth, and thinking great thoughts. But in reality we have simply become clerks, deputy magistrates, pleaders or physicians. Though our physics are now practicing in every town and village and hamlet, all this extensive experience of theirs has not resulted in any new theory or great fact being added to the sources of medicine. And who shall make good the vital thing that is lost, when students never become masters? Yet I cannot admit this is due to any inherent defect in our natural powers. In the past our mind was living according to its requirements, we made our own inventions and experiments, we tried to discover principles and build hypotheses and apply them to life. True originality is not lacking among our people, only it is cramped down under the dead pressure of a mechanical method and the callousness of contemptuous management.

INTELLECTUAL ARIDIA.

All organs begin live like a flame, a long way beyond themselves. They bore that a smaller and a larger body. When we see a foreign university, we see only its smaller body. Its larger body is in the Parliament, in the numerous activities of its corporate life. But the modern European culture, whose truth and strength lies in its final mobility, comes to us predictably, where we have been living in our own little culture. We are only ignorant of foreign culture, but also we have been in a foreign standard of judgment, we are becoming worse in our intellectual and lack intellectual courage.

This has made us miss the dynamical character of living truth. Thus while the English mind has passed through different words and standards, we have merely hopped behind them missing the modification of life.

BEGGARS WHO CANNOT REPAY.

Condemnation of life is only by living agency. To our misfortune we have, in our own country, all the furniture of the European University except the human teacher. We find our student to be "unsustainable" even to our lecturing professors.

Until we are in a position to prove that the world has need of us, that we are not merely hang-ups on the world-business we cannot repay to our own soul help in giving others' favours. And these we must extend, sometimes by lamentations, sometimes by liturgy, sometimes by mental service and show other constitutional methods of wagging tails. Only to him who hath is given, otherwise both the gift is snatched and he who receives it.
AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. GANDHI

"Our people cannot advance spiritually, until they clean up..."

(From the Indian Times, Bombay.)

As I talk with Mr. Gandhi, I am reminded of the simplicity of his dress. He wore a white cotton dhoti, with a white cotton shirt over his body to protect him from the sun. A little white cap was on his head, covering his ears. As he sat on the floor facing me, I asked myself, how can this little man, with his thin face and large protruding ears, and spastic manner, be the great Gandhi about whom I have heard so much. All doubts were set aside, when we began to talk. I was convinced with all the authorities that Mr. Gandhi was in no way the despised and humiliated man that people had made him out to be. In my short interview I met the same heart-to-heart fellowship with him in which I had found it in those moments with some of God's saints. I told him that this man had more to the South of Christian strength and had learned from the great Christ.

"Mr. Gandhi, what are the woes of the West, that are deepening the all-round development of the East, and particularly of India?" Mr. Gandhi answered the question in a direct manner. "India is just now in the state of realization that has transformed a few that is real and responsible. From my observation of the West, particularly in your own country, I have learned two outstanding facts. First, squalor, ignorance, and poverty; secondly, I am fully convinced that my people must advance spiritually, until they clean up. Your people are wonderfully energetic. To a large extent, it has been money after things material. If Indian people could save some amount of energy, rightly channeled, they would receive a great blessing..."

"Mr. Gandhi, will you kindly tell me how Christianity can best help India in view of the spirit of nationalism that is abroad?" He replied, "What we need, most of all is sympathy. When I was in Africa, I found this illustration. I had to dig some artesian wells to reach water. The people of the West come out here to seek my people only scratch the surface. If I was writing a history of India, they would read a stream of life that were articulate..."

"And will you kindly tell me, Mr. Gandhi, what book of the Bible do you study?" I said. "Oh, of course, I was prepared to hear him say something about the Vedas and several others. In their books, which Christian people should be conversant with. I was not prepared to hear from the lips of this man, the modernism of three Buddhist books that I sand at his hand. He bluntly confessed that he was not an unacquainted reader, but rather a careful selector of the very best. The order in which he spoke of the books was as follows: 'The Bible, Yezdah, Tolstean.' Speaking of the Bible, he said, 'There have been many times when I did not know which way to turn. I have gone to the Bible, and particularly the New Testament, and have drawn strength from its message.'"

"I was surprised to hear how his Metropolitan Association, composed of the finest of the educated men in the city, could further the city's welfare. In reply to the question, he gave me this word. 'Struggle!' He said, 'I employ that word in all its meaning. If the members would get out and help a helping hand to clean up the city, literally and morally, they would do a great work.'"

S. W. Clemens.

[We are about to the J. S. Informer-Ed. X., L]
INDIANS IN E AFRICA

CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS

Mr. Andrews’ View

MR. ANDREWS’ VIEW

THE INDIAN AFRICAN WITHIN THE EMPIRE

(Concluded from our last issue)

There are certain points in connection with these Na-

THE NEW INDIA.

India herself has been welcomed as a self-governing

eral Convention Resolutions which are worthy of special

THEIR MEANING.

Interpreting as well as I can the conclusions

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Mr. Andrews’ View

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YOUNG INDIA. February 25, 1900.

RAJAHING THE AFRICAN, ON EXACTLY THE SAME GROUNDS AS THE INDIANS. THE FACT IS THAT HE HAD BEEN AN INVERTER INTO THE INDIAN AFRICA'S COUNTRY ONLY A LITTLE LONGER THAN THE INDIANS SHOULD SAFELY BE ALLOWED TO STAND IN THE WAY OF REAL LOGICAL CONSIDERATION.

A RECONSIDERATION

Now that the Government of East Africa Protectorate and also the Imperial Government itself, have revoked the judgments of the Native Commissioner and the Commissioner of the British Mofu, the time has come for a reconsideration of the whole position by all parties concerned. I am of the opinion that the native police force in East Africa should be immediately abolished, and that an arrest made in the case of any native who has been guilty of rebellion or resistance to the authority of the British Government.

RIOT AND REPRESSIO

(The Manchester Guardian.)

The Indian National Congress, meeting at a plane of mutual feeling, has passed resolutions condemning the Amritsar mob, but the situation has remained unchanged. The conclusion of the mob was moved by Mr. Dyer, the leader of the passive resistance movement. The members, on the other hand, have been declared by the Indian Police as being under arrest. The Indian people do not wish to see themselves in a state of conflict with the British, and it is for us to clear ourselves of the methods of their use, which seem to be leading to a new movement. The National Congress, while condemning the mob, also demands the removal of General Dyer, who ordered the firing upon the crowd, and of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who is alleged to have expressed approval of the killing of the Indian people.

Of the feelings which have been expressed by people all over the world, there is no doubt that the world at large is concerned about the fate of those who have been involved in the East African disturbances. The feelings of the British Government are entirely those of the people, and we are all united in the hope that the situation will be brought to a peaceful conclusion.

The British Government has been declared to be responsible for the actions of the British soldiers, and it has been stated that the British soldiers were acts of the British Government. The British Government has been asked to take steps to prevent the recurrence of similar outbreaks in the future.

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Of the feelings which have been expressed by people all over the world, there is no doubt that the world at large is concerned about the fate of those who have been involved in the East African disturbances. The feelings of the British Government are entirely those of the people, and we are all united in the hope that the situation will be brought to a peaceful conclusion.

The British Government has been declared to be responsible for the actions of the British soldiers, and it has been stated that the British soldiers were acts of the British Government. The British Government has been asked to take steps to prevent the recurrence of similar outbreaks in the future.
The Imperial Council Proceedings.—One of the most important resolutions in the Council was the one moved by the Hon. Sir George Barnes, of appointing a committee to examine the trade statistics and to consider and report to the Governor General in Council whether it is desirable to apply to the Indian customs tariff a system of preference in favor of the goods of Empire-origin. The Hon. Sir George Barnes, while moving this resolution, said that the principle of Imperial Preference was adopted in the tariff of the United Kingdom. This has made in Sir George’s opinion, Imperial Preference a question of practical politics for India. He observed that the adverse decision of Lord Curzon’s Government was based on some measure on the danger of reprisals by foreign nations. He suggested that the danger was not today a real one as it seemed to Lord Curzon’s Government. He added, the position is further changed by the adoption of a policy of preference in other parts of the Empire. He pointed out how the position has changed over the last, the date when Sir Gangeswar Chatterjee made the speech on Imperial Preference in 1813. Sir George would now be entitled to a preference if he had any to export but unfortunately India was an importer of sugar and not an exporter. With regard to cotton goods, he said, “there was then an import duty of 30 per cent and a corresponding excise duty of 10 per cent. The import duty today has,” he told the Council, “been raised since then to 75 per cent while the excise duty remains at its old figure.”

He further explained that he referred to this matter because in the view of the Government of India, it should be made a condition of the acceptance of the principle of Imperial Preference by India that the excise duty on certain piece-goods should be totally removed. He emphasized that the resolution was not one of Imperial Preference but only for the appointment of a committee.

The 1st Mr. Curzon said that it was not the scope of the resolution to enlarge so as to embrace the best methods of considering the future fiscal policy of India. The resolution was then put to vote and carried as amended.

We think with the Hon. Sir Damodar Waghela that the country must be consulted fully. And we hope that in such a matter the counsel of our leading men in commerce and industry will ultimately prevail.

Another question just akin to that of Imperial Preference and of equal importance, was that of fiscal policy. The Hon. Mr. Patel moved for the appointment of a committee to investigate the question of the fiscal policy to be adopted hereafter by the Government of India on the result of the recommendations of Lord Selborne’s Committee and devise and suggest such arrangements as seem to be best fitted to the needs of India as an integral part of the Empire. The Hon. Sir George Barnes, in behalf of the Government, stated that the Committee appointed the previous day (with regard to Imperial Preference) would consist of commercial men and deal with the questions suggested by Mr. Curzon. The resolution was rejected by 44 voting for and 40 against it. This decision requires us to watch the proceedings and the decision of the Imperial-Preference-Committee more anxiously and effectively.

The full exposition of the Royal clemency was another subject discussed in the Council. The Hon. Mr. Patel moved that the Viceroy be pleased to give fullatory to the letter and spirit of the Royal Proclamation in regard to clemency to political offenders. He complained Mr. Bomanji’s case was still hanging in the balance. Mr. Kapadia supporting the resolution referred to the case of Sawai Banjar Singh, who was said, had promised to be law-abiding. The Hon. Mr. Meherchand on behalf of the Government said the number of offenders released under the several Ordinances and Acts were 1210, but relief was given to persons convicted in the Punjabi disturbances. Before amnesty was proclaimed, 39 persons sentenced by the Military Law...
sufficiently dearly to both the parties? Will the Government learn a lesson from their past experiences and mistakes? Is it too late to mend? Then, why adopt that stiff and unbending attitude towards the common opinion of the country against a measure which cannot be defended by any political or ethical moral, much less, justified by expediency or necessity. The King has called upon his officials to effect all traces of past bitterness. How else can that be achieved except by steps like these?

Who is really responsible—Our London Correspondent writes—

In your issue of January 7, you referred to the appointment of Sir Michael O'Flyer to the Indian Army Commission, and said, "It would have been at least prudent not to have needlessly irritated public opinion. But having sent him back to India, Mr. Montagu's imagination failed him when he selected Sir Michael for his Military Commission."

With the sentiments expressed in the first sentence all friends of India and of common decency will agree, but I have the best reason for knowing that Mr. Montagu had no responsibility whatever in the matter. I am informed upon excellent authority that Sir Michael's appointment was made without his knowledge by the Army Council. I hope that you will make this clear.

Young India.
Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 3rd March, 1920

THE AMBIVALENT APPEALS

(By M K Gandhi)

So these appeals have been dismissed in spite of the advocacy of the best counsel that were obtainable. The Pray Council has confirmed lawless procedure. I must confess that the judgment does not come upon me quite as a surprise, though the remarks of the judges as Sir Simon was developing his argument on behalf of the appellants, led me to expect a favourable verdict. My opinion based upon a study of political cases is that the judgments even of the highest Tribunals are not infallible by subtle political considerations. The most elaborate precautions taken to produce a purely judicial mind must break down at critical moments. The Pray Council cannot be free from the limitations of all human institutions which are good enough only for normal conditions. The consequence of a decision favourable to the people would have exposed the Indian Government to indescribable discredit from which it would have been difficult to free itself for a generation.
The political significances can be gauged from the fact that as soon as the news was received in Lahore all the preparations that were made to accord a fitting welcome to Liaqat Ali were immediately cancelled and the Capital of the Punjab was reported to be in deep mourning. Deeper distress, therefore, now attaches to the Government by reason of the judgment, because rightly or wrongly the popular opinion will be that there is no justice under the British Constitution when large political or racial considerations are involved.

There is only one way to avoid the catastrophe. The House and especially the Indian mind quickly responds to generosity. I hope that without the necessity of an agitation or petitions the Punjab Government or the Central Government will immediately cancel the death sentences and if at all possible, simultaneously set the appellants free.

This is required by two considerations each equally important. The first, is that of restoring public confidence which I have already mentioned. The second is reenforcement of the Royal Proclamation in the latter. That great political document orders the release of all the political offenders who may not by their release prove a danger to society. No one can possibly suggest that the twenty-one appellants will, if they are set free, in any shape or form constitute a danger to society. They never had committed any crimes before. Most of them were regarded as respectable and orderly citizens. They were not known to belong to any revolutionary society. If they committed any crimes at all, they were committed only under the stimulus of the moment and under what to them was grave provocation. Moreover, the public believe that the majority of the convictions by the Judicial Law Tribunals were unsupported by any good evidence. I, therefore, hope that the Government, which have so far been doing well in discharging political offenders even when they were caught in the act, will not hesitate to release these appellants and thus earn the goodwill of the whole of India. It is not a set of generally done in the hour of triumph which is the most effective. And in the popular opinion the dismissal of the appeal has been regarded as a triumph for the Government.

I would respectfully plead with the Punjab friends not to lose heart. We must calmly prepare ourselves for the worst. If the convictions are good if the men convicted have been guilty of murders or unmansions to murder, why should they escape punishment? If they have not committed these crimes as we believe most at least have not, why should we accept the usual fate of all who are trying to rise a step higher? Why should we bear the sacrifice if we would win? No nation has ever risen without sacrifice and sacrifices can only be spoken of in connection with innocence and not with crime.

EMIGRATION TO FIJI

We publish elsewhere a letter received by Mr. Gandhi from the Lord Bishop of Polynesia in reply to the several letters written by Mr. Gandhi on Indian emigration. We gladly assure his Lordship that we credit him with honest intentions and kind motives. But we feel that there is a difference between us of view. With us the moral is the chief determining factor. We therefore need not challenge the proportion that the emigrants in Fiji have left their material prospects, though we draw his Lordship's attention to the following startling figures quoted in one of our October issues by Mr. Beasants from Annual Emigration Reports—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No of Emigrants</th>
<th>No of those who returned, brought no savings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1561</td>
<td>2714 (or 17.8 percent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>2861</td>
<td>2118 (or 73 percent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1520</td>
<td>1043 (or 61 percent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>1661 (or 76.3 percent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His Lordship quotes Mr. Andrews' testimony in favour of a free emigration scheme. It is well known that Mr. Andrews changed his views afterwards and on further reflection abandoned his scheme entirely. What Mr. Gandhi has stated is really unaffected by anything that Mr. Andrews has written. Mr. Gandhi's chief point is that Indians cannot gain moral advantage by going to an atmosphere which is still subject with the effects of slavery and moral degradation. We would moreover point out to his Lordship that the question lying at the bottom of the controversy is whether emigration to Fiji under free and better conditions should be stimulated. There is nothing otherwise to prevent an Indian from emigrating as a free agent to any part of the world which could recover him. It is clear to us that for the time being at any rate it would be most indefensible to stimulate free emigration to Fiji. The reports of the riots are disquieting. The appointment of special constables and shooting may or may not have been necessary. But the fact is, there was a big strike and rioting—big enough to require firing to suppress it, shows that there is discontent. The latter itself may have been fomented by agitators as has been reported by the Governor or it may be due to just causes. The Commission appointed by the Governor must throw light on the question. The moral however of the story is obvious. Our motive should be 'stay as you are,' sufficient unto the day as evil thereof.'

A non-official committee will forthwith proceed to Fiji in order to investigate the conditions there and report upon the scheme presented by the Deputation headed by the Lord Bishop. We think that what is more urgent at the present moment is the representation from here on the Committee appointed to inquire into the riots. The report should bring to light many facts which will materially assist us in forming conclusions on the proposed scheme.
THE CENTRE OF INDIAN CULTURE

THE IDEAL OF EDUCATION

(Concluded from the last issue.)

HANUMAN CARRYING THE MOUNTAIN-TOP

For the perfect insinuation of learning a foreign language cannot be a true medium. The education which we receive from our Universities, takes it for granted that it is for cultivating a hopeless desert and that not only the mental outlook and the knowledge but also the whole language must bodily be imported from across the sea. So far as my experience goes, a considerable proportion of pupils are naturally disinclined to the power of learning language. So like the Hanuman of our ancient Epos, who, not knowing what help might be wanted, had to carry away the whole mountain top, these boys unable to use the language intelligently have to carry in their heads the whole of the book by rote. What a terrible waste of natural material to set off all higher educational facilities from the thousands of pupils who have as gift for acquiring a foreign tongue, but who possess the intellect and desire to learn.

"Not what about the text-books!" men will say. Yes, there are some. But we cannot very well expect a man to go on working, if the same are refused circulation.

CONCENTRATION OF INTELLECTUAL FORCES

In the natural course of things the water comes first and then comes the fish—in the presence of the learned man which draws the students around them, if their wish is to learn, and not merely to be barked, like a saleable commodity by the stamp of their market-value. Let us therefore forever throw to the winds all annoyance as to syllable and as to students also, and cry that those, who have successfully passed through the discipline of cultivating their minds who are ready to produce and therefore to impart, may come together and take up their seats of students striving, doing splendidly their own work of exploration and discovery in the region of knowledge. In this way will be concentrated the power which shall be adequate for the spontaneous creation of a university from within ourselves, in all the truth of life. It shall be the centre of the creative life of the nation and then moral.

UNITY IN VARIETY

The bringing about of an intellectual unity in India is, I am told, difficult to the verge of impossibility owing to the fact that India has so many different languages. But all these obstacles have been built upon the hallowed rock of difficulties. We cannot bravely accept the same fact of the diversity of our languages and at the same time know that a foreign language him foreign and may not be for that cultivation which is widely and permanently necessary for the maintenance of life. India is not like any one of the great empires of Europe, but like Europe herself branching out into different peoples having different languages. And yet Europe has a common civilization with an intellectual unity which is not based upon uniformity of languages in the earlier stage of culture the whole of Europe had Latin for her language of learning. It was his who introduced himself into the literature of India, taking with his pen of self-expression was closed into one pole of the great European languages found on different languages, then only the detectives of cultures become possible in the West, and the surrender of ideas in Europe become a merely passive and in reality active.

There was a time when we in India worked at the problem of life, we freely made experiments. The same we arrived at which cannot be ignored merely because they are different from those of Europe. But they must move to the sum-total of life.

THE KEY-NOTE OF THE AGE

For too long have we kept our culture cut-off from the regions of our indigenous Sanskrit Pathshala—for mere respect makes for unapproachability as much as undue contempt. Thus because the Makaad of our country while foreign tongues found their strength from its perfect freedom of movement and growth and its Sarvamane transformed the situation like Shogun. It will not do to keep our culture so reverently shrouded with the robe of gold. New is the age for co-ordination and co-operation. Adjustment of knowledge through comprehensive study and progress in intellectual co-operation is to be the keynote of the coming age. We must hear our own staves in a symphony of all the cultures we have.
We are faced with two stupendous problems—the first is that of the poverty of our material life. I have come to the conclusion that for the perfection of our mental life the co-ordination of our cultural resources is necessary. Our material poverty, likewise, can only be removed by the co-ordination of our material resources through the co-ordination of our powers.

VISHWA-BHARATI

A delicate question remains to be considered. What must be the religious teaching that is to be given in the lands of Indian culture or Vishva-Bharati? Religious seeds are sown in every country and in every age, owing to the diversity of mental resources. There will always be many, who, by tradition and temperament, find special solace in belonging to a particular sect. In spite of religious funds and consequent bloodshed I am endeavoured to assert that there can be wide meeting place where all sects may gather together and forget differences. Our forefathers dispersed all over the earth, and in the present we have the immemorial peace that is above the world to those who believe that in marching forward can be fed from the rear. But we must not imagine that we are one of these disorganized peoples of the world.

THE JOY OF LIFE

We have almost completely ignored the aesthetic life of man leaving it uncultivated, allowing it to grow down. But poetry, music and the fine arts are among the highest means of natural self-expression wherein the complete personality of a people finds its utterance. But where are our arts which are like the outpouring of springs, the spontaneous overflow of our deeper nature of our spiritual abundance of wealth? Must we educate the education of a press-house? Do we not know that the joy of life is only the other side of the strength of life? The timber of our strength may be that the flowers and fishes are more valuable ornaments of a tree, but he will know in his heart that these are superfluities, the timber also follows them. It is the wholesomeness of a plant, which is indicated. Art in the proposed course of our culture music and art must have their own specific cost of honor and not merely a formal end of recognition.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

If my ideal of the centre of Indian culture has any truth, it can be, and therefore must be, realized at all costs. The economic question which has to be answered is what adjustments should be made whereby suchautonomous one can day by day be independent and own only of parts names of the rich, but of the dead impositions of our own abstracted funds. The wealth and honour which are owned for all benevolent is not gradually and inevitablycheap our life and are sure to make us eclectic and ex-clusive, bringing about stagnation of soul.

KHILAFAT MANIFESTO

The following manifesto has been issued by the Khilafat Conference at the concluding sittings of the 3rd All-India Khilafat Conference at Bombay.

Muhammad's claim

The claim on behalf of the Mahomedans in India in connection with the Turkish peace terms may be divided into two sections, one regarding the Khilafat, and the second regarding what is called Jazirat-ul-arab and the Holy places of Islam.

The claim regarding the Khilafat consists in leaving the Turkish Empire as it was at the time of the outbreak of the war except that although the seigniories of Turkish vassals are not admitted, the non-Turkish nationalities may if they so desire, be guaranteed autonomous Government within the Ottoman Empire consistently with the dignity of a sovereign state.

The second section of the claim consists in the sovereignty over Jazirat-ul-arab i.e. Arabia as defined by Moslem religious authority and the custody of the Holy places of Islam Arabs as thus defined is bounded by the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates and the Tigris.

The Holy Places include the three sacred Harasen namely Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem and the Holy Shrines named Najaf, Kerbela, Samarra, Kattanah and Baghdad. In reality this claim is narrowed to the first but it is distinguishable from it in that the custody of the Holy Places has ever since the establishment of Islam been under the Khilafah and makes the boundary of the latter which has eventuated from time to time but has never suffered any diminution whatsoever. This claim does not exclude genuine Arab Self-government because those who know understand the irregularity behind it. The claim now made has been made by Shurah Hassam and by Amir Fazl is consistent in fact with their acceptance of aon, the spiritual sovereignty of the Khilafah.

Argument

The claim is primarily based upon the religious requirements and the sentiments of the Mahomedans all over the world and is supported so far as the
Khalifeh, the Heretics and Jazuli Jews are concerned, by testimony from the Quran, the traditions of the Prophet and for the rest by other religious authorities. It is further supported, regarding the Holy Places, by the deliberate declaration of the Government as also the Governments of France and Russia, of second November 1914, which says, "In view of the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey, which to the regret of Great Britain has been brought about by the ill-advised, unpromoted and deliberate action of the Ottoman Government, His Excellency the Viceregal Government in agreement with the following public announcement in regard to the Holy Places of Arabia including the Holy Shrines of麦加 and Mekka, and the coast of Jeddah, in order that there may be no misunderstanding on the part of His Majesty's most loyal Muslim subjects as to the attitude of His Majesty's Government in this war, which may generate religious character is abolished. The Holy Places of Arabia will be inviolate from attack or molestations by the Turkish naval and military forces as long as there is no interference with pilgrims from India to the Holy Places and Shrines in question.

At the request of His Majesty's Government, the Governments of France and Russia have given them similar assurances. The great regard paid in the Declaration to the sentiments of His Majesty's most loyal Muslim subjects is specially noteworthy. On the 9th January 1915 Mr. Lloyd George clamoring to speak in the House of the whole Empire made the following remarkable pronouncement: "We are not fighting to deprive Turkey of Constantinople or of rich renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which were predominantly Turkish. President Wilson in his message to the Congress dated 31st January 1918 is in equally emphatic terms that, the Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured of secure sovereignty but the other nationalities now under Turkish Rule should be assured security of life and autonomy in development.

Thus the whole of the Mahomedan claim by universal consent will not only be a violation of the deep religious feelings of the Mahomedans but will also be a frequent violation of the solemn relative desinations and pledges made or given by responsible statesmen representing allied and associated powers and given at a time when they were deemed of satisfying the interests of the Mahomedan people and solidarity.

Consequences.

It is necessary to state the likely consequences of a wrong decision on the part of the Allied Powers as to the present situation of the Allied and Associated Powers. The claim is supported by practically the whole of the Hindu population of India. It has assumed therefore an Indian or National status. The population of the British Empire is predominate by Hindu and Mahomedan, as will appear from the following figures: Total population 465 millions, Hindus 217 millions, Mahomedans (in India) 66 millions, (b) outside India but within the Empire, 35 millions.

The policy of the British Government has been deliberately stated to be that of seeking India an equal partner. Recent events have weakened India as a sense of dignity. In those circumstances, the British Empire as one consisting of free nationalities can only hold together if the just and fair demands of each component part of the Empire, in regard to matters which are of concern to a large section of its people are adequately satisfied. It is therefore urged that the British ministers are bound not merely to pass the Mahomedan on to the Allied Powers before the Supreme Council but to make it their own. If however for any reason, whether they fail to do so, and the Supreme Council also fails to perform its elementary duty of giving effect to the declaration, that brought about the Armistice, it is future to expect peace in India and the Khalifat Conference will fail in its duty if it hesitates to warn His Majesty's Ministers that an unannounced upon the 1st scores of Mahomedans in India, supported by 33,000 of Hindus and others will be incomparable with an expectation of blind loyalty. Beyond that it is not possible for the Conference to force the results. It may be added that even if the members of the Conference attempted seriously to purify the Mahomedan mind, it is futile to expect that they would succeed in healing the wound that would be made in the heart of Mahomedans in India by the denial of justice and breach of pledges in a matter of vital importance to that community.

INDIAN FREE EMIGRATION.

The Lord Bishop of Polyzeus writes to Mr. Gandin as follows:

I have read with much interest the article you sent me as the subject of Free Emigration to the Colonies. I naturally regret your conclusions. May I beg you to read a short reply, and to grant me the credit for the same on the subject of an Emigration which I heartily feel you can do very well.

You ask two questions: The first is, "Do we want Indian Labour to go to the Colonies?" and your answer is in the negative. You say perhaps quite truly that the poor man cannot afford land in India to earn a living, but only two centuries later you admit the "deep and deepening poverty of the vast masses of India." A few thousand families going away every year to Fiji or to British Guiana may not solve the poverty question, but may be the means of these families being able to live less hopelessly and more healthily. I am sure more and more convinced by all I hear, see, and read in Indian newspapers (papers without any European bias) in India, that from both a health and a wealth point of view the Indians do Fiji are, as a whole, the best off, by having emigrated. And I feel certain that we must yourself to pay as something very useful in Fiji, you would come to the same conclusion,—as indeed did Mr. Andrews.

On the general question of Indian emigration I am sure you will admit there are very large numbers in India who hold a different view to yourself. Very many since I arrived here have told me, for instance of the really good effects that have been produced on these Indians who have splendidly went off the War, by their travels and world-wide experience. But I am not the views of the whole in a better way than our mutual friend Mr. Andrews has expressed it. He has written:

"It is well to consider whether, under more favourable conditions, the emigration of a small proportion of the agricultural classes may not be good on the whole,
What India appears to need at the present time is the
"spirit of enterprise and adventure. This will not pass
"just as the somewhat stagnant life of the villages in
"of its own accord. If it be true, that
"of advancement and adventure may be found by putting
"an essential part of India to another, and that the then form of an
"Indian is in a certain sense a hindrance to progress, then is
"the needful work in the amendment. But an indefinable
"something as in the case of Ganges as the sun by travel
"to distant lands, by meeting strange people, by over-
"coming all kinds of new difficulties in foreign countries,
"from one to another, by passing from Bengal to
"Gujarat, and from the soil of Kutch to Madras or Bombay.

"It appears to be true of Indian history, as well as of
"English history, that the period of marauding adventure,
"when Indian ships traversed the seas and left the mark
"of Indian civilization on distant lands, was a golden age.
"It produced great poetry and great art. There is
"nothing so wholesome as a breath of fresh air, for
"fresh air awakens and changes means and making human life
"free and courageous.

"Surely the interchange of the peoples has been one of the
"most fruitful causes of the progress of the races.

II
With reference to Morals and your second question.
I would admit that very much harm was done by the
"system of 'individual' recruiting for Indus. The
"wrong sort of man was often obtained, and in the vast
"majority of cases the wrong sort of weapon. I have left
"the system unalterably under the system of their own.
"But the Indus was designed, and will never run again. It is
"necessary to prohibit all emigration because there have
"been evils under a particular System? Is it not within
"the scope of practical politics to make such provisions that
"the evils of the system may be for ever avoided, and
"the course of events a brighter one than is the course with
"Emigration as a means, a better moral life is possible too.

"May I for a moment refer to the past? My own opinion
"is (and both Mr Andrews and the General Com-
"manders bear me out) that the majority of the women who
"were recruited for indentures were of the prostitute class.
"Messrs Andrews and Pearsall stated in 1916, 'we be
"decidedly against an impression that the number of
"prostitutes recruited have been large, perhaps in
"excess of 100, or alternatively, he also added that 'the
"number was very excessive rather than diminishing.
"If so, that might itself account for a great deal.

"Now under the scheme of Free Emigration it will be im-
"possible to recruit a single woman. Only women married
"in India will be allowed to go and girls with their fathers
"and mothers. We will not have any single woman to
"be exposed to life of shame. The newly arrived fam-
"ilies one in their own homes continue to live the
"same pure and wholesome lives that they have lived in
"India—but in more healthy and less poverty-stricken
"conditions.

You say the labourers are not followed by their bet-
"ter class countrymen. There is nothing to prevent it. You
"try the religious and social law is based on the restric-
"tions of Indian environment and no doubt the policy of the
"government by itself must be, unless the people themselves
do it. Certainly there is no Ordinance or Regulation or restriction which prevents any Indian from
"the freedom and fullest observance of the religious rites and
"customs in India. And may I put a question which
"I have often asked to put to some one? I myself am a Christian Minister and set from my Homeland to
"administer their religion to my own people who have ab-
"sorbed for their betterment to go abroad. Is it not passes
"that there is a very brilliant Indian Society (of which you
"are so influential a leader) which have been formed
"in order to drag and elevate your people and not find some good
"Indian souls who are willing to go out to the spirit of self-sacrifice to keep up the right way. And guard from
"falling, those Indians who have desired to better them-

With reference to the present population of Indians in
"Punjab, let me remind you of Mr Andrews' words, all of
"which I heartily endorse. He says, 'There is no question,
"at the present time, that is doing more to uphold the self-
"respect of Indians in Punjab than their assistance for India.
"Things can never be hopeless so long as these remain.' He
"hears witnesses again and again to the 'new life of hope-
"fulness,' which began to spring up in the new Indian settle-
"ments for areas to any country... It recalled in our minds
"any of the best features of life in India.' He even goes so
"far as to say that he is sorry for the failure in Punja for the
"reason that there are intellectual representatives present in the
"Colony which may be expected to set rapidly and whole-
"someness of the rest of the present work—if he is refer-
"ring to the Indian system which is dead,—removed.

"There has been no recruiting under the old system and
"new Indians introduced into Punjab for these six or four
"years. Each new family that goes under the new scheme will
"receive these 'powers of recuperation.' Having generally
"an intense affection for the Indian in Punjab, the new schemes
"will make me, with hope for the future, and intense hope for
"their moral improvement, thereby. For it is the greatest
"of all the Indian population in that Colony to re-
"present them, as I have seen with my own eyes the
"prospects in your Indian National papers, as a people
"entirely in a moral atmosphere of immorality.

May I now point out that your suggestion that young
"men should come to India and seek wives for themselves
"can only fully be carried out as an extension that our Scheme
"of Free Emigration is given a total form. It will be extremely
"improbable that without it, a direct service of regular
"steamers will run between India and England. God speed
"the establishment of the new system and with it the necessary
"Service Steamers, the press of Indian commodities will be
"released to the benefit of every Indian, not only will
"India and Fiji be brought together, but any young man
"who desires to, can assume his right of free repatriation,

"We are for the good of our homeland a life-transforming
"and return with her, if she desires, to absolutely free
"conditions in Fiji.

In conclusion, I must tell you that there is one ses-
"sion in your article which hurt, and which I feel certain
"you will admit, an unfounded statement, is an unworthy
"suggestion. The sentence I refer to is—'If both races
"were to occupy themselves in clearing the moral and
"material atmosphere around, in order to get our mission.' Speaking for the Mission from Fiji, I
"can assure that it is because we are convinced that the
"'Free Emigration' we put forward will tend forcibly to
"clear the moral atmosphere around us, that we put forward our Scheme. Both Indians and
"Fiji have made mistakes in the past. We believe our proposed system not only removes those mistakes but
"also helps to repair the evils that have resulted therefrom. I
tell you honestly, whether you believe it or not, that there are in the Colony of Fiji a far larger number of
"Indians, and Europeans too, who are struggling to improve
"the environment and elevate the minds of the Indian
"people, than has generally imagined in India. Of some of these
"I have heard this labour of love is on the ‘life-work’ by Education
"and Social Service and by Moral Teaching their present sincerest desire is to clear the moral atmosphere of the Colony.'

And we ask the assistance of Mr. Gandhi and of every
"other good man.

THE AHMEDABAD ADVANCE MILL STRIKE,
A CORRECTION

The Times of India in its issue of the 16th Feb-
ary had an account of the Ahmedabad Advance Mill
Strike as from the own Ahmedabad correspondent
Mr G S Bunker, while the Times of India
reporting in its editorial of the 16th. Part of the corre-
"spondent's letter is to be understood as
"part of the correspondent's account. As the
"Times has not chosen to publish Mr Bunker's letter,
"the same has been sent to us for publication. We
"print below both the correspondent's and Mr
"Bunker's letters.
The report of the weaving department of the Ahumada Advance Mill, of which Messrs. Tate & Co. are the agents, who have been on strike returned to work on the 19th of January, to each member of the spinning department and Rs. 41 to each weaving operative. In spite of this the workmen made a free and determined demand for the raising of the wages and for the extra bonus to be made payable by the firm, having been told that the operatives of the other mills had received two and a half times more. This demand was not accepted by the Manager but the result that the men went out on strike. The weaving department worked for a couple of days and had to be shut down ultimately. The offer made by the Manager was that the men would divide the benefits equally among all the operatives of the mill for the extra bonus to be made payable. The men, however, did not accept this offer and demanded that the wages be increased to the level of the wages in the neighboring mills. The firm at this stage reported the matter to the Millowners' Association and Mr. Bandaru N. Vakal, the Secretary of the Association, held a conference with Mr. Bunker and Mr. Shirroff. All the operatives were supplied with food and the workmen were paid for the time they had worked. The firm then offered to pay the workmen a bonus of 2 per cent on the current market rate. This proposal was rejected by the workmen as not sufficient to compensate them for the extra work they had done. The firm then offered to pay the workmen a wage equal to the wages in the neighboring mills. This proposal was accepted by the workmen.

Anwura Bee and Mr. Bunker contended that the offer made by the firm could not be considered an integral part of the wages and should be paid in addition to the current market rate. They also stated that the firm had not consulted the workmen in making the offer and that the firm had not agreed to meet the demand for wages being made equal to those of the neighboring mills. There was therefore, absolutely no reason for the continued absence of the men from work.

Mr. Shirroff stated that the mill had a very good record and that the firm had always been fair to the workmen. The workmen were then asked to return to work and stop further loss to the firm who had always treated the workmen with courtesy and fairness.

About four or five days passed and nothing happened till Mr. Ambadala Sarabha, the President of the Association took up the matter. As a result of this intervention the permission of other workmen to strike was given in writing by the firm on the very first day.

About two or three weeks had passed and a loss of upwards of half a lakh of jama and the workmen themselves have lost nearly Rs. 10,000 in wages.—The Times of India.

(Signed) S. O. Bunker.

Printed by Shamburil C. Bunker at Nava Dahan, Midlands, Chogli, Purna, Ahmedabad and published by Malakhe D.O. Desai at the same place.
Notes.

The Budget.—The most outstanding feature of the last week's proceedings in the Imperial Legislative Council is the Budget.

It will be interesting to notice that this is the last budget based on the combined accounts of the Provincial and Central Governments, and that next year the budget before the reformed Legislative Assembly will be a purely Imperial budget. This is how the budget reads at a glance.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1920-21

Estimated Revenue Rs. 129,50,00,000
Estimated Expenditure Rs. 157,80,00,000
Surplus Rs. 3,30,00,000

The financial statement for the current year shows that instead of the estimated surplus of Rs. 19 crores the actual deficit of Rs. 19 crores The reason for this is not far to seek. It is the military dragon which has been anchored on the blood of our country. The Afghan War and the Frontier operations which have been carried out for so many years have cost us 74 and a half million pounds, even the ordinary military expenditure came to 5 and one fourth million pounds in excess of the estimated amount.

We are not speaking with exaggeration when we say that the traditional financial policy of the Government of India has been to starve the essential needs of the country such as education, sanitation, agriculture and industries for the sake of meeting a colonial burden of military expenditure and huge outlays in Railways. The budget of the new Finance member promises to gladly once again of this traditional policy. There is the colonial expenditure of Rs. 60 crores—nearly one half of our total revenue—budgeted for military expenditure.

One wonders what is to be done with this huge amount in an year which is expected to be a year of normal peace and tranquility. The expenditure on railways will also be found to be much more an excess of that on irrigation and other equally if not more important subjects.

On the revenue side there has been no fresh taxation, the Income Profits tax has been removed, but a new surtax on company is introduced at the rate of 40% on the profits up to the amount of Rs. 50,000. This is calculated to yield more revenue and to end the period of revenue drains on the country and to relieve the poor taxpayer. A large increase in the revenue is estimated from gains from Exchange which is framed to about Rs. 30,75,00,000.

Mr. Hindi’s Financial statement and Budget speech make one glancing admission. So long Indians have been crying in the wilderness against the locking up of Indian money in England. Mr. Hindi’s statement shows that this was a mistaken policy with severe drawbacks and that has put the country not to a small loss, but in its finances and general progress.

There is however one redeeming feature of the budget. The Finance member stated that the estimated imperial deficit which has to be provided for by provincial contributions is reduced to less than half, and the net provincial surplus will thus increase very highly. He even expressed a hope to do without provincial contributions in the near future. This may prove that Mr. Sankey’s resolution on stopping of provincial contributions is quite sound and practicable and can be magnetized even today with necessary grit and arrangement of our revenue.

The Frontier’s Pledge—There was always a fear lest the advice of the Frontier’s famous pledge regarding Persec was being reiterated. Unfortunately, no attempt was made to remove this impression. On the contrary, the most unscrupulous and unseemly attempts were being made and that also from very responsible quarters sometimes, to invalidate and disregard this pledge involving the very honour and good name of the British Empire or to reduce it at the most, to mere sham and delusion. On more than one occasion the Frontier’s own捅issars and Dosturis must not have been free from serious and misgiving.
But in his last speech on the debate on Turkey, Mr. Lloyd George recalled the terms of the pledge and stated that it was not an offer to Turkey but a practically deliberate pledge made to reassure the people of America and India in regard to our war aims." The declaration, he added, was specific, unequivocal and definite.

This has naturally brought great relief. But there we have not been able to follow the letter part of the Premier's speech where outlining the nature of other states, he remarks among other things that "the Turks must be deprived of the power of wrecking the development of the Turk leads under her rule, which were once the glories of the Mediterranean." Surely this is inconsistent with an unequivocal declaration of adhering to the pledge and obtaining the honour of the Empire and the British Government in whose name it was given. A declaration of this kind will satisfy neither the friend nor the opponent and consequently will be doubly unwise. We however hope that the Premier will realize the paramount necessity of adhering to the letter and spirit of his pledge in this also as he has done in the question of Constantinople.

The Rowott Act again—In reply to the Haudle Mr. Patel who asked "Do the Government mean to take any steps to repeal the Rowott Act?" Sir William Vincent said "the answer is in the negative." This reply means two things: (a) that the Government do not propose to take immediate steps to repeal the Rowott Act or that they do not propose to repeal it at all. If it is the former, it means little. If it means that they do not propose to repeal it at all it is an answer which will be challenged in due course. For there can be no peace in the land so long as disreputable table piece of legislation is permitted to disgrace our statute book. It should be no matter of pride for a Government to persist in ignoring a universal popular demand. And we do not doubt that in those days of such party seeking the cooperation of the other, the Government know that the Rowott Act must be repealed—not immediately at any rate, but at no distant date either.

Restoration of Europe—The Allied powers, you may see the folly of attempting to reach Bolshevism in Russia by force of arms. The latest speech of Mr. Lloyd George on Russia is an unblushing admission of the failure of the Allied military operations in Russia against Bolshevists, on which over hundred millions bearing have been wasted by the British Government alone. It is however significant that the speech heralds a definite change of attitude in the allied policy towards Russia. Winston Churchill, in some words back that Mr. Lloyd George had declined to give military assistance to Poland against Russia and had further hinted to it to make peace with Soviet Russia as a friend had done. In his speech that we refer to, he expressly admitted that the only way to restore Europe was by putting Russian resources into circulation, that Russia must therefore be restored and that armed resistance having failed, the alternative solution was to make peace with the Bolshevists and restore Russia to sanity not by force but by trade.

Whether accumulation of Russian resources and restoration of trade relations is possible without bringing a state of tranquility and good-will between the Russian Government and the Governments of the other countries of Europe, which would ensure a political recognition of the Soviet Republics by the Allied Governments, is a question yet to be answered. But one thing on which there seems a passionate limit of the whole world seems to be manifest desire for restoring Russia and thereby Europe itself, to its present international policy—and let Russia carry her own cross henceforth. M. Kerensky, (the popular Russian premier who came into power at the fall of the Zedem) than upon which no greater authority on Russian affairs exists today, in an article in the American press declares emphatically that the way to save Russia is to leave her alone.

"In the name of peace," he says, "has been done by intervention. The support given to Dukhov and Kerensky has been wholly misdirected to the purpose of the Allies in the minds of the great bulk of the Russian people. It has created a feeling of bitterness among the best elements of the Russian people.

"They do not understand the motives of such help, and believe Europe to be conspiring in favor of revolution. I am strongly opposed to the regime which Kerensky and Dukhov represent, because it is a tyranny, a violent and oppressive as that of the combinations themselves."

"That is why I lay hands off Russia.

Mr. Lloyd George himself has admitted this in the speech we have referred to above—"The volunteer army," he says, "during its occupation of large tracts in South Russia, unaccountably managed to satisfy the population. The Bolshevists when they advanced again, profited by past experience and avoided doing blows to the same extent. This is as the Leader has pointed out a significant admission against our own friend and a somewhat unexpected corroboration of the much hated Bolshevists.

The past and burden of the whole thing however is to the extent of whatever may be the actual horrors of Bolshevism, it is as the Times of India has appropriately put it, only an idea, a social system and like any other idea may be successfully fought only in the sphere of ideas. And another place the same journal has remarked—

least has repeatedly said that the communist state of the Bolshevists cannot possibly exist in a world which is largely capitalist. Either the world as it is will destroy Bolshevism or Bolshevism will destroy the world. Some time the bomb was bound to come. The present is as good as any other. It is merely flattering Bolshevism, and in an indirectly postponing its destruction to refuse to give it moral battle.

Wanted an Editor for E. A. Chronicle.—Mr. Gandhi has received a letter from the Managers of the East African Chronicle & Co. Ltd from which we take the following—

We are instructed by the Board to communicate with you and solicit the favour of your assistance in the matter of engaging an Editor for the 'East African Chronicle'.

YOUNG INDIA
March 10, 1920
This paper is issued weekly, in both English and Gujarati, later on, it is hoped to publish the paper daily, when probably an all-English edition will be issued. The 'Chronicle' is an organ of the Indian Community, and the policy of the paper, which is controlled by the Board, is to further the progress of the Indian races, and to endeavour to obtain for Indians the rights to full and complete equality of the Law. The paper gives prominence to Indian views, and contains matters of general interest affecting the country.

A first-class Journalist is required for the position of Editor, capable of running and editing daily, and with broad views and liberal ideas.

The Directors wish you to interview applicants, and when you have made your selection, to cable the full particulars, period of agreement, salary required and your recommendations. If an Editor has not been engaged locally in the meantime, the Board will then cable to you, authorising you to engage the applicant.

The Company is prepared to enter into an agreement for 2 or 3 years, the salary to be offered for each year is left to your discretion, the fare from Bombay to Karachi will be paid by the Company, and if the period of agreement is duly completed, the return fare to Bombay will also be paid whether first or second class is left to you to arrange.

We will be glad to receive the names of candidates who may wish to offer themselves for the services required. It is required that only trained men of ability and character are likely to be accepted. In private letters received from Mr. Andrews the same decantation has been emphasised.

**Young India.**

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 10th March, 1920

**THE 8TH OF APRIL AND THE 13TH**

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is impossible for us to forget the 8th of April which visualised the whole of India and the 13th of April which by the spilling of innocent blood has made the Punjab a place of pilgrimage for the whole of India. The 8th of April saw the advent of Satyagrah. One may dissent from the civil-disobedience part of it but no one can dissent from the immortal doctrine of truth and love or non-violence. With Satyagrah combined with Ahimsa you can bring the world to your feet. Satyagrah in its essence is nothing but the introduction of truth and gentleness in the political to the national life. And when these two takes the Satyagrah pledge or not, there can be no doubt that the spirit of Satyagrah has pervaded the masses. Any way that is my experience of thousands of the Punjab I spent throughout my tour in the Punjab.

The 8th of April again saw the inauguration of a definite plan of Hindu Muslim unity and Swadeshi.
April last though it was spontaneous was not altogether free from undue pressure during the course of the day in the way of asking people not to use carries etc. I would therefore not advise Hartal at all for this week of discipline and pensee. Moreover Hartal must not be made cheap. It must be only for rare occasions.

I respectfully trust that all parties and all classes will see their way to take their full share in the observances of this national week and make it so event for the true and definite progress in national awakening.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS
THE BAN ON MR. HORNIMAN

The meeting of the Press Association presided by Sir Narayan Chandwarkar in Bombay was significant for the resolutions passed thereon and the local speech he made on the Press Act. Sir Narayan had no difficulty in showing that the Press Act should go if the Press was to become a power for good, A free ventilation of popular grievances in the Press was essential for a progressive restriction of the people's hopes. He was able to cite the authority of Sir Lawrence Jackson in support of his condemnation of the Act. Mr. Gandhi compared the action of the Government in pressing in the Press Act to that of the weather prophets breaking their harangues and still expecting to gauge the state of the weather. He stated that the Press without the Press Act could perform the function of the C I D more efficiently than that highly organised and unpopular department. Only a free speech would give the Government an accurate description of the public feeling on a given question without the intervention of the C I D. He hoped therefore that the Government would see their way to repeal the Press Act and thus secure a better and purer atmosphere before the arrival of the Prince of Wales. Sir Narayan's appeals to the Editors for greater restraint and moderation came in nicely together with his appeal to the Government for the renewal of the Press Act. We doubt not that his appeal will not go unheard. While in our Press there is nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to warrant the existence of the Press Act, one does notice in the newspapers now and again reckless language and insinuasy in description. A closer attention to facts and a better choice of adjectives cannot do harm to the dignity and the power of the Press.

The second resolution asked the Government to recall the Press securities, the third appealed to the Government of Bombay to withdraw the embargo upon Mr. Horniman's passport. It is unanswerable that the Press Act can be repealed and the one man who has done more than any other editor of modern times in India to assert editorial independence in the face of odds should be kept out of India. It is the spirit of impatience of assertion which keeps Mr. Horniman out of India without a trial and keeps the Press Act on the Statutes Book. One may not agree with Mr. Horniman's strong language. But apart from his personal services to journalism, free speech and the cause of public spirit there is a great principle behind this demand for the removal of the restrictions on his re-entry into India. Restraint on the liberty of a public man without trial is an intolerable wrong and we trust that His Excellency the Governor who has in every way shown himself to be a constitutional and sympathetic ruler will not fail to recognise the desirability of removing the ban on Mr. Horniman's return to India.

THE QUESTION OF QUESTIONS
Mr. Gandhi writes to the Press as follows:

The Khilafat question has now become a question of questions. It has become an imperial question of the first magnitude.

The great Prelates of England and the Mahometan leaders combined have brought the question to the fore. The Prelates throw down the challenge. The Muslims leaders have taken it up.

I trust that the Muslims will realise that the Khilafat question overshadows the Reforms and everything else.

If the Muslim claim was unjust apart from the Muslim scriptures, one might hesitate to support it merely on scriptural authority. But when a just claim is supported by scriptures, it becomes irresistible.

Briefly put the claim is that the Turks should retain European Turkey subject to full guarantees for the protection of non-Muslim races under the Turkish Empire and that the Sultan should control the Holy Places of Islam and should have sovereignty over Jazirat-ul-arabia Arabia as defined by the Saudi Sultans subject to self-government rights being given to the Arabs if they so desire. This was what was promised by Lord Lloyd George and this was what Lord Hardinge had contemplated. The Mahometan rulers would not have fought to deprive Turkey of her possessions. To deprive the Khilafet of the sovereignty of Arabia is to reduce the Khilafet to a nullity.

To restore to Turkey subject to necessary guarantees what was hers before war is a Christian solution. To wrest any of her possessions from her for the sake of poisoning her Wagnerian solution, The Allies or England in the hour of triumph must be scrupulously just. To reduce the Turks their impotence would not only unjust. It would be a breach of solemn declarations and promises. It is to be wished that the Victory will take his courage in both hands and place himself at the head of the Khilafat agitation as Lord Hardinge did at the face of the South African perseverence struggle and thus like his predecessor give a clear and emphatic direction to an agitation which under impulsive or fanatical leadership may lead to disastrous consequences.
But the situation rests now with us Hindis and Mahomedans that with the Viceroy and still more with the Muslim leaders than with the Hindus or the Viceroy.

There is great gnaw of impatience on the part of Muslim crowds and impatience may any day be reduced to madness and the latter must inevitably lead to violence. And I really could persuade every one to see that violence is suicide.

Supposing the Muslim demands are not granted by the Allies or even England. I see nothing but hope in M. Montegu's brave defiance of the Muslim position and Mr. Lloyd George's interpretation of his own declaration. True, the latter is halting. But he can some day work under it. But we must suppress the worst and expect and strive for the best. How to strive is the question.

What we may or may do is clear enough.

(1) There should be no violence in thought, speech or deed.

(2) Therefore there should be no boycott of British goods, by way of revenge or punishment. Boycott is, in my opinion, a form of violence.

(3) There should be no rest till the minimum is achieved.

(4) There should be no mixing up of other questions with the Kufah etc. etc. the Egyptian question.

Let us see what must be done.

(1) The cessation of business on the 19th instant and the expression of the minimum demands by means of a single resolution is a necessary first step. Provided that the Host is voluntarily and the employees are not asked to leave their work unless they receive permission from their employers. I would strongly urge that the mill-hands should be left untouched. Further prohibitions on the right to press the Hostal. I have been told that the C.I.D. sometimes promulgates violence. I do not believe it as a general charge. But, even if it be true, our disciplinary should make it impossible. Our success depends mainly on our ability to control, guide and discipline the masses.

Now a word as to what may be done if the demands are not granted. The hunger-cum-method is warfare, open or secret. This must be ruled out if only because it is impracticable. If I could persuade every one that it is always hard, we should gain all the ends and effect quicker. The power that an individual or a nation forswearing violence generates as a power that is irresistible. But my argument today against violence is based upon pure experience, i.e. its after effect.

Non-cooperation is therefore the only remedy left open to us. It is the element of remedy as it is the most effective. It becomes a duty when non-operation means degradation or humiliation or an injury to one's cherished religious sentiment. England cannot accept

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bidden by us to an unjust usurpation of rights which to Muslims mean matter of life and death. We may therefore begin at the top as also the bottom. Those who are holding offices of importance or emoluments ought to give them up. Those who belong to the lower classes under Government should do likewise. Non-cooperation does not apply to services under private individuals. I cannot approve of the threat of ostracism against those who do not adopt the remedy of non-cooperation as it is only a voluntary withdrawal which is effective. For voluntary withdrawal alone is a test of popular feeling and dissatisfaction. Advice to the soldiers to refuse to serve is premature. It is the last, not the first step. We should be entitled to take that step when the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Premier leave us. Moreover step by step withdrawing cooperation has to be taken with the greatest deliberation. We must proceed slowly so as to ensure retention of self control under the herculean test.

Many look upon the League's resolutions with the deepest alarm. They mean in it a preparation for violence. I do not look upon them in that light, though I do not approve of the tone of some of them. I have already mentioned those whom subject matter I wholly dislike.

Can Hindus accept all the resolutions. It is the question addressed by some I can only speak for myself. I will cooperate whole heartedly with the Muslim friends in the prosecution of their just demands as long as they act with sufficient restraint and as long as I feel sure that they do not wish to resort to or connive at violence. I should seek to cooperate and advise every Hindu and for that matter every one else to cease to cooperate the moment there was violence actually done, advised or connived I would therefore urge upon all speakers the essence of the greatest restraint under the gravest provocation. There is certainty of victory if firmness is combined with gentleness. The cause is doomed if anger, hatred, ill will, recklessness and folly suckers are to reign supreme. I shall resist them with my life even if I should stand alone. My goal is friendship with the world and I can continue the greatest loss with the greatest opposition to wrong.

NOTICE.

All communications regarding subscription, refund etc. should be addressed to the Manager, Young India, Claude's, Bungalow, Ahmedabad. Our rates of subscription.

(Postal delivery an advantage.)

Annual in India (with postage) Four Rupees. Outside India ... Eight Rupees. Single Copy (postage extra) One anna.

and all manuscripts and printed matter to be inclosed in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Sahyogkarachaham, Sabarmati.
THE TRUE PATRIOT

We gladly make room for the following extract
below by a wide many friends—

The two words Patriotism and Patriot have been
much debated and often misrepresented in recent
Times. Very many clain to be Patriots, and some are
acclaimed as such by their fellowmen, but also!!
how few genuine patriots are to be found in any
country! what is a patriot? He is one who loves
his country with the passion of a man and the tend-
eness of a woman; and who therefore earnestly strives
to better his country in every way. But just because
he loves his native land, he will not shut his eyes
to the faults of his countrymen, nor rather he will
be all the more alive to them. Standing as it were
on a watch-tower and burning his eyes on the inter-
nal conditions of the state he will carefully note
and honestly point out any symptoms of disease in
the body corporate, e.g. extravagance, luxury, oppre-
sion, political or social, the too common desire
to get rich quickly, and above all, hypocrisy in
every shape and form. He should thoroughly search
out the moral, social and religious conditions of the
people and bring home to them, in the clearest and
simplest language, their true condition in the sight
of the Holy God. Nay more, he should not hesitate
to denounce openly and forcibly any evil or sin
wherever detected, reminding his fellow-countrymen
whether high or low, that though they may escape
the punishment of men, yet that as God is righteous
God, He will certainly visit them with the wrath of
Heaven if they do not repent of and cease from their
misdeeds. The fire of the pa-
triot's indignation should be a holy one, as the
flame of truth burning all falsehood, of right
attacking wrong and of love blazing against all
tolledness. But while denouncing and denouncing,
he should by no means omit the less important
and equal duty of giving comfort or encouragement with
a true faith in the goodness and love of the All-
Father, and with a rooted belief in the existence of
the Spark Divine even in the lowest of man he
should unwillingly hold out the prospect of a Gold
Age yet to come and, by precept and example,
deceive to lead his fellow-countrymen out of the
wilderness of misery and discontent and into the
Promised Land of Peace and happiness and right-
eousness. But whom all around is the dark-
ness of suffering and discontent, the true patriot
should be full of hope and should inspire the same
feeling in his fellows. And holding aloft the torch
of inextinguishable hope he should spend each day
in the conviction that it is his duty to do his pro-
\ntest to make his own village or town more happy
and the whole world better. For the vision of
the true patriot is not bound by any limits of hill
or valley, river or sea, it reaches out to and extends
over every country in which dwell the children of
men. His prayer is that of the old Hebrew patri-
ott who prayed—

"God be merciful unto us and bless us,
And cause his face to shine upon us,
That thy way may be known upon earth,
Thy saving health among all nations."

WAS IT CONTEMPT OF COURT?

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR. GANDHI

AND

MR. MAHATMA H. DESAI

This rule was heard by the Hon'ble Judges, Mar-
ton, Hayward and Kapp on the 3rd inst. The Editors
Mr. Gandhi and the Publisher Mr. Desai of Young
India were to show cause why they should not be
committed for contempt having published with com-
ments in the issue of the 6th August 1919 of their
paper, a letter addressed by Mr. Kennedy, District
Judge of Ahmedabad, to the Registrar of the High
Court complaining of the conduct of certain Satyagrah-
Lawyers of Ahmedabad.

The Hon'ble Mr. Thomas Strange, Advocate
General, with M. M. Balaji and Foscook appeared
for the appliants, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Desai,
appeared in person.

The Advocate-General, in opening the case, said
that the proceedings were in contempt against Mr.
Gandhi and Mr. Desai, about whose being Editor
and Publisher respectively there was no dispute.
He appeared that Mr. Kennedy in April last finding
that certain lawyers in Ahmedabad had signed the
Satyagrah pledge, asked them to explain why
they had not signed and if not signed they should
be cancelled for having signed the pledge, and
as he did not consider their explanation satisfactory he addressed a letter to the
Registrar of the High Court on the 22nd April,
1919. In consequence two notices were issued by
the High Court to the lawyers concerned A copy of
Mr. Kennedy's letter was given by the Registrar to
Mr. Desai, pleader for one of the lawyers, who
handed the same to Mr. Mahatma J. Desai, one of
the Satyagrah lawyers, who in turn handed it to
Mr. Gandhi. On the 2nd of August this letter was
published in Young India under the heading "O'Dwyer
in Ahmedabad" along with an article headed
"Shaking Civil Officers", commenting on the letter.

(The Advocate-General at this stage read the
letter and the article.) It appeared from the article, said
he, that by "O'Dwyer" was meant a disturber of
peace. The article said that the District Judge was
prejudging the issue. His conduct was described
as not only ungentlemanly, but something worse,
unpardonable. He was said to be fanning the fire of
Robespierre. These were shortly the charges made
against Mr. Kennedy. Then proceedings took place
in the High Court. After the proceedings the Res-
\ngrator addressed a letter to Mr. Gandhi requesting
him to attend the Chief Justice's Chamber to give
an explanation as regards the publication of the
letter. Mr. Gandhi replied by telegram explaining
his inability to attend on the appointed date as he
was going to the Punjab, and requesting if written
explanation would be sufficient. The Registrar replied
saying that the Chief Justice did not wish to inter-
face with Mr. Gandhi's appointment and that a
written explanation would do. On the 22nd October
Mr. Gandhi sent a written explanation in which he
stated that the letter was received by him in the
ordinary course and that he published it as he believed it was of great public importance and that he thought that he was doing a public service in commenting on it. He, therefore, claimed that his publishing and commenting on the letter, he was within the rights of a journalist. In reply to this, the Registrar wrote saying that the Chief Justice was not satisfied with his explanation, and that it would be considered sufficient if an apology in the following terms was published in the next issue of Young India.

(From an apology)

"Whereas on the 5th April 1919 I published in Young India a private letter written by Mr. Kennedy, District Judge of Ahmedabad, to the Registrar of the High Court at Bombay and whereas on the same date we have published certain comments on the said letter and whereas it has been pointed out to us that pending certain proceedings in the said High Court in connection with the said letter we were not justified in publishing the said letter or in commenting thereon. Now we do hereby express our regret and apologize to the Hon'ble the Chief Justice and Judges of the said High Court for the publication of the said letter and the comments thereon.

The Advocate-General said that he submitted with some confidence that it was an apology which the opponent should have published. A fuller form of apology, he thought, was difficult to conceive. Mr. Gandhi, however, did not publish the apology and took counsel's opinion and addressed a letter to the Registrar expressing his inability to apologize. Before the receipt of this letter, a notice was ordered by the High Court on the 10th of December to be issued for contempt on which the proceedings were based. The text of Mr. Gandhi's letter dated 11th December 1919, is as follows:

With reference to your letter regarding the publication of the letter of the District Judge of Ahmedabad to the editor of the Satyagraha, I beg to state that I have now consulted legal friends and given much consideration to the apology suggested by the Hon'ble the Chief Justice. But I regret to state that I find myself unable to publish the suggested apology. The document in question contains my position in the ordinary course and being of great public importance I decided to publish and comment upon it. In doing so, I performed, in my humble opinion, a useful public duty at a time when there was great tension and when once the judiciary was affected by the popular prejudice I feel hardy say that I had no desire whatever to prejudice the issue that their Lordships had to decide.

I am anxious to assure His Lordship the Chief Justice that at the time I decided to publish the document in question, I had fully in mind the honour of journalists as well as the fact that I was a member of the Bombay Bar and as such expected to be aware of the traditions there. But thinking of my action in the light of what has happened I am unable to say that in similar circumstances I would act differently from what I did when I decided to publish and comment upon Mr. Kennedy's letter. Much therefore as I would have liked to act upon His Lordship's suggestion, I feel that I could not conscientiously offer any apology for my action. Should this explanation not considered sufficient by his Lordship I shall respectfully suffer the penalty that those Lordships may be pleased to impose upon me.

I beg to apologize for the delay caused in replying to your letter. I have been travelling in the Punjab and am not likely to be free before the beginning of the next month.

A few days before the hearing of the case Mr. Gandhi addressed a letter to the Registrar dated 27th Feb. in which he enclosed copies of the statements which he and Mr. Desai desired to submit before the Court. The text of the two statements is given below:

MR. GANDHI'S STATEMENT

With reference to the Rule Notice received against me I beg to state as follows:

Before the issue of the Rule, certain correspondence passed between the Registrar of the Honourable Court and myself. On the 14th December, I addressed to the Registrar a letter (reproduced above) which sufficiently explains my conduct. I therefore attach a copy of the said letter. I regret that I have not found it possible to accept the advice given by His Lordship the Chief Justice.

Moreover, I have been unable to accept the advice because I do not consider that I have committed either a legal or moral breach by publishing Mr. Kennedy's letter or by commenting on the contents thereof.

I am sure that this Honourable Court will not want me to tender an apology unless it be sincerer and more explicit than the privilege and duty of a journalist. I shall, therefore, sincerely and respectfully accept the punishment that this Honourable Court may be pleased to impose upon me for the transient mistake of the majority of law.

I wish to say with reference to the notice served on Mr. Mahadeo Desai, the Publisher, that he published it merely upon my request and advice.

MR. DESAI'S STATEMENT

With reference to the Rule Notice served upon me I beg to state that I have read the statement made by the Editor of Young India and associate myself with the reasons given by the Editor in justification of his act. I shall therefore cheerfully and respectfully abide by any penalty that this Honourable Court may be pleased to inflict on me.

Continuing the Advocate General proceeded to state rulings to show what constitutes contempt of court. 2 Q B Page 36 showed that there were two kinds of contempt (1) any act or writing tending to scandalise the court and (2) any act or writing calculated to obstruct or interfere with the due course of justice in the lawful process of the Court. The Advocate General submitted that the publication of the letter and the comments therein constitute contempt in two respects (1) in the language of Lord Hardwicke it scandalised Mr. Kennedy, and (2) it was an attempt to interfere with the course of justice. He furthered said that the High Court could punish for contempt of an inferior court. The District Court of Ahmedabad was under the supreme control of the High Court and it had no power to commit for contempt except for what was done in the face of the Court.

Mr. Jadad Marsten asked if it was contempt of Court in a civil action to publish the plain or the written statement.
The Advocate General replied it was a mistake. The pleadings did not become public documents until the case was heard. The Advocate General also referred to 1906 1 Kings branch page 102 and 1903 2 K B. He added that publication after trial was different from publication before it. In conclusion the Advocate General drew the deduction that the case of Mr. Gandhi's article was that the Mr. Kennedy was firing the fire of Bohemianism, the High Court, the act on his letter would likewise demand the Times and run the fire of Bohemianism.

Mr. Gandhi addressing the Court said that he did not propose to say anything beyond what he had already said in his statement. Esteemed friends had asked him to consider if he was not obtrusive in not making the required apology. He had considered the matter over and over again and whatever view the Court held, he asked them to believe that nothing was farther from his thoughts than obtrusiveness. He wished to pay all respect to the Honourable Court. On the other hand, he did expect that the Honourable Court would not grudge him paying the same respect to his own sense of honour and to the dignity of journalism. He had heard the Advocate General carefully to see if anything he said could convince him that he had been in the wrong. But he had remained entirely unconvinced. Had he been convinced he would readily have withdrawn his statements and tendered an apology. He did not wish to say anything more.

Mr. Justice Marson said that the point of law was against Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi had said that he was entitled as a journalist to do what he had done. But the Advocate General had cited authorities against him. Had be any authorities to support his position?

Mr. Gandhi said he differed from the Advocate General on the point of law, but he did not rest his case such as he was on points of law. He did not wish to argue legal points and go beyond the limits he had set to himself. The Court had before it the case of many defamed cases and he wished himself to be considered an undefended. He would be entirely content with their Lordships' finding on points of law.

Mr. Justice Marson reminded Mr. Gandhi that he was himself a member of the Bar and that he could argue out the case from the legal standpoint.

Mr. Gandhi said he was unprepared to do so and repeated that he would be content to take urging of the court with regard to law. But since the court had censured him to argue he would say that what he felt was that he had not prejudiced any party. The Hon the Advocate General had said that his comments on the District Judge constituted contempt of a Judge. Mr. Gandhi commented on the District Judge as a judge but as an individual.

J. Martin—On the case of a sensational murder trial. Supposing the press commented on the events while the case was going on, what would happen?

Mr. Gandhi—I would respectfully draw distinction as a lawyer between the two cases. The District Judge writes this letter as a complaint and not as a Judge.

J. Martin—He was writing as a Judge exercising jurisdiction over certain lawyers.

Mr. Gandhi—I agree. But he was not sitting in court to decide an action I feel again that I am travelling beyond the limits I set to myself. The whole law of contempt of court is that one ought not to do anything which might prejudice proceedings before a court. But here the Judge does something as an individual. I have not done anything to prejudice in any shape or form the judgment of the Judges.

J. Martin Would it not be dangerous if the press made comments during pendency of proceedings? The Court would cease to be the Tribunal and the Press would be the Tribunal instead.

Mr. Gandhi—I would again respectfully draw a distinction. If a son wrongly brought a suit against his father then I would be justified in commenting on the suit in any manner. The suit was against his father, without in any way thereby prejudicing the decision of the Court. And doe our Courts prevent public men from inducing remarks to settle their claims against others? I submit that I have committed no contempt. I have prepared no party and have made no comment on the action of Mr. Kennedy as a Judge. I am anxious to satisfy the Court that there is no such a disrespect shown to the Court in commenting on Mr. Kennedy's letter. I may have erred, and in the view of the court erred grossly but I have not done so dishonestly or disrespectfully I need not add that all this I have said applies to the case of Mr. Dean, the Publisher.

J. Martin then drew Mr. Gandhi's attention to a decision in England reported in a recent issue of the London Times whereby the Editor, Publisher and Proprietor of a newspaper was fined for contempt.

Mr. Gandhi—There also I submit it is impossible for me to draw a distinction. While I was in England the famous Mr. Maybrick's case was going on and the whole newspaper Press directed itself into two parties one condemning Mr. Maybrick and the other going for the Judge. Mr. Justice Stephen and even suggesting that he was unfit to try the case.

J. Martin—But that was all after trial?

Mr. Gandhi—No. It was while the case was going on. I followed the proceedings in the case from day to day throughout the months and that it was going on.

J. Martin—It did not go on. Mr. Gandhi, for many months. It went on for some days.

Mr. Gandhi—Of course here I was speaking subject to correction, but I am quite sure that while the case was going on the Newspaper Press was as full with similar_window.mucenous commencements and suspensions, that I am sure I as a journalist would not have at this day been able to go to the length they went.

Mr. Dean stated that he entirely associated himself with the sentiment expressed by Mr. Gandhi. He was sure he was untenable no more incapable of arguing the case than Mr. Gandhi and he would not presume to do that. He was prepared to cheerfully and respectfully abide by whatever decision their Lordships pleased to give. The judgment was reserved.
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A CORRECTION.
We regret that owing to an error, Friday the 6th of April was given on the 12th of April in our article on "The 6th of April and the 12th". The summary Khilafah meeting should therefore be held on Friday the 6th of April — Ed., V. I.

Notes.

The Judgment — We gave to our readers last week, the proceedings of the Convent and cases against Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Desai. Judgment was delivered this week, which is summed up by the Hon'ble Justice Marten as follows — "The Court finds the charges proved. It severely reprehends the respondents and sanctions them both as to future conduct."

Owing to pressure of space we are unable to reproduce the full text of the Judgment, we hope to do so in our next issue.

Mr. Andrews — Mr. Andrews calling from Durban says 'Sir Benjamin Roberts von very warmly received by Durban Indian Community Committee on our arrival early March. Myself proceeding to Cape Town by "Kayak" the 10th, returning Bombay the 15th. So this adopted me of India. I had expected to arrive two months. He has taken on his way East Africa, Uganda and Zanzibar. The anxiety about his health has shocked Mr. Andrews's health. In the latest letter received, Mr. Andrews says that he has been very weak and very unwell. From the accounts received from friends from South Africa we find that Mr. Andrews has worked under the greatest difficulties. But he has a matchless manner of bearing down opposition and shedding

around him the sweetness of his own loving and lovable nature and we feel sure that he has been making excellent use of the power which has been given to him so well no many a critical occasion. Thus is the programme he puts in a nut-shell; "No settlement of land and trading rights but willing acceptance of stricter sanitary and labour laws." Thus is the man whom the Times of India recently considered byzantine. The fact is there is no more moderate Englishman living that we know — only his moderation is not weak nor does it ever compromise truth.

Since writing the above paragraph a further telegram has been received from Mr. Andrews from Lawrance Marques in which he says that "as a result of the general elections in South Africa, the Union will have gained 21 seats, Labour 21 seats and the Independents 8. The country must still swallow. General Smuts will probably gain victory and have a small majority. Have seen Labour Leaders. Am somewhat hopeful about final result."

There is no doubt that at the present moment General Smuts is the most powerful political force in South Africa. The latter has brought General Smuts, horizons. Having a fine imagination, his contact with cultured Indians in England has enabled him to understand the significance of the agitation in India for gaining equal rights throughout the Empire. And having done that, General Smuts at least can say that he has not difficulty in asserting himself to secure the trading and land-owning rights of the British Indian Settlers of South Africa. And as the Government of India are quite sound on this matter, we have little doubt that they will be able to secure their rights. And that Sir Benjamin Roberts's work will enable him to smooth the difficulties in connection with the working of the existing emigration laws of that sub-continent.

Rules Committee and its constitution: — We are emphatically of opinion that the Government has not only deprived themselves of the valuable assistance and experience of men like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others, but have given the Nationalists a legitimate cause to
complain that the Government do not care to have the farmers’ co-operation and goodwill. If this belief gets confirmed by similar conduct of the Government in other matters, co-operation will be made impossible for this great party and the successful working of the Reforms endangered. And the Government alone will be held liable for this and for the deliberate infringement of the Royal wish. They are hardly mistaken if they entertain for a moment the idea of playing Moderates against Nationalists or Egyptians or whatever the other party may be called. The Moderates are patriots first and politicians afterwards. And as such they will never be party to this desire of empire policy. The Sinnott of India has already set an example by entering a protest against the non-inclusion of Nationalist representation in the Committee. We still hope that the Government will see that it is never too late to mend. Co-operation and distrust cannot go together.

Our Military Budget.—Our budgets are military, as a rule, and in a double sense. That nearly one-third of the country’s revenue is appropriated by military expenditure in an year of imprecation of peace and good-will upon earth, when strongest restraint should be the military head is required to relieve the pre-war stress upon and reorganise the other public departments such as irrigation, education and sanitation, is sufficient justification to call the budget a military budget. But when one notices the immovable, unchangeable, rigid and uncompromising nature of a notwithstanding the frankness and heart-readings’ appeals and entreaties of the non-official members to alter or amend one less necessary and important item of expenditure for another of greater value and public utility—then the budget will be found to be military to the core—its essence, form, shape, spirit, substance and what not. And this is not speaking in mere hyperbole but in fact, facts told and severe, can be best vouched for by the proceedings of the debate that followed the first and second reading of the financial statement in the Imperial Legislative Council. No amount of argument, entreaties, urgent requests was of avail with the Honble the Finance Member and the budget stood unaltered in the last. Nobody can deny the position and lot of the Honble the non-official members of the Council. We heartily sympathise with them and express our sincere hope that better days are in store for them.

The correct perspective.—It is unknown that children (Anglo-Indian) brought up in India are not thinking clearly and conscientiously towards Indians in general. There are, of course, very numerous exceptions, but as a whole it is easy to see that schoolmasters in India make an attempt to instil in their pupils a correct attitude towards their fellow Indians. The education which school-children and particularly school-boys, from Anglo-Indian schools treat quite unassumingly persons by in streets and on so must have an effect on their racial relations. Circumstances give children of British parents brought up in India many opportunities of showing that it is possible for the two races to live together in harmony, and the fact that the children so far from taking advantage of the fact often have been in the contrary way to reflect not upon themselves but upon their teachers. All the circumstances which the majority of the child

too talk very well have polite forms of address. Teachers should insist upon their pupils employing them in their intercourse with Indians. These remarks are made not by an indigested Indian political, but by an Anglo-Indian Journal of not very wide or deep sympathies for Indians—the Englishman of Calcutta. But because such a behaviour on the part of Anglo-Indian School boys while asserting racial sympathy from early boyhood between the two communities is in itself a slur on the great Anglo-Indian Community, that even an Anglo-Indian journal of Tory instincts is constrained to utter a word of warning. We welcome the timely caution as also the suggestion that teachers of Anglo-Indian Schools should imitate in their students’ qualities of respect and regard for Indians. We do this because we feel that the mistake and harm that seemingly small things so in the long run in aggravating racial relations is greater than by any open and fair opposition due to vested interests. But in our humble opinion there is another great reason also why Anglo-Indian children behave so unpleasantly towards Indians. No doubt the teachers have their duty to perform in this respect, in which according to our contemporaries they have been failing, but there is a greater obligation on the parents in this respect which they have totally failed to realise. Instances are not found wanting in railway stations, government and private offices, sales’ private bungalows, where Indians are quite fully treated if not actually insulted by Europeans and Anglo-Indians, holding high ranks and positions in the country. The Hashim Imam and Sir Swarup Singh are the two amongst many it may be, that in other cases they may be most unconscious and unintentional but the net result is that not only the children but even the Teachers’ self-respect and duties, and sense in which absolute these children are brought up, many their masters and treat respectable Indians in subordinate services likewise. If therefore, this evil is to be uprooted which every sensible Anglo-Indian, European and Indian would desire, the process should begin from the top and as from the bottom to say while the young ones are strictly made to imbibe these qualities at school, the parents should also see that they too set a better example for their children and not give them the least opportunity directly or through their mental staff to encourage the vice. Only in this will the desirable results be achieved, the racial relations harmonised and the British Indian be strengthened.

The “Democrat”—We welcome the Democratic of Allahabad on its debut. Mr. Bajaj Chandrav, its editor, is one of our best speakers and writers of the present time and is not new to journalism. The first number of Democratic pays well for its personal and has much that may justify its role. But as things cannot be finally judged by first sight, we express our sincere hope that the new journal will succeed in keeping up to the lofty democratic ideals it has set before itself in its first number.
Constructive Criticism.—Our administrators often accuse us for levelling criticism on their heads without giving them counter-construc-
tive schemes for those originally devised by them. Specially this, in connection with the annual Budget-
estimates where under cover of blue penn, all non-
official opinion is summarily dismissed away as 
unwarrantable, destructive, finding no way out of the 
'groove' etc. How to such treatment of the non-
official opinion justifiable and the plea of no 
counter-constructive criticism, true, can be judged 
by the discussion that took place in the Council last 
week on the Budget estimates for the coming year 

"Indonesia the Indian Army, and the expendi-
ture will go down by itself" was the almost un-
ammonious cry of the Indian members. The Hon'ble 
Mr. Banerjee and other members showed how such 
a solution could prove a double blessing. It would 
reduce the army expenditure, at the same time re-
moving the counter of a legitimate and just complaint 
of undue doings against Indians in the Army. It 
would infuse discipline in Indians, stimulate loyalty 
and bond the country to the Empire more strongly. 
The same standard of efficiency as that of the Brit-
ish ranks could be ensured by necessary safety-
guards and more liberal and self-respecting treat-
ment of the newly created Indian territorial army, 
Etc., Etc. But what was the response from the official 
side? A mere pious hope by the Finance Mem-
ber that there might be a great reduction for a ter-
sorial army and Indonesia, but how could that 
amount for bringing about the necessary reduction in the 
coming year's abnormally heavy military expendi-
ture? The suggestion was not challenged by the 
Hon'ble the Finance Member as 'unsound, unwork-
able or all-advised.' That he expressed such a hope 
for the future shows that it did appeal to him as 
constructive and practical. Why was it not then given 
immediate consideration? The necessity of a sub-
stantial reduction of the military expenditure is urgent. 
Something should be done to effect it. Either 
measures should be found to curtail this stupendous 
expenditure or it should be partially borne by the 
Imperial Treasury. As Mr. Macopoll suggests in 
his book, the Government of India 

Khilafat and Anglo-Indian Support.—The letter 
addressed by the representatives of the two leading 
Chambers of Commerce in this country to the Vicer-
roy, expressing their whole-hearted sympathy with 
the Hindu-Muslim wishes and demands regarding the 
Khilafat and condemning the anti-
Khilafat movement started in England is unique. We 
feel sure to say that the whole country will appre-
ciate this action of the representatives of a sub-
stancial and most influential portion of the non-offi-
cial and Anglo-Indian community in India. It is indeed 
a healthy sign of the times that they have identified 
themselves with us in a matter of such grave 
importance to the country. We sincerely believe and 
hope it to be a step along the Hindu-
Muslim-Christian Unity of which India and the 
Indian nation will be a living embodiment.

Sasygraha—the only Anchor—Thus the 
Independent of Allahabad—

"Sasygraha is a substitute (i.e. the worshipful attitude of a 
Sasygraha towards Mother India) which can combat the 
political evils of nepotism to westernize the Indian na-
tural outlook. The Indian Sasygraha, does not endorse 
the westernized view point that Indian outlook should 
assume the political conscience of the west for the good 
of the Mother Country and for the good of mankind in 
general. He does not agree that India’s life to be sele-
lative has to become purely political, must have a 
political status to start with. In his conviction, there are 
other and more lasting schemes of collective life in which 
politics play but a secondary role and do not necessarily 
form the essential regulatory principle. To him, India 
should form the greatness of her future in the greatness 
of her past. Of course, he will assimilate all that is best 
in the western literature, all the vitality of western pub-
lic life and all the thoughts of the western philosophers 
and great thinkers. But the form of National life has to 
be reared on India’s spirituality. The attempt of the 
Sasygraha, therefore, will be to spiritualize politics—to 
press other aspects of society on to the Hindus, Muslims 
and Hindus through religious. 

Namass shall shake the conviction of the Indian Sasygraha, of 
which, long before Mahatman Gandhi launched his Sasygraha 
movement in India, a great prophet of Indian Nationalism 

"It is this spiritual awareness alone and not any political idea that should be the aim and the 
consciousness for collective life. It is this spiritual mission of India that is bound to weld together all the 
different religious communities in the land into the unity of a collective life, for every community has its contribution to make to the fulfillment of this mission."

Yes, Sasygraha does aim at spiritualizing politics by building the foundation of National conscience on pure and unadulterated truthfulness and love in our politics and in our opinion Sasygraha is the only anchor for smooth and safe steering of the national ship in its voyage towards the ultimate goal.

Sarojini Devi on her mission to Europe—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu writes from Scandinavia to Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Mahatma Dassi respectively as follows—

"I have to grant you from Sweden, where my 
health is improving in the serene cold. There we 
are hearing in the snow and ice of the North. My 
tour has been very successful and I have preached Uni-
versal Sasygraha in Europe. I hope you are all well.

Love from Sarojini Naidu"

Young India follows me everywhere. O, Leap 
me in touch with events at home. I have been 
very busy and fruitful time in Scandinavia with the 
advancing mission of the dream of Sasygraha as the salvation of the world—Love and Truth"
Young India
Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 17th March, 1920

Khilafat
(By M K. Gandhi)

The Leader of Allahabad and Young India have drifed apart. I entertain such a marquise regard for the former that I struggle hard to accept the view that may be put forth by the Leader. But in spite of the struggle of late I have invariably failed. The latest instance is the confirmation into which the Leader has fallen over boycott and non-cooperation. I had thought that my meaning was clear and that there was no inconsistency. Boycott is a peaceful movement and non-cooperation is an autocratic action. The idea of boycotting British goods is that although British goods may be better than any Japenese I should not buy the former because I want to save myself upon the British people for a wrong done to the British ministers, or for utterly irresponsible and immoral language of some Englishmen regarding the Khilafat. I hold that boycott under such circumstances is a form of violence.

Non-cooperation stands on a different footing. If the Government do wrong I become a participant in its wrong doing by cooperating with them and thus making it possible for them to do the wrong. It is my duty, not by way of punishment or by way of revenge, but to the end that I may not make myself responsible for the wrong doing to withdraw my support off that Government. Indeed I should be justified in bringing that Government to a standstill. It is clear to me therefore that non-cooperation is as different from boycott as an elephant from an ass.

The Leader also seems to be in my disapproval of violence and approval of Hartal and this I see now because I feel that Hartal does not necessarily lead to violence. One cannot avoid doing the right thing because there are risks to be run. The Leader's difficulty arises rather from the belief that strong and definite action is not necessary and that it is possible for the Mahomedans in India to keep their peace even after an adverse decision by the Allied Powers. In my opinion the movement is bound to endorse violence unless a non-violent course of action is found that would lead to a just solution of the question. All strong action may bring about violence but we may not fear to do the right lest it may be misunderstood and lead to wrong. All that is humane speaking possible is to guard against mistakes and misunderstanding and with trust in God to go forward. I know that in the Khilafat question that course and that alone can avoid violence if short of a proper solution of the question anything is to avoid it at all. Therefore I insist that Judges of all shades of opinion will join this movement. A firm and unanimous stand on the part of the Hindus will certainly put courage and hope into Mahomedan hearts. Any lack of courage or indifference will lead to loss of hope and despair.

Much the same is to be said about the objection to Satyagrah. I still believe that for the moment I consider that I am alone capable of offering Satyagrah in its full form. But if that belief were to deter me from making experiments, Satyagrah would never make headway. But here, there is the further fallacy of the ambiguous middle. Satyagrah in the form of civil-resistance has possibilities of misuse. But hartal is as much weapon and hartal may or may not be Satyagrah. Nor need non-cooperation be necessarily Satyagrah. When the late Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya returned his membership on the Imperial Council or when Sir Esau Ahmed Tejwir asked to be relieved of his duties they did not do so as Satyaghras. Of course there is danger in widespread non-cooperation, but that is merely stating a truism. The one thing to be remembered is that for the Mahomedans the Khilafat is a question of life and death. It is even better for them to secure a proper solution. It is the sacred duty of the Hindus to give all for the sake of their brothers, so long as they work along the lines of non-violence. And I know no better way of keeping them on that path save by all Hindu, Christians, Parsees and Jews who have made India their own, while heartily supporting them and suggesting to them feasible methods of attaining redress without resort to violence.

Redistribution of Provinces

When the Hon. Mr. Subba moved the resolution for the appointment of a mixed committee to formulate a scheme for the amalgamation of all the Orya-speaking tribes with the existing Orya division of the Bihar Province, the Hon. Sir William Vincent gave an assurance to place the matter before the Viceroy and forward the report of the discussion to the local Governments concerned to ascertain their views so that the whole matter might be discussed in the new Council. The resolution was then be permitted withdrawn.

That is how the Orya people's question stands to-day. The Orya movement has a long history and during the long period it has undergone several changes having received sympathy and opposition almost alternately from high officials. But the success of the Orya movement cannot solve the larger question of the redistribution of our Provinces. We are well agreed upon the fact that the present Provinces are shaped by military, political, or administrative considerations of the moment. Hardly any regard has been paid to the wishes of the ruled.

It is only when one propuses a concrete scheme to reshape the provinces that one meets with opposition. This opposition is mainly based on false notions of national unity. It is wrongly believed by some that a linguistic basis for provincial redistribution would create a narrow spirit of provincialism
which may prove detrimental to broader patriotism. They seem to believe that the more we feel for our provinces—which they assert will be inevitable in case we accept a linguistic basis—the less will the nation as a whole occupy our thought. This inverse proportion arises out of a superstition which is developed in some people by their wrongly comparing India with other nations. In such a comparison they look to affairs merely without going a little deeper into their causes. When the United States were being formed, the several units did show a narrow provincialism. This is the precedent that probably hunte the opponents of a linguistic basis. But the comparison cannot stand. For, India is not to be hived into a nation in the sense in which the United States were. We have been a nation and shall so remain if our age-old ties continue. And our very mutualism can be the best agencies to revive and strengthen the ties. Those terminologies will make the administrative units stronger than the present heterogeneous ones. The stronger the parts, so much the stronger their combination. The homeopathy that will result of a linguistic redistribution is as urged by the authors of the Joint Report. Say the authors—'We are impressed with the artificial, and often unconvincing element of existing administrative units. We cannot doubt that the business of government would be simplified if administrative units were both smaller and more homogenous one.

But the authors of the Report have supported the principle of linguistic distribution in no unambiguous terms.

With a linguistic basis our provinces will be smaller no doubt but so much the more manageable for that. The officials will be able to come in closer contact with the people in the present state we have offices who hardly know the language of their district. In our predominance for instance, possible cases of transfer from Sind to Gujerat, from Gujerat to the Carnatic and from Bengal to Mysore do not encourage officials to learn the language of any districts. Thus their are naturally inclined to have a severely isolated life. So also in our courts we find it so very inconceivable and costly to render various documents into the many vernaculars of the province. The English language is, we are told, indispensable in our Legislative Councils. With a linguistic redistribution of our provinces they can adopt their own vernaculars as the language for their courts and councils. Thus 'The business of legislation in the vernacular will' as the Report recommends 'be drawn into the areas of public affairs men who are not aquainted with English.' All our people even from the remotest corners of a province will feel themselves interested in the Government.

The Prime of India, however, thanks that small administrative units will not be programme that they will be costly and that they will affect the public services. It cites the instance of Burma to prove its case. But in the self-governing colonies of our Empire we can quote so many instances of progressive but small administrative units. Surely, many of the new provinces on a linguistic basis will be larger in extent than units like Tenasserim.

The responsibility of raising the matter of the reshaping of provinces on a linguistic basis is more our own than the Government's. About the Government's policy in this matter the Joint Report says: 'We believe emphatically that redistribution of provincial areas cannot be imposed upon the people by official sanction.' If such is the policy and profession of the Government, the public must find their way to working up this question by themselves. For a solution of the question will be of great help in interesting the great mass of our people to participate directly in the business of the Government of their country. And this is the immediate object of the electorate system to be introduced by the Reforms. It will surely be, when accomplished, a tremendous achievement in our march towards Home Rule.

THE INDIAN'S OVERSEAS ASSOCIATION

This Association, which was established on December 17th, 1919, with the Aga Khan as chairman, Sin Masoomjee H. Bhavas, as Deputy-chairman and Mr H. S. H. Pabst as Hon Secretary and Treasurer, for the purpose of maintaining the rights and privileges and protecting the interests of Indians residing in places outside India, has since been active in promoting the welfare of Indian communities settled in South and East Africa, British Guiana, the West Indies, Fiji, Ceylon, Mauritius, British Columbia, Australia and the Malay Settlements.

The Association is doing its share with all other institutions for Indians in the two Afnices. It has drawn the attention of His Majesty's Government to the strong protest against the so called Colonisation schemes, by the East Indian Association (George town), and has received an assurance from the Colonial Office that the fullest consideration will be given to the views expressed by this and similar Associations in regard to Trinidad, Jamaica and Surinam (Dutch Guiana); the Association has addressed an inquiry to His Majesty's Government seeking information as to the numbers of Indians at present in force in these territories and the steps, if any, being taken by His Majesty's Government to secure their evacuation at an early date. The Association has also made representations to His Majesty's Government with a view to securing improvements in the draft Labour Ordinance shortly to be introduced into the Ceylon Legislative Council, and particularly to obtain the omission of the clauses imposing criminal punishment for breach of contract. It has made also representations with a view to promoting the education of Indian children in the Ceylon Estates. The Association, being alarmed at the movement in French Mauritius in favour of the transfer of the Island to France, in spite of the fact that the large majority of the inhabitants are Indians who had not been consulted in the
matter, required of His Majesty's Government what steps had been taken in this direction, and has received an assurance from the Colonial Office that no serious consideration would be given to the main demand. This Association has protested against Canadian Ordinances restricting the tenure of certain classes of sabbatical licences to white persons in British Columbia, and its representations have been referred to the Governor General of Canada for observations. It has requested His Majesty's Government to press for the repeal of or for necessary modifications of the Queensland Sugar Cultivation Act 1909 the interpretation of which was recently tested in a Privy Council case decided against the Indian appellants.

As regards the Mandatory Territories, viz., the Samoan Islands which will be administered by New Zealand—South West Africa which falls to be administered by the Union of South Africa and German E. Africa by the British Government, the Association has made representations to His Majesty's Government to maintain for the Indian subjects equal rights in future with all the other of His Majesty's subjects.

The Association fears that the apparently reached the conclusion of Indian settlement. The above information, for which we are thankful to the Secretary of the Association points out how much remains to be done in regard to the question of Indian landlords.

**Khilafat & The Calcutta Resolutions**

The anguish of the proposed dismemberment of Turkey poured a cloud of tears on Indian hearts. Twenty years more felt it sympathetically and shared the pain. The Muslim world beyond India was equally agitated. Yet whatever might be the idea of modes of relief, the Indians felt that relief lay only in self-determination and standing up against the sufferings and injustice to the case by a readiness to sacrifice.

The first part of the programme was carried out by a solemn demonstration before the world on the 17th October last by hearts and hand. The second part has been expressed so far in formal resolutions of non-cooperation with Government if Government did not come to their aid. The closest form of non-co-operation has been in the shape of non-participation in the Peace Conference. But that was the least that could be done in the way of self-sacrifice for the satisfaction of official and non-official Indian feeling like the following passed at the very first of the All India Khilafat Conference on November 11th and demand much higher lights—

"In the event of the Khilafat being put into jeopardy through the unjust treatment and treatment of Turkey in the Peace Settlement, Jihadi Mahomedans will be compelled to withdraw all co-operation from Government as a matter of religious duty.

Does not this lack of the Calcutta resolution echo that of a full paraphrase of the above only?

"This Conference requests all the Muslim Members of the Imperial and Provincial Councils, title-holders and honorary Magistrates to follow the example set by the Hon. Mr. Fazl Haq and the Hon. Mr. Abdul Qamad, who have thus day submitted their compliments to the Provincial Legislative Councils that if the demands of Islamic law are regarded Jallalul Arab and the holy places of Islam are not restored in the peace settlement with Turkey they should resign their respective offices and should express their determination in that respect to the Viceroy.

Yet some of those who took part in the early agitation and had tacitly endorsed the resolutions are trembling in their shoes now that the resolution is taking into a resolve and hastening towards materialisation from thought or words into action through sheer desperation.

But what else should have been expected? Is the nation bereaved of a nation of small numbers always and simply hand and foot and shake their fists but stand against some superior spirits amongst themselves propitious to impose the logic and remove their cause of distress with their own hands?

We have here that in the very inception of the Khilafat Movement there was action. Any one who could have read it. Only there were two parallel streams running all along. The purely Muhajir demand was the foundation of non-co-operation with bloodshed as the following concluding words of the Muslim Memorial to the Premier will show—

"We earnestly hope that the Peace Conference will give effect to the resolution in respect of the Ottoman Empire and the Khilafat in accordance with the principles of justice towards and pledged to the Muslims of India and other countries. Otherwise we feel that in the presence of the Gramma of the推手 Various questions for the peace of the world it will again be on one, which will create further anomaly resulting in the enforcement of blood between Muslims and Christians all over the world and for all time.

In conclusion, this being that there is nothing disquieting in the Calcutta Resolutions.

Through the Khilafat the blends Moslem secession has been moved down and a smooth surface of essentials unity of hearts existed without which the Indian field would for ever remain unfulfilled. The will of the last harvest that is capable of Indian sympathy and sharing in the Khilafat demand was that for India. The harvest to reap was that of the exercise of manhood which can only be bought by doing and not by talking alone. After all the promises of the past several months, when the time for reaping comes to an end and fear is to continue one's self and holding ones mind for even. Only two courses are open, either to choose the blood of non-violence or the blood of bloodshed. The choice has in a word now.

*Sure to carry an end and action is the moment to change.*

In the stride of Truth with Calcutta,

For the good of our sake.

Suresh Dev Chaudhary.
H H THE AGA KHAN ON THE KHILAFAT QUESTION

[He is coming to the attention of every one interested in the Khilafat question, the following observations made by his Highness the Aga Khan in the historic April 11 in reply to the address presented to him by the All India Khilafat Committees - B 1 1 1]

A CLOUDED HORIZON

I am afraid I am going to disappoint you in a small way. You will expect a political speech from me. It was my intention to make a political speech, but every little gain that I have made since I arrived here has shown that there is a more powerful weapon which has forced me to reserve my consideration on the subject, and I have come to the conclusion that this is the most serious political situation that has arisen in the history of India and by an army of fate, that was before India has learned to walk along the path of self-government. It is pity that in the busy atmosphere of the new reform many will be brought to bear with the greatest problems of foreign politics that almost any country has been faced. She has had this terrible problem thrown at her suddenly before her resolution festering but fully grown up. The situation is far too serious. It must be for one man to lay down a course of policy. It is far too serious for one community, even if that community consisted of millions of Muslems alone. The situation itself is so serious today that in my humble opinion it has become an Indian national question, that must be dealt with, and the decision must be in the hands of representatives and the leaders of Mussalmans and Hindus and other peoples in India as well as to join us. I believe we have the sympathy of the Anglo-Indian community and of the European non-official community. That being the case, it would be presumptuous on my part to offer any lines of policy, but I earnestly beg you to bring about the sooner the better - a meeting or a conference, perhaps at first an informal way, without any public, where people like Mr. Kahl will and may. What has been in England could give evidence before this leaders of the Mussalmans and the Hindus, who said it, so to say the judges. It is on them that the responsibility for deciding the policy to be carried out will lie. There are great dangers and risks ahead. I see them. There are possibilities that the Turks may be exterminated as a race. Yes, there are these possibilities. They have gone through ten years of warfare. Another few years of this kind of settlement and warfare and you can well imagine what would be a lot worse we have been told that to this day France suffers because of the Napoleons were two hundred years ago, you can understand what a small nation like the Turks have had to go through and what are the terrible dangers ahead. All this you must carefully take into consideration. You must remember that whatever the solution you, must try to bring about this - and I know all Turks are anxious about this that it should be such that there will be no more bloodshed between the Turks and the Arabs, (hear hear) that they should not kill each other. This is the opinion of the Turkish themselves. Whatever it may be, it must be of a nature that they must remain fast friends and they must be strong in a common religion and a common land. These are the great problems before us.
YOUNG INDIA.  
March 17, 1920.

in the loss of lives and liberty to person and property during the month of April last.

Is there another nation in the world that, after Amritsar, could have erred so fatally so many hours? Is there a nation on the globe’s surface that will not be forced by this uplifting example into a spiritual examination of its inner self and a revaluation of its own morality? Only a people of the same time extraordinarily humble (as the finest sense of the word) and extraordinarily proud could have so trampled on humanity and extracted from it the fragrant parochialism and make its own wounds that India has done. She has made an infinitely noble gesture of sacrifice and generous pieties before the rest of the world. And the world has to respond to it.

The first response is due from the people of Great Britain. The words quoted as a spiritual challenge to every good man and woman here. The clergymen here, who have suffered a thousand times more than did the Anglo-Indians, have yet seen enough of postures to regret and to condemn whatever of wrongdoing to them led to the brutal retaliations for which, as a governing nation, are ultimately responsible. How can we meet this beautiful soul of the true India?

Does it shame us into confessing how, from the very bottom of our hearts, we too regret and condemn all that happened from our side? Will not the recognition of a mutual foregone conclusion all that has passed two nations that seem to have been made for mutual love, and melt all mistrust? The mutual memories of bloodshed in grew and glossy flowers might forever to have weeded our hearts and minds in one harmonious whole. These things man still be if England resolves that her sun of charity has not yet set and that some more, she will do justice to India—then rather let the sons of her foster-daughter remain unwavering hearts she will dissolve the wicked off spring of her own blood. Deep calls unto deep in this transcendent disregard of India. It is for us now to set our house in order and to show that our experience is piercings, tramples, and satisfactions of the civil and the social. The responsible subjects who have betrayed our country must be tried and justly sentenced. The conscience, from the truth’s highest to the lowest, must be dragged into the day light and punished.

Finally, India must be made as free as human wit and will can make her. No delays, no negotiations, no half-haves, Pundits, Moghulism, and Amritsar have bought her citizenship to us mean Europe at no mean price. . .

There lives a soul of goodness in things even;  
Would men observantly dying it and se

The glory is to India in this revolution. The task is to Great Britain.

TURKEY AND INDIA.

The English community in India are under a debt of gratitude to the chairman of the Calcutta and Bombay Chambers of Commerce for having, in the admirable letter which they addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy on March 8th, expressed their feelings in the matter of the immense agitation raised in England against the retention of the Turkish Government in Constantinople.

In that letter Messrs. Facer and Crum rightly said that the English community in India had remained aloof from the discussion until the agitation was inaugurated in England, but in view of that agitation they could not remain silent lest their attitude should be misconstrued. They then proceeded to point out their knowledge of the genuine, deep-seated, and intense feelings of the Indian Muslims in the matter, they expressed their disagreement with those who are urging a settlement on lines greatly desired of sympathy for the wishes of these Muslims whose help to a large measure assisted in the defeat of their co-religionists, and they dissociated themselves from those propagators of the English Church who, necessarily ignorant of Indian Muslim sentiment, had entered into the controversy, then in venting it to the eyes of Muslims with a religious-sentiment which they cannot have intended. These were wise words wisely said. The English community to India, who have lived in friendship and unity with their Muslim fellow-subjects in India all these years entirely associate themselves with them, and join in urging on His Excellency the Viceroy to press on the Indian Government that the Muslims of Constantinople’s desires—so severe, so as to be practicable in the difficult situation in Turkey, the fullest respect for the views of the Muslims of India, he is speaking not for the Muslims of India alone, but for all classes of His Majesty’s subjects in this country.

Unfortunately, as Church in India must be exempted from outbursts of bigotry and intolerance. People who try to take their responsibilities to their fellow men sincerely are able to feed no conceit whatever for the British priests and the American bishops who, when the war for human freedom has been won, they who the world has been made safe for democracy, when the smaller peoples have been given the right to exist, have new sought to invent the arrangements on the termination of the war with the remoter of a dream. Even if some excuses were possible to Church, there can be none when it is remembered that the representatives of those against whom a crusade is mounted, furnished some of the most loyal and gallant soldiers in the Army of Freedom. Even more than the attitude of British priests and American bishops is the attitude of men like Lord Bryce, those whose influence and respect has been a part of the world by his literary work and his leas in the Washington Embassy. How one everyone would like to believe an honest and good gentleman. Not Lord Bryce has committed himself to two statements so utterly perverse, that, if he believed they were true, there is no excuse for him, if he was not certain that they were true his action is stupendous. Lord Bryce has described as a mere political suggestion the view that appeasement would be given to Indian Muslim sentiment by the removal of the Sultan and the Turkish Government from Constantinople. He has in various ways completely perverted the attitude of the Mahomedan statesmen of this country. These are points on which there is no room whatsoever for difference of opinion. When Indians feel an intense amount of importance of maintaining the Sultan and the Turkish Government at Constantinople, they feel that apart from their religious view of this question, confidence in British good faith is entirely dependent on the liberal discharge of the Premier’s pledge. The non-Muslims of this country do not presume to interpret Muslim religious sentiment, but they are entirely at one with their fellow-citizens in regarding the full and liberal observance of the Premier’s pledge as essential to the maintenance of British honor.

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YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

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BY

THE SATYAGRAH WEEK.

This national week will soon be upon us. We trust that it will be worthy of the occasion which it is to commemorate. The chief item of work which can be measured and which will be an acid test of our seriousness and feeling for the Punjabi will be the collection of a fund to pay for the memorial set for commemorating the memory of the martyrs of the 13th April last. To collect ten lacs from a population of thirty crores is not a difficult task if suitable workers can be found. If rich and well-known ladies and gentlemen could be persuaded to take up the work, it would be finished in a few weeks. The proper thing is to confer the workers from every province. We hope to give such a lift next week. But each province should try to collect as much more as it can, than the share. It would not matter if we succeed in collecting more. The loss is not the highest sum required. It is the minimum. Every one therefore is expected to subscribe liberally.

Thus there is the fasting and prayer. This is a holy institution. A genuine fast cleanses body, mind and soul. It cleanses the flesh and to that extent also the soul free. A sincere prayer can work wonders. It is an intense longing of the soul for its ever greater purity. Purify thus gained when it is utilized for a noble purpose becomes a prayer. The abode of the use of Gyan, i.e. repetition of invocations, shows the meaning we have given to prayer. When the same Gyan is performed with a humble and concentrated mind in an intelligent manner in times of national difficulties and calamities, it becomes a most potent instrument for warding off danger. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that the repetition of the Gyan, the answer to the Christian prayer are suppositions to be practiced by the ignorant and the credulous. Fasting and prayer therefore are a most powerful process of purification and that which purifies necessarily enable us to do our duty and to attain our goal. If therefore fasting and prayer seem at times not to answer, it is not because there is nothing in them; but because the right spirit is not behind them.

A man who fasts and gambles away the whole of the day as do so many on Janmashtami day, naturally, not only obtains no result from the fast but in the shape of greater purity but such a dabbler fast leaves him on the contrary degraded. A fast to be true must be accompanied by a readiness to receive pure thoughts and determination to resist all temptations. Similarly a prayer to be true has to be intelligible and definite. One has to identify oneself with it. Contemplating with the names of Allah on one’s lips whilst the mind wanders in all directions is worse than useless. We therefore hope that the coming week of dedication to national fasting and prayer will become a universal reality and not merely a formal observance.

The magnificent spectacle of tens of thousands of Mahomedans going to Jamia Masjid in different parts of India and offering heart-felt prayers for the attainment of truth did more than anything else to bring a just solution within the bounds of possibility. We would have no hesitation in guaranteeing a proper solution of the Khilafat question purely on the strength of prayer. We need not be told that the argument in favour of prayer was both weak, as it is open to much to our enemies as to us to prove. But that would be an argument not against prayer but against allowing the result to affect our valuation of prayer. One may not make terms with God. It is enough to know that prayer has played from times immemorial an important part in the evolution of nations as well as individuals. May the Satyagrah week witness a revival of the institution of fasting and prayer in all their original glory and splendour.
Notes.

19th March and Government warnings.—While we are of opinion that the various warnings issued by provincial governments and the notification by the Government of India, in which Government servants are solemnly warned against participating in the celebrations of the 19th, could have been avoided altogether or at any rate so worded as to avoid unnecessary sting, resentment and irritation, we think that the gagging order of the Burma Government is a connection upon 40 hundred of the province, without sufficient justification, is most unfortunate. The extra-ordinary peaceful manner in which the celebrations passed off throughout the country strengthens our conviction that there was greater need for the Government to adopt rather a placid and sympathetic attitude than a nervous and a threatening one. At all times and especially at such critical moments in our history, it is not only for the people to exercise utmost restraint and follow the dictum of comparing by reason, love, and non-violence but for the Government also to proceed on these lines, without the other giving up their firmness and sense of discipline. Any thoughtlessness, impetuosity and nervousness confines the same and thwart the very end in view.

The other way please.—The Hon’ble Mr. Belvi, while heartily supporting a resolution for extending the teaching of English in Sindhi schools, humorously related how he was surprised some years ago to discover that one honourable member for Sind did not know English. ‘That was a very unsatisfactory state of affairs,’ remarked Mr. Belvi. We agree, but in another sense. We are not here concerned with the resolution in point. We know that today a member not knowing English can do precious little in our Legislative Councils. But we fail to understand why it should be so—why a man should not know the language of the people of England when he has been returned by an Indian electorate to serve Indian people and Indian interests. We wonder if the Hon’ble Mr Belvi was ever surprised that the Governor and most of his councillors knew next to nothing of the language of the people they have come to govern.

We think it is high time Indian members asserted each other with a dignified caesura or a hearty nanas and exchanged compliments in Hindustani, our natural tongue-france.

There is, however, another lesson to be learnt from the Hon’ble Mr Belvi’s above experience, viz., the need of re-educating our provinces on linguistic basis. We hope that home-rulers like the Hon’ble Mr Belvi will utilize their opportunity and work for securing this end sooner or later. We look for the day when the whole work of the Councils will be carried on in the vernacular of their respective provinces. This would ennoble and dignify the vernacular and enable the masses to be better able to appreciate the work of their representatives in the Councils. This principle of Democracy demands it.

Even as matters stand something can be done in this direction by striving to make permissible, in the discussions of our Councils, the use of Hindustani or the chief vernacular of the province. Mr. Belvi will then find that the answers more readily his requirements and also save him the odour of not being understood by a colleague, not only in the exchange of compliments but also of general views on various provincial affairs.

Kyaikasan Handloom Weaving Institute.—The above institute is reported to be doing splendid but quiet sort of work far away in Burma in the vicinity of Rangoon. The Institute was started five years back with a view to imparting education in the art of weaving and thereby helping to improve and encourage the weaving industry of Burma. Although goods are made and sold by the Institute, its chief object is said to be training people in handloom. To fulfill this object, the Institute invites and entertains apprentices of all castes, creeds without any distinction who are eager to learn the work and want to adopt it in life. They are encouraged by stipends from the very beginning of their course and are said to be afforded every facility to learn the work. There are different kinds of handloom with different preparatory processes and the apprentices are taught all these thoroughly. A certain amount of theoretical knowledge is also imparted to them for this purpose. The Institute has also attached to it a bohery branch and a small dye-houses.

To gain the end in view the Institute is also organizing the weaving population of the suburbs of Rangoon. The Institute has about 25 looms in the suburbs. This has helped to revive the industry to some extent as otherwise most of the weavers had given it up or were on the verge of doing so owing to high prices of raw material and inadequate demand and prices of the finished work. The Institute now supplies the weavers with raw materials and takes back the finished articles after paying them a fair wage for their work. The work turned out by the Institute is said to be good, the prices reasonable, specially as regards emporium, bedhakats, plaindoh, shirting, towels, hose and socks.

Having regard to the work that the Institute is doing, we feel that it has more than justified its existence and does therefore deserve Government and public patronage, sympathy and help. The promoters of the Institute have set a very good example. We hope some of our industrial workers in this presidency as well as others, will follow their example of doing practical and useful work for the real industrial upliftment of the country. We wish the Institute every success. The address of the office of the Institute is 23, Mogul Street, Rangoon.
VIOLENCE versus NON-VIOLENCE.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Kilmulis day has come and gone. It was a great success and a complete triumph of Satyagraha, i.e., not civil disobedience but truth and non-violence. No kilmulis had been so voluntary as that of the 19th March on that all the canvassing that ever took place was before the 19th. It was an example of wonderful self-restraint on the part of the Committee not to have called out the mill hands. The Committee deserves the highest praise for its efficient management and for the definite recognition of voluntarism. If the people continue to show the discipline and self-restraint shown on the 19th and add thereto is an equal measure of the spirit of self-sacrifice, nothing can prevent the full fruition of our hopes regarding Kilmulis. Nobody could have believed a year ago the possibility of peace being observed by the fanatical elements among the Kilmulis on a matter of life and death to them and on a day of no business for the idlers. But there can be no idlers when there is prayer. All were employed not to quarrel, not to be angry but to pray for the right to be done. It is true that all did not definitely pray, but the spirit of prayer was abroad and it dominated the people rather than the spirit of revenge, anger, excitement and so we had the amazing spectacle of the kilmulis passing off like an ordinary day when everybody expects peace to be observed. The vast meeting of Bombay attended perhaps by thirty thousand men was a sight worth seeing. There was a sense in the faces of those thousands of people who listened to the speeches, yet without applause or any other outward demonstration. The organisers deserve the warmest praise for having introduced into our meetings the ancient peacefulness, quiet, determination and orderliness in the place of modern fustian, excitement and disorderliness. The case develops just the qualities that make for Satyagraha, the other manly side to violence. And the message of the great meeting and the very successful kilmulis is non-violence. I hope that the authorities will reconsider the situation. They will not fail to understand the admirable spirit of the whole demonstration or the equally admirable spirit of the resolution—a resolution to which in my humble opinion it is impossible for any honest lover of this country or the Empire to take exception. I hope to see that they will read the spirit of the movement in the manner in which I am developing. I hope that the exemplary patience, self-restraint and orderliness that are evolving in our midst will have their due weight with them and that they will inform the Imperial Government that while there is this admirable peace in the land there is also a grim determination behind it which will not take 'no' for an answer. I hope that Government

will not repeat the sin of last April and extinguish any false hope of tyranny and unanswerable spirit that has come into being and that will suffer everything but humiliation, dishonour and defeat.

It is a matter of deep regret that so respected a body as the Liberal League should have so hastily and so inadequately condemned the kilmulis. Surely a people so touched with grief and with disappointment probably bearing them in the face must have an outlet for orderly manifestation. It was because not very long ago we were afraid to speak or write what we thought that our sentiments were buried under and became food with which we hungered because of the absence of the fierce war and the open war of public opinion playing upon them that hence we had a secret revolutionary movement. Today, thank God we seem to have achieved the civil day. We dare to think, speak and write openly, without fear, but under restraint that openness imposes upon man kind. I appeal to the members of the Liberal League and those who think with them to recognise this plain fact and to appreciate the enormity of boldness over timid cantum. If they desire to harness all the unanswerable forces that are coming daily into being for the uplift of the nation, if they wish to become privileged participants in the themes of the new birth let them not ignore the signs of the time, but let them not repeat the advances of the younger generation, let them not call their ardor and aspirations for them, the head of the growing party of young, enthusiastic, self-sacrificing, dare-devil men. sympathy with them, respond in the hearts of men. regulate it, for they are answerable to reason or an appeal to their high-souledness and you have a democratic party, obedient to the 'call of the country. But if they feel neglected, if they feel that the older heads will not patiently listen to their views, will, not give them a hearing they may despair and despair may lead to desperation resulting in a catastrophic destruction. I can recall no time so magnificently suited for leading India to the method of Satyagraha—not necessarily civil disobedience, but truth and non-violence—in which there is no defeat and in which if there is any error it hurts those who are

CONTEMPT OF COURT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The long expected hearing of the case against the Editor and the publisher of Young India is commencing with the publication of a letter of the District Judge of Ahmedabad regarding Satyagraha in Lawyers by my name. The case has been heard and judgment has been pronounced. Both the editor and the publisher have been severely reprimanded. But the Court did not see its way to pass any sentence upon either of us. If I dwell upon the judgment it is only because I am anxious as a Satyagrahi to draw a moral from it. I wish to assure those friends who out of pure friendship advised me to tender the required apology, that I refused to accept them.
advice not out of obstinacy but because there was a
great principle at stake. I had to conserve a jour-
naclist's independence and yet respect the law. My
own reading of the law was that there was no con-
tempt committed by me. But my defence rested
more upon the fact that I could not offer an apo-
logy if I was not prepared not to repeat the offence
on a similar occasion. Because I hold that an apology
rendered to a Court to be unnecessary was as sincere
as a private apology. At the same time I owed a
duty to the Court. It was an object for me to
refuse to accept the advice of the Chief Justice
especially when the Chief Justice was so very con-
scientious in the correspondence with me. I was on
the horns of a dilemma, I therefore decided not to
offer any defence but simply to make a statement
frankly and fully denying my position, leaving it
to the Court to pass any sentence it thought fit in
the event of an adverse decision. In order to show
that I meant no disrespect of the Court and that
I did not desire to advertise the case I took
extraordinary precautions to prevent publicity
and I venture to think that I succeeded eminently
in convincing the Court that behind my dis-
obedience— if it was disobedience, there was no
defence but perfect recognition, there was no anger
or ill-will but perfect restraint and respect, that
if I did not apologise, I did not, because an unsuccess-
ful apology would have been contrary to my con-
mences I held that it was about as perfect an in-
terpretation of evil disobediences as it ever has been my
privilege to offer. And I feel that the Court recog-
ized it in a most handsome manner and recognized
the spirit of humility that lay behind my so-called
disobediences. The lenient judgement of Justice Mar-
reo lays down the law, and decide against me. But I
feel thankful that it does not question the propriety
of my action. Justice Haywood's judgment recognizes
it as an instance of passive, i.e., evil resistance
and practically makes it the reason for not awarding any
sentence. Here then we have an almost complete
validation of evil disobedience. Disobedience to
its civil must be severe, respectful, restrained,
not defiant, must be based on sound understood principles, must not be exquisitive and above all must have no ill-will or hatred behind it. I sub-
mit that the disobedience offered by Mr. Devi and
myself sustained all these ingredients.

NOTICE

All communications regarding subscriptions,
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Our rates of subscription.
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and all manuscripts and printed matter to be inserted
in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should
be addressed to Suryagarh Palace, Jaipur.

THE MESSAGE OF THE PUNJAB.
The following free rendering of the address
delivered in Hindi by Shrinath Saral Devi Chand-
ran in the public of Ahmedabad on the 27th Feb-
uary cannot fail to interest the readers of Young
India. Jos Bahador Bameleon was in the chair.
After the usual introduction the proceedings were
concluded with the speaker's own celebrated na-
itional song "Namo Himachal." The address was
entitled "The Message of the Punjab."

THE MESSAGE.

Bharat is a holy place and in it in many respects
Punjab, the land of the five rivers, may be consider-
ed the holiest. It has been called the ancient abode of
the Rishis. When modern civilization spreads its
dazzling rays for our acceptance and transmutes
us by its delicious speech and succeeds in making us
entirely ashamed of our own, we seek shelter and
comfort in exploring the treasured stores of those
dwelling in the dhongs and the bhangas of the five
rivers and when we meet them face to face in
their pastoral hymns we are filled with pride about
the glory of our own ancient civilization that has
bared in the untranslatable name called the Vedas.
The Vedas represent to us the word of God and the
word was given, so the historians tell us, on the
holy banks of the rivers of the Punjab. It is for that
reason that the very name of the Punjab fills every
Indian with a thrill of pride. It is in that soil whose
children found perfect joy and pleasure in learning
from the wise man wise divinities. It is in that holy
place where a Raja's wife proudly sent to her husband,
"What have I to do with earthly riches which cannot
rob death of its terror to the 8. She at last herself
become a divine angry and today, throughout India,
millions of Hindu sing those universal verses which
mean—"Lead me from Pain to Truth, from Darkness unto Light, from Death unto Immor-

tality. Reveal Thyself to me, O Lord. Protect me with
Thy bungo aspect. "It is the holy land where
the youth Nachiketa, spending long life and enjoy-
mants of the world, immortals himself by thus
addressing the God of Death who had asked him
to choose a boon, "Rishis do not make a man great,
I want no other boon, I want only knowledge of
things spiritual. " It was in the ancient Punjab that
the very gods, recompensing enjoymentst lawfully
for them and elevated by the preaching of Divine
Wisdom sat at the feet of the sages and observed
prachantcharya for ages.

Thus we are beholden to the land of the sacred
re

vies for all that is highest in Hinduism and it is on
that account and that alone that we should think of
the Punjab in our morning prayers. Not only did the
Punjab lead the way in divine knowledge in the
times of the Rishis but even during recent times
it has been the birthplace of the Sikh Gurus. We
now our heads to the Punjab for the commemora-
tion, the self-criticism and the spirituality that these
Gurus expressed in their lives and held up before us.
as a pattern worthy of imitation by us. Alas! since then the Punjab seems to have remained in temporary oblivion of her ancient heritage. The present despotism of the Rulers of old, though they still prove their noble descent by their hand some Aryan features, seem to have misinterpreted the teachings of the ancient seer about Power. The Rulers have said—Power is greater than all. Science. Our man of power is more than a match for hundreds of scientists. Power sustains the earth, the ether, the sky, the mountains, the gods, mankind, the birds, vegetation and insects—none of these are also dependent upon this Power. Therefore worship it."

The Punjab of today has mistaken the great Power of the soul for physical power and put it on a pedestal! She seems to have forgotten that the sages sang not of the mere momentary body-force but that they sang of the invisible soul-force. It is said of this Power which sustains everything everywhere that eyes cannot see it, speech cannot describe it, mind cannot comprehend it. Of this same Power Herbert Spencer has said—The Power which the universe manifests is an utterly intangible... an Infinite and Eternal energy from which all things proceed. This Soul-Power is beneficent and in its beneficence has its distinctive character from the power of the brute or the body-force. It has the force with which Vasuki overpowered Vishnu. Could the Punjab have been emerged by the deities of the Western worship of brute-force? There are two distinctive qualities which characterize brute-force—tyranny and cowardice—to terrorize the weak and to fear the strong. Wherever the characteristics of soul-force are protection of the weak and fearlessness before the tyrant. But the same martial Rulers tell us that the chosen Britons are they alone achieve the better way whom the gods choose and the gods forgot the Punjab for a while. When however, they remembered that they laid once more, there came a voice from above—

Awake, arise, approach the great one,
And learn wisdom from them.

The one who was to awake the Punjab was in Ceylon! He had never seen the Punjab but he had a message for her as for the rest of India. Many read it, some only understood it. The result was that there was a kind of stimulation. The people of the Punjab did not sign his pledge. They did not grasp the greatness of Satyagraha, notwithstanding the freedom-giving spirit pervaded the Punjab air and the Punjab was not satisfied. A new power came into being—the power of suffering—and so the sufferings of Lahore received lodges in their breasts without realizing Only today it was learned that the 21 men who were under heavy sentences including death penalty, had their appeals dismissed by the High Court. I have no doubt that the people of the Punjab, with their eyes fixed on Truth will, even like Minas, enquire the power to drink this poison as it was necessary. For many

as innocent men including the leaders has suffered imprisonment, many have lost their all, many families have been deprived of their bread-winners, hundreds are dependent on public charity. But save for few, the sufferers have borne their sufferings with a brave heart. The message of Satyagraha has taken effect. Happiness and misery, prison and palace, life and death are today different aspects of the same thing! If we are filled with Truth, why need we fear an O’Dwyer or a Dyce? The Truth in us shall make us free! The Punjab says to-day—'The weak shall not find the soul within भारत के गृहस्त्यानि समाजसेवक तपाईः And if the Punjab forgives, it will be a fragrance which adorns the strong—it will not be the desolate refuge of the coward. I venture thus to sing for you the words of the Message of the Punjab."

And the sparrow sang on the beautiful bank of the Saharun just after sunset to the vast audience of the city of Ahmedabad who listened in perfect respectful silence, the verses composed by Punjabi Rambhaj Bati Chowdhry that were sung by her to the Amritsar Congress. We give a free translation of these verses:

1

Never lose heart,
What though the very life be in danger?
Let us not lose heart
Though the body may perish

2

Whether it be through lightning, fire, water, flood, hurricanes or earthquakes,
Let him lose heart

3

Let the shell from the gun riddle you,
Let the edge of the sword cut you to shreds,
Never lose heart

4

Let confusion, fear, defeat, every thing you,
Let hard words pierce you,
Let the gallows or transposition be your lot,
Never lose heart

5

Let Tala, let Hindustan,
Let knowledge, let the strength of the strong sustain you,
Never lose heart

6

By the voice of the Mahabir,
By the bidding of the Malwa,
By the voice of the friends,
Never lose heart

7

By the people of Dhesa,† Patachali,†
Sandleher,† and Jamnagar;†
Never lose heart

8

O Ram, through love
Through peace, through patience,
And by the grace of True God,
Never lose heart

† A Malwas and Dhesas are warrior tribes living in the Punjab.

Nature of Pashas in the Punjab.
Mr. Gandhi, who was in charge of the usual vote of thanks to the speaker and the chair in a humorous little speech said that it was some what embarrassing for him to speak of one who was not only his valued guest, but had become as dear to him as his own sister. During his privileged residence under Savarkar's roof whilst she was separated from her husband, he had had many a rich experience of her devotion to her husband. He knew how a house she had sought for securing peace for her husband, but never till that evening had he so fully realized that she was husband-made. The audience might think that she had delivered the message of the Punjab, which was the message of Satyagraha in the words of some ancient Bhakti, for they had heard so much that evening of the Bhakti of old. If they were labouring under any such delusion it was his duty to redress them. He was certainly proud to think that the message of Satyagraha had been delivered in a beautiful sweet song. But his pride was mixed with grief because he noticed that under the cover of delivering the message of Satyagraha, Savarkar had done nothing else than glorifying his husband. For Sanu, the author of the song was no other than Pandit Ramalinga Dutt Chowdry. He did not find the glorification of a husband by a husband-made wife. But he realized such glorification under false colours. The speaker hoped that the audience would join him in his resentment by enthusiastically carrying the vote he had the honour of moving and that the sister of Ahmedabad whom he knew among the audience would show their appreciation of the gifts of the guest of the evening by copying her wonderful devotion to her husband.

**Mr. Gandhiji's Khilafat Speech.**

The following is a verbatim report of Mr. Gandhi's speech at the Khilafat meeting held at Bombay on the 19th, while moving the only resolution adopted by the meeting.

**Mr. Gandhi's Speech.**

It gives me the greatest pleasure to be able to move the only resolution of this great conference. I beg to congratulate the organizers and the valiant team on the splendid success of the peaceful demonstration of to-day. We had many wars and given to us to the consequences that were likely to follow from suspicion of business. Bombay at least has, thanks to the efforts of the Khilafat Committee, behaved nobly in this matter. The hawala was spontaneous and voluntary. No pressure whatever was used. It was a matter of great satisfaction to me to note that the Committee followed the advicerendered by me that small banks should not be asked upon to participate in the hawala. In these days of tension between employers and employees in the various industrial concerns of the country, we may not encourage leisure to absent themselves from work without the willing consent of the employers.

Our resolution divides itself into four parts. The first part consists of a protest and a prayer. It protests against violent and irresponsible agitation set up in England in connexion with the Khilafat question, and appeals to the Ministers and other statesmen to disavow themselves from this agitation and reassure as to the following feeling of the people of the United Kingdom by accepting an honourable settlement consistent with the past religious sentiments of the Mussalmans of India. The second part warns those concerned that an adverse solution is likely to eventuate in complete withdrawal of cooperation from the Government and will put an end to any open Indian loyalty, and if such a step unfortunately becomes a necessity, there is likely to be massive. The third part of the resolution warns the people in the most emphatic language against violence of speech or action and more finally, as the opinion of their great masters that any exercise of violence is considered by the sacred Compact and to be irreparable harm. For the resolution is a joint contract between the Hindus, Mahomedans and others to whom this great land is their mother country or their adopted home.

And it submits the joint movement to a policy of co-operation in the course of the struggle, but Mahomedans have special Korean obligations in which Hindus may or may not join. They, therefore, reserve to themselves the right, in the event of the failure of non-cooperation and non-violence in order to enforce justice, to resort to all such methods as may be approved by the Islamic scriptures I venture hereby to associate myself with this resolution. I consider the resolution to be thoroughly respectful and serene in tone. I see no platform, Susa and Government, Hindus and Muslims, all joined together in a respectful demonstration. Complete closure of all the great Hindu silk-stores and Hindu houses are an eloquent testimony of Hindu agreement with the Muslim demand. The noble agitation set up in London has evoked an outburst of feeling in India which will never die until justice is done. It is the matter of painful surprise that even Lord Curzon, with all his knowledge and experience of India, should have allied himself with the agitators agitators.

**A Silver Lining.**

There is, however, a silver lining to the cloud that gathered overhead. Mr. Morley has been an uncompromising advocate of Lloyd George's but he has now reformed his opinion, and Lloyd George's will perhaps be followed by a more peaceful settlement. The Anglo-Indian press has not been hostile. The Times of India and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce have even warmly praised our appeal. The resolution invites all Englishmen to rally round the banner of Truth and vindicate British honour and the pledge of the British Premier. I yield to no man in my loyalty to the British constitution but I must refuse to buy that loyalty at the price of honour and at the sacrifice of the dearly-paid religious sentiments of one section of my countrymen. A loyalty that sells its soul is worth nothing, and if its spirit of the acknowledged services of Indian soldiers, both Hindu and Mahomedan, during the late war, the pressing made by British statesmen have broken, the reasons that evoke the loyalty of India will have ceased to exist. I do not lose hope, but if the hopes are disappointed and the worst happens, God knows what will happen to the fair land of ours. We know this that there will be neither peace nor rest for the Government or the people until the wrong is righted and the feelings of eight crores of Mahomedans are respected.
PERFECTLY HONOURABLE

I hope it is unnecessary to show why it is obligatory on Hindus to march side by side with their Mahomedan countrymen. So long as the masses and the seditious minority are in the ascendant, the Hindus are not likely to be able to hold their own, but, on the contrary, will be in a constant state of subjection. We must remember that we are not fighting for our own existence, but for the existence of the whole race. We must therefore be prepared to make sacrifices, and to be willing to bear the burden of the struggle for freedom. The Mahomedans must be educated to see that they are not fighting for their own existence, but for the existence of the whole race. We must therefore be prepared to make sacrifices, and to be willing to bear the burden of the struggle for freedom.

MUSLIM OBLIGATIONS

They wish to preserve or suppress nothing. Some of them have, therefore, resolved upon the invasion of a province to the resolution meaning, that if such violence fails, they are at liberty to resort to the other methods. The Government has no power either to prevent them from making use of or to suppress the powers which they can use. In this case, the Hindus must be ready to bear the burden of the struggle for freedom. The Mahomedans must be educated to see that they are not fighting for their own existence, but for the existence of the whole race. We must therefore be prepared to make sacrifices, and to be willing to bear the burden of the struggle for freedom.

CONTEMPT CASE JUDGMENT

A fine stating the facts of the case which are summarised in our lead story. His Lordship Sir Justice Munsam observes:

CASES SUB-JUDGE:*

As to the general principles of law to be applied to this case, there can be no doubt, in my opinion, that the Court has jurisdiction to deal with this matter. The Court has jurisdiction to deal with this matter, and it is not necessary to go into the question of whether the conduct of the Sub-Judge was such as to justify his being committed to jail. In my opinion, the conduct of the Sub-Judge was such as to justify his being committed to jail.

That object would be frustrated if newspapers were forced to comment on or make extracts from proceedings which would not come into the Act of Judging. It makes it certain whether the conduct was such as to justify proceedings against a defendant. The view is that the interference with what is in the Court's duty and not a newspaper's, via the doctrine of the pending case.

LAW AS TO CONTROLLING

After consulting numerous English authorities with respect to Contemplation, Lord Justice Munsam proceeds —

One can easily see the evil which would result if it were permissible to publish a statement containing (any) charges of found against a respectable man before he could even put in his answer, and long before the charges could be judicially determined.

I may refer to one more case, not because it lays down any new law, but because it brings the English authorities up to date and illustrates the restrictions imposed on the liberty of the press, which, as pointed out by Lord Justice Munsam, is in The Times of 20th January, 1912, and was heard by Lord Chief Justice of England and Mr Justice Sankey. The Times newspaper had commented on a pending murder case, but did not attempt to justify its action in doing so, and the correspondent who expressed the deepest regrets to the editor of The Times.

Defining judgment, the Earl of Redesdale said — The Court would not prevent the investigation of murders to be taken out of the hands of the newspapers and to be carried on by the police. The liberty of the individual was then when he was charged with crime, and indeed even more so when he was charged with crimes, must be preserved, and it was the function of the Court to prevent the publication of articles which were likely to be used in such proceedings.

The only doubt as to the law was whether the Court ought to commit the editor to prison. The Court had come to the conclusion that in the circumstances of the case, no sense of the offence amounted which was an offence both by the perpetrator and editor, by imposing a fine for each.

APPLICATION TO PRESENT CASE

The principles of law as laid down, how ought they to be applied to the facts of this particular case? In my opinion, those principles prohibited the publication...
of the District Judge's letter pending the hearing of the notice issued by the High Court. It was misconstrued by the respondent Gandhi that the letter was written by Mr. Kennedy in his private capacity, and not as District Judge. I think that construction is erroneous. The letter is an official letter written by the District Judge in the exercise of his duties as such and submitting the case to the High Court for orders. As my brother Hayward has pointed out to me, the letter follows the procedure laid down in the Civil Procedure Code, in cases of alleged misconduct by a pleader. (Sec 250). It very properly sets out what the learned judge considers to be the facts both for and against the pleader, and gives his reasons for bringing the matter before the High Court. Indeed, if he had not done so, he would probably have been asked by the High Court for further particulars before they took any action. The letter is also quite similar to that which is written by the Sessions Judge, in the exercise of his duties as such, brings some matter before his Court with a view to the exercise of its jurisdiction. It may instance actual references which the Sessions Judge for the reasons given in his special letter recommends the revision of some illegal or inadequate rulings which had been passed by a subordinate Court and which the High Court alone can either confirm or discharge.

In the present case, the District Judge's letter contained any statement which the respondent pleader at chambers contended was inadequate, that would be a matter for decision at the hearing of the notice when all had to say would be fully considered. But even if the letter was written by Mr. Kennedy in his private capacity, I do not think it would make any substantial difference as regards some quotations. The letter would still form part and a most important part of the pending proceedings and the record thereof. I do not think that any substantial difference can be drawn between it and the other classes of documents mentioned in the authorities cited to Oswald and to Dinsmore to which I have already referred. In my judgment, therefore, the publication of this letter was a Contempt of Court. That I refer to the comments made in the newspaper, including the heading 'Objection in Ahmedabad' under which the letter was published. These comments are not only unanswerable pending proceedings, but are of a particularly intemperate and reproachable character. They prejudge the issue and tend to undermine any decision which the High Court may come to at the trial. They also amount in my opinion to what Lord Russell described as 'a deliberate abuse of the power of the Court as such'. In that letter connection, the questions whether the letter was written by Mr. Kennedy in his private or his public capacity becomes irrelevant, and I consider it my duty to make in my judgment written in the judicial capacity.

Accordingly, on the authorities I have already referred to, these comments are clearly Contempt of Court. I may, in return, refer to my judgment in the same case.

"NO PUBLIC DUTY."

We have carefully considered the various statements made by the respondents and arrived at the hearing to give any intelligible explanation of evasive for their conduct. None such was forthcoming. In his letter of the 11th December 1918, the respondent Gandhi confesses that in publishing and commenting on the letter he performed a most public duty at a time when there was a great teetotal and when even the pulpit was being affected by the popular prejudice. "Somehow we would answer that if that teetotal and popular prejudice existed, it would be increased rather than diminished by abuse of the local Judge and that they could not be the public duty of any good citizen.

But there would seem to be some strange misapprehension in the minds of the respondents as to the legitimate object of a newspaper. Otherwise the respondent Gandhi would hardly have contended before me, as he in fact did, that if a man brought a case against a father and a son, no journalist thought that the son's notice was wrong, the journalist would be justified in holding the son up to public ridicule in the public press, for the clear reason that he was the son of a man who had been his father. I am, however, if he was to be the builder of a more just and liberal society in England are imperfectly known or understood in India, and that the respondents have paid more attention to the liberty of the Press than to the duties which accompany that and every other liberty. This has not weighed with me in considering what order the Court ought to pass in this case.

We have large powers and it is appropriate that no man commit offenses against the Press. Mr. Kennedy is only as large as we ought to expect. I, in fact, to agree with them in drawing up and moderating, remembering that the only object we have in view is to enforce the due administration of justice for the public benefit.

In the present case the Court has very seriously considered whether it ought not to impose substantial fine on one of both of the respondents, but on the whole I think it is sufficient for the Court to state the law in terms which I hope will have no room for doubt in the future and to enjoin the respondents to severely repudiate the respondents and writing them both as to their future conduct.

THE ORDER OF THE COURT

That accordingly is the order which I think we should pass in the present case.

The order of the Court will accordingly be, 'The Court finds the charges proved. It severely repudiates the Respondents and enjoins them both as to their future conduct.'

Mr. Hayward's Judgment

Mr. Justice Hayward in a separate but concurrent judgment, after dismissing the legal aspect of the case, made the following observations.

It is difficult to appreciate the position taken up by the respondents. They have expressed their inability to enjoin the proceedings. It must, however, be said that at the same time they have submitted their willingness to submit any proceeding not out of them. It is possible that the Editor, the respondent Gandhi, did not realize that he was breaking the law and that there would be no doubt that that was so, that it was not realized by the publishers, the respondent Desa. The respondents have been able to draw notice and have been accused. It is possible that they were proceeding in order to meet the respondents and warn them of the penalties imposed by the High Court.

Mr. Justice Kaji concurred.
Notes.

Swagatam—Gujarat is welling up with expectations and enthusiasm at the prospect of having for her honoured guest the post-inventor of Asa. The Sikhs of Surat, which meets in this city during this week, has added to its attention by Dr Tegner’s consulting to attend its opening ceremony. We tender our heartfelt welcome to the post who has been a continuous source of inspiration to young India.

Your pledges, Mr. George—In view of the extra-ordinary unanimity and enthusiasm with which the Khilafat Deputation put their case before the Premier of England, the bland, unmeaning and unprepared reply of the latter is the more extremely to be regretted. Mr. Mahommed Ali put the maximum Muslim demand in the clearest and most dispassionate terms. He condemned the massacres and urged that an International Conference be appointed to enquire into the alleged atrocities. Condemn punishment may then be awarded to the real culprits. But Mr. Lloyd George would have nothing of this and indulged in hot rhetoric pleading for the adoption of stringent measures against Turkey. "Turkey like Germany and Austria had been beaten," said the Premier, "Germany and Austria have paid the penalty for defeat. Germany has had justice, pretty terrible justice. Why should Turkey escape?"

In this shameless manner did the Premier meet the Khilafat Deputation and its advance. He perhaps forgot that there is a plain emphatic reply to his query and that is in his own pledges—pledges specific, 'unqualified' and 'dubious.' The terrible, stern justice to Turkey must be compared with the pledged word and redeemed honour of the British Empire, otherwise what was the fact of guaranteeing maintenance of the Turkish Empire, preservation of holy places and above all warranting that Khilafat is the question for the Muslims alone to decide. Besides the Premier should see in making that ruthless terrible justice to Turkey, he does not instance those who have helped him to win the victory.

Mr. Lloyd George is ridiculously insouciant. In the same breath in which he says that the Allies are satisfying nothing more or less than justice to Turkey, he claims to have 'very largely deferred to the wishes of Indian Muslims.' We still hope that if the aims and intentions of the Allies are honest, if the pledged word and honour of the British Government is to be redeemed and if Muslim wishes are to be respected, the Turkish problem can find a healthy and agreeable solution. In the mean time we strongly urge our Muslim brothers not to lose heart. Every adverse utterance should strengthen their resolve not to spurn the cause by national impatience or by week-kneed submission.

Anti-Asiatics up in Arms—As was to be expected, the Anti-Asiatics are up in arms against the Indians in South Africa. Of course they have been so, for the last decade or two but now that a Commission is setting to inquire into the land and trading rights of Indians, the South African League—the only formidable Anti-Asiatic organisation in Britain—is vigorously circulating a draft petition throughout South Africa with a view to obtaining as many signatures as can and thus presenting it to Parliament as a tangible expression of the feelings of the white people of this province upon this vital question.

What is this vital question and this tangible expression of the white peoples feelings? The vital question, of course, the so-called "Asiatic menace," and the tangible expression of feelings combines a policy of "assimilation rigorously enforced." What does this policy amount to in plain, ungarbled language? It means that not only should every bit of restrictive and repressive legislation, in regard to the Indian, that is now in the Transvaal Status Book, be enforced throughout South Africa, but also that he (the Indian) should, steadily but surely, be deprived of whatever rights he has in respect of trade, property, freedom of movement
sta. He is to be reduced to downright helotsage and confined strictly to hard and fast locations known as "Ametic Beesare." That is what the draft policy which we reproduce elsewhere and the speech of Mr. Philipse, the President of the League, passages from which also are reproduced in these pages, demand. How should we view this agitation and take up the challenge thrown down by the Leaguers?

There is no doubt that it is a formidable and well-organised agitation and the League is going to put up a strong and stern fight to achieve its end and to urge its segregation policy immediately before the Commission. But while we should be the last to underrate the strength and significance of such opposing and influential forces, we are not prepared, having regard to the segmented composition and character of the League itself and the wild, swaying, and may we say, illusionary nature of its demands, to attach too much importance to the League's activities and allow our hopes to be dimmed about a just and equitable solution of the Indian problem in the near future and an immediate redress of the grievances under investigation by the commission. Nevertheless, to be forewarned is to be forearmed. Sir Benjamin Robinson will have powerful forces to count against him and it is up to both the people and the Government of India to back him with all the support that they can command.

IMPERIAL CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION'S ACTIVITIES

The first report of the Imperial Citizenship Association, dealing with the four years' activities of the Association from 12th August 1913, the date of its foundation, to 31st December, 1913, has just been published. The Association has been doing its share of work in inquiring into the social, moral and economic conditions and safeguarding the civil rights of our countrymen abroad. We give below a brief summary of the report.

ORIGIN OF THE ASSOCIATION

The Association owes its existence to the South African Indian Relief Fund, organised in 1911, at the instance of the late lamented Mr. Gopal Kishan Godbole, with the late Sir R. J. Tata as President, and Sir Phirozshah M. Mehta as Vice-President, for the purpose of helping our fellow countrymen in South Africa in their struggle against the Ametic Registration Act of the South African Union Government. The Honorary Secretaries of the South African Indian Relief Fund had in that time a substantial balance in their hands and a strong of the subscribers to the Fund which met on the 3rd November, 1914, had no hesitation in declaring that the balance should be devoted to securing, safeguarding and maintaining the economic interests and the civil rights of Indians as equal subjects of the British Crown, in all British Colonies as well as foreign countries and a committee, to be called the South-African Indian Committee, consisting of several leading subscribers, was appointed and authorised to form an Association for the purpose of "safeguarding the interests of Indians outside India," and this Association was accordingly formed.

ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION

The first act of the Association was to assist generally and otherwise the work of Mr. Andrews in connection with indentured labour in the Colonies.

The other questions which occupied the attention of the Association during the year were the departure of seven Indians from Mauritius and the South African question.

Mauritius. Andrews and Pearson having returned from their tour to Fiji early in 1915, their report was published by the Association and submitted to the Government of India. In February 1917, a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was called, preceded over by Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, to protest against the proposed continuation of indentured labour to Fiji and in demand its immediate cessation. The Indians of Bombay also held a meeting of protest and a request was made to the Viceroy to receive a deputation of the Women of India to address H. E. personally on the question. The Association also despatched a deputation to Mr. Andrews in his second deputation to Fiji.

Mr. Gandhi's final draft on the Inter-Departmental Committee's Report was the first item placed for the consideration of the Council at its meeting on the 6th January, 1919.

At a meeting of the Committee held on the 22nd April the Rev. Mr. Andrews addressed the Committee on certain aspects of the Indian Labour Problem and other questions which had come under his notice in the course of his late visit to Australia and Fiji. A decision of the Supreme Court of Mauritius ruling that subjects of Native States were not "British subjects" was brought to the notice of the Committee at this meeting and it was decided to make a representation to the Government on this important question. The Committee sanctioned the remission of a sum of 1,000 to Fiji on the recommendation of the Rev. Mr. C. G. Andrews for the opening of a school at Fiji and for supplying books and for a year.

At this meeting Mr. G. W. Tadwalker, Secretary of the Indian Association, Nairobi, East Africa, read a paper on the condition of Indians in British East Africa. The letter of the Hon. Mr. Parsand, on the same subject, was read and it was resolved that a representation be made to the Government of India asking them to move the Colonial Office with a view to remedy the grievance detailed by Mr. Tadwalker and the Hon. Mr. Parsand.

After recording its deep thanks to the British and Indian Governments for the abolition of indentured labour, the report says:

The Association has carefully considered the bill drafted by the House of Commons and upon which they have been of opinion that an substituted system is called for. It is to be hoped that the representations of the people of this country will receive the weight and consideration they deserve.
YOUNG INDIA.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 31st March 1930

THE SATYAGRAHA WEEK.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

First and foremost in the programme for the holy National Week I put fasting and prayer. I have said enough to emphasize the necessity of both these for the unfulfillment of our national life. I speak of them from personal experience. But writing to a friend on this very matter of prayer I came across a beautiful thing from Tennyson which I present to the readers of Young India:—

If perchance I might convert them to a definite belief in the efficacy of prayer here is the gem:

"... More things are wrought by prayer
Than this world dreams of. What is done by thee and me
Rises like a fountain for us night and day.
For what are men better than sheep or goats?
That naught but a blind love rules the brain,
If knowing God they left not hands of prayer.
Both for themselves and those who call them friends.
For as the whole round earth is very way
Bourn by gold chains about the face of God!"

Throughout my wanderings in India, I have had the privilege of mixing with men of all creeds, of mixing with thousands of women, hundreds upon hundreds of students. I have had the blessing of meeting them on their national problems with a passion which I am unable to describe. I have found that we have not yet reached a common recognition of our national state. We have not had the discipline necessary for the realization of this state, and I trust to see in the time to come a time when there is nothing so powerful as fasting and prayer that would give us the requisite discipline and self-sacrificing, humility and resolution of will which there can be no real progress. I hope therefore that as we go throughout India the entire week will open the Satyagraha Week with sincere fasting and prayer.

I do not wish during this week to emphasize the evil resistance part of Satyagraha. I would like us to contemplate truth and non-violence, and to appreciate them sympathetically. Indeed all of us regulated our lives by this eternal law of Satyagraha, and thus we would be no occasion for civil or other resistance. Civil resistance comes into play when only a small body of men are available to follow truth in the face of opposition. It is difficult to know what is truth, when to define it to the point of evil resistance, and how to avoid error in the shape of violence in one's pursuit after truth. There may be differences of opinion as to the desirability of poisoning civil ways and as such during a week devoted to national uplift, in which one seeks the
co-operation of all without distinction of party, class or creed.

Beyond the prayer and fasting on the 6th and the 13th we have the collection for the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial. I trust that complete organization would be set up in every province, in every district, and every town or village.

The third part of the activity is represented by three meetings during the week all over India at the stated times, whereas I have suggested the passing of certain resolutions, viz., on the Rowlatt Act which gave rise to the Satyagraha movement, the Khilafat question which by Hindu association cemented Hindu-Muslim unity and what may be called the Jallianwala Bagh resolution to be passed on the 13th April calling upon the Government to take such measures as may be necessary to prevent a repetition of the tragedy that was witnessed during Martial Law regime, and which were opened even before the inauguration of Martial Law by the unlawful massacre of the 13th. I suggest the following resolutions for acceptance:

For the 6th April

1. This meeting of the citizens of ... hereby places on record its emphatic opinion that there will be no peace in the land until the Rowlatt Act is repealed and therefore appeals to the Government of India to introduce at the earliest opportunity a bill repealing that act.

For the 9th April

2. This meeting of Hindus and Mohammedans and others, the inhabitants of ... hereby resolves that the Khilafat question will be solved consistently with the just demands of the Mussalmans of India and with the solemn pledges of His Majesty’s ministers and this meeting records its opinion that in the event of adverse decision being arrived at, it will be the duty of every Indian to withdraw co-operation from the Government until the pledges are fulfilled and Musalmans sentiment exculcated.

For the 16th April

3. This meeting of the inhabitants of ... hereby rejects the propositions that whilst such excursions are permitted, all are obligatory, the deliberate and calculated massacres, without warning, by General Dyer, of innocent, unarmed and otherwise defenceless men at Jallianwala Bagh, was an uncalled act of barbarity and hopes that the Government of India and the Imperial Government will take such steps as will render impossible a repetition of such barbarity and other similar barbarities committed by responsible officers in the Punjab during the period of Martial Law administration and hopes that recommendations made by the Punjab Sub-committees of the Indian National Congress will be carried out in their entirety.

The Punjab Non-Offical Report.

The much expected report is published. The Commissioners may congratulate themselves on the methodical manner in which they have approached their work and the moderation with which they have handled their difficult task. The States of the Commissioners must give added weight to a report which is otherwise capable of standing on its merits. The Commissioners have not travelled beyond the evidence they had in their possession. The reader is therefore, if he is so minded, able to test the conclusions for himself. The recommendations are neither wild nor weak. The Commissioners boldly ask for the recall of the Viceroy and the dismissal from service of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and other officers. These are the two recommendations against which there may be some oppositions. But the Commissioners have given clear and unpersuadable reasons for each recommendation. And if the veracity of the facts set forth by them is not challenged, their recommendations are unchallengeable.

It is not without some pain that we find ourselves in agreement with the recommendations for the Viceroy's recall. We believe his excellency to be a cultured English gentleman meaning well by India and anxious to do the right thing. But these are not the sole qualifications for the high Viceroyal office. Lord Chelmsford has undoubtedly shown a lack of imagination. He has applied to his Indian office the traditions of colonial constitutional Government who has invariable to be guided by the advice of his ministers, so politically precluded from taking the initiative and acting upon the Indian people, if it affects them at all, not in virtue of office but through subtle influence and social intercourse. A Governor in the self-governing colonies acts by making gentle suggestions, never pressing them on his ministers, and tries to move public opinion out by exercise of authority but by making indirect friends at social and semi-political functions. The very qualities therefore that enable a Colonial Governor to make a success of himself disqualify Lord Chelmsford for the Viceroyal office. The Viceroy of India has immense powers; he is so national, he dominates the Executive Council. A mere suggestion from him is like a legal sanction. He initiates and gives effect to policies. He supervises with the very tangible right of intervention, the administration of the province. He has, therefore, to be a strong ruler, with great imagination, with popular sympathies which he is never asked to show. With all the qualities of the heart Lord Chelmsford has shown himself to be weak at critical junctures. Instead of leading his colleagues he has allowed himself to be ruled by them. He has allowed his provincial administrators to do as they have liked. The result was a variety of policies—level-headedness or cacophony in Bombay even under provocation, repression, persecution and intolerance without provocation in the Punjab. Such a contrast should be impossible under a central Gov-
agreement with a chief at the centre who knows his mind and who knows how to impose his will on his subordinates. Lord Clanworth has signally failed and so we believe that the Commissioners would have failed in their duty if they had hesitated to advise, with the facts before them, the recall of the Excellency the Viceroy.

With reference to the findings too, the Commissioners have if anything erred on the side of moderation. But perhaps it would be better for the public to discuss the findings after the publication of the report of the official Committee so far as the evidence collected by the non-official Commissioners goes, we feel that no other findings are possible. Indeed going through the evidence we can see a strong attempt to refrain from stating conclusions which could not be absolutely supported by overwhelming array of facts.

INDIANS ABROAD.

THE TWO AFRICANS

So long as the war lasted, the position of our countryman abroad seemed for the moment to be rather under political and military necessity. Party truce was called by both the dominating party and the subalterns. There was a mutual response and all the difficulties were set aside in the interests of a larger issue—winning the war for the Empire. But the war having come to an end, the truce also seems to have ended and we have had the turning of this during the period of last year and more. The feelings of rivalry have begun to revive, the old vices of class interests to have their sway and once again we are plunged into the colour struggle in the self-governing Dominions and Protectorates of the British Empire, chiefly the two Africans. But a greater upheaval on our part to safeguard the true rights and interests of our fellow-countryman abroad, coupled with a more broadened outlook and sympathetic attitude, owing to the war, of some of the responsible European settlers and administrators has eased the situation and smoothed the task of bringing about permanent mutual understanding and settlement. Things have already begun to take a favourable turn in East Africa. We have discovered that we have some of the European settlers there, fair-minded reasonable and honest men above class prejudices and interests—who are willing to stand by the side of their weaker Indian brother-settlers, against the organized onslaught, the utterly baseless charges and fallacies of a section of the white community. The protests and bold utterances of men like Messrs Robert Chalmers, O. W. Mackenzie and Coleman regarding the anti-Indian agitation, are beginning to have their effect. The latest number of East Africa Chronicle reports that there was a marked difference in the attitude of the latest session of the Convention of European Associations as contrasted with previous sittings of the "Indian Question", being conspicuous by its absence from the agenda of the Convention. The almost unanimous and against the Amritsar, raised by candidates at their election, a serious little turn-back was abounded by the candidates at Nairobi, Uplands and the Coast. And there are other signs which show that the angle of vision is beginning to change gradually if not at once.

In South Africa also the prospects are hopeful. A man no less esteemed than that of General Smuts has been added to the growing list of those who have come on behalf of justice to the Indians in Africa. General Smuts has openly declared that while a member of the War Cabinet, he had great opportunities of knowing the feelings of Indians, and that they have broaden his outlook, his sympathy and his respect for Indian fellow settlers in Africa.

But while all this may be said about the hopeful outlook, let it be remembered that it is all due to our own constant hammering and unceasing vigilance. It is no exaggeration to say that the timely visit of that noble and esteemed friend of India, Sir Andrew, was chiefly not entirely responsible for this happy change of vision in East Africa. The unassuming labour and skill with which he investigated the conditions of Indians in East Africa, and the charges of unfairness and lack of it thus laid in the matter against the Indians, were solely inspired to institute a measure of protection against Indians all this had its inevitable reaction against the Indians' propaganda. It wakened up the sympathy of fair-minded and honest British settlers and put heart into them to speak out.

In the case of South Africa also, it is the firm and sound attitude of the Government of India backed by an emphatic and uncted public opinion that has acted as a check upon the further unscrupulous activities of the selfish and greedy white settlers of the colony.

Thus it will be seen that the need for more and more hopeful outlook for the exercise of utmost vigilance and constant hammering on the part of the public and a firm and sound attitude on the part of our Government, becomes the greater. The little hopeful signs that we see to-day should definite no one into the false belief that our task is done, our object achieved, and the rights and the interests of our countrymen abroad guaranteed. We have a far heavier task before us. The little progress that our efforts have met has, on the contrary, revealed to us the further necessity of action and agitation to secure proper and rightful status for our countrymen in the land of their toil. We have only made a beginning. We have to strive to achieve the end. May our Associations like the Imperial Citizenship Association and other bodies remain for ever mindful of this and being mindful, enlarge the sphere, increase their activities and justify their existence to the fullest possible measure.
SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

OUR HOPES AND FEARS.

SYMPATHETIC UTERBANGES AND PROMISES OF SOUTH AFRICAN NOTABLES.

In his speech at the Imperial Conference held in 1917, at which the Resolution on Repatriation of Treatment between India and the Dominions was passed, General Smuts, on behalf of South Africa, said:

"In South Africa there has been this fundamental trouble, that the white community has been afraid of opening the door too wide to Indian immigration. We are not a homogenous population. We are a white minority on a black continent, and the situation in South Africa has for many years been actuated by the fear that to open the door to another one white race would make the position of the few whites in South Africa very dangerous indeed. It is because of that fear, and not because of any other attitude towards the question of Assam, that they have adopted an attitude which sometimes I am bound to admit, has assumed the outward form, although not the reality, of intolerance. Luckily we have got over those difficult. The visit of the late Mr. Godfrey to South Africa did an enormous amount of good. His visit was followed later by the visit of Sir Benjamin Robertson, a distinguished public servant of India, who also assured the Government to overcome great difficulties in the past some years ago. The result has been the passage of legislation to which both the whites and the Indian communities agreed. There is still a difference of opinion on administrative matters, and some of which are referred to in the Memorandum (Lord Sinha's memorandum on the position of Indians in the Cape) which is before us, but I feel sure and I have always felt sure, that once the white community in South Africa were rid of the fear that they were going to be flooded by unlimited immigration from India, all the other questions would be considered subsidiary and would become easily and perfectly soluble. That is the position in which we are now, that the fear which formerly obsessed the settlers there has been removed, the great principle of restricting emigration for which they have contended is on our Statute Book and the present position of the Indian in South Africa and the Indian authorities in India and, that being so, I think that the door is open now for a peaceful and statesman-like solution of all the minor administrative troubles which occurred and which will occur from time to time. Of course the main improvement has been the ending of the Council Chamber of the Empire Home, if any question proves difficult of treatment, we can always turn to a friendly way and try to find a solution, and I am sure we shall ever find it if for men do not consider that, amongst the objections which present as in our country, the question of India will trouble us much in future."

Lord Sinha, in his Memorandum before the Imperial Conference of 1916 condemned Law No. 2 of 1885 as 'an anachronism' and 'appears to the spirit of modern legislation.' Mr. Burton so belaied the South African Union
Government promised sympathetic consideration of the Memorandum.

It is only fair to say, and it is the truth, that we have found that Indians in our midst in South Africa who form in some parts a very substantial portion of the population are good, law-abiding and quiet citizens, and it is our duty to see, as Lord Steyne has expressed it, that they are treated as human beings with feelings like our own and in a proper manner. As far as we are concerned, South Africans are in agreement with the provision in the Memorandum that the consideration of our Government and we will give it the most sympathetic consideration that we can certainly.

Replying to the address presented to him by the Durban Indian Community, General Smith made the following pregnant observations—

With the improvement of the status of the Indian, the presence of the Indians in other places will be better before my return, I feared that the Asiatic Trading Act had been passed in the Union Parliament and that there had been a great deal of agitation among the Indians here and which had also caused a great deal of feeling in India. But the Government had decided to appoint a commission to look over the interests of Indians to see what stigma may attach to them. Some of you think I think down upon Indians, but I used to think up to them. They come from a very old civilization—a much older than ours. They are able to hold their own. We have our difficulties in South Africa, and we are a small white community cannot withstand a great influx of Indians. For now that the Indians are here, I think they would love fair treatment at all parts of the Union. We have to live by side to side in our union and we must endeavor to understand each other's standpoint so that we may live and grow together. We are members of one family and belong to the same humanity.

Living in the midst of white people, and he is thinking—no, they publicly asking to-day, why should these things be?

We demand segregation on custom grounds. The wealth of every nation is largely derived from its commerce and is a legitimate reward of the people constituting that nation. The one thing the Indians are demanding in South Africa to-day is that, give them space and opportunity and he will reconcile the wealth he derives from this source. Now can we expect expansion on white lines if we are forced to admit this possibility?

Therefore segregation whilst it is restricted to residents for the present and for some years to come, must eventually apply to their trading also. This League, I believe, is prepared to advocate that these trading rights which now exists shall be allowed to remain during the lives of the present holders and be allowed to be exercised on their present sites as long as such a holder shall live. But if we are to obtain equality to this measure such a holder should be compelled to reside amongst his own people. He should not be allowed to transfer his house. Upon his insolvency it should cease and when the holder dies such houses should die with him. In all cases we are on the ultimate elimination of the Indian trader in the town and districts otherwise than in barracks attached to these quarters in which they would be segregated. (Remarks over.)

Our readers will be able to judge from the above how the very gravity of the situation as exhumated by Mr Phillips in introducing the Draft Petition, condemns the brutal attitude taken by the Anti-Asiatics.
THE DRAFT PETITION

The following is the draft petition referred to above —
To the Honorable the Speaker and Members,
House of Assembly,
Union of South Africa.

The petition of the Congress of the South Africans’ League representing Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce, Sundary Public Bodies and White inhabitants of the Transvaal, underwritten—

Humblly Sheweth,
That the growing numbers and influence of the Asiatic community in the Transvaal constitutes a serious menace to the moral and economic well-being of the White inhabitants of the Province.

That the avowed and publicly-expressed contempt for and continued and practised evasion and disregard of the Laws of the Province by Asiatics cast a serious reflection upon the Government and tend to instil into the minds of the large native population a lack of respect for the laws and institutions of this country.

That the policy of the other Dominions of the British Empire is one of rigorous exclusion.

That every attempt on the part of the Transvaal Government and of the Union Government to deal with this question has resulted in a surrender of the rights of the White community without any way of bringing finality to the problem.

That in many instances the so-called acquisition of rights by Asiatics in the Transvaal has originated from their infringement of the laws, which infringement has been condoned by the Government by reason of its inability to enforce such laws. Consequently, Parliament has been required to pass legislation regulating legislation and the occupation of premises by Asiatics which prior to that date was illegal.

That the delay which has prevailed hitherto on the part of the Government in enforcing the laws of the Transvaal, discriminating between White and Asiatics in regard to occupation of residential sites in towns, is regarded as a potent cause of the dissatisfaction that to-day exists among the White inhabitants of the Transvaal.

That your petitioners regard a strictly enforced system of segregation as the only remedy for a situation which is a menace to the community and a menace to the future.

That your petitioners are concerned over the failure of municipal administrations and urge upon Government to demonstrate such discrimination by enacting Municipalities Acts the duty of enforcing the laws which are already in existence in this Province.

That in the opinion of your petitioners the existing laws of the Cape Province, whereby the granting, withholding or renewal of trading licences is the sole prerogative of Municipalities and other local bodies should be enacted for this Province.

That your petitioners are aware of the possibility of granting to Asiatics legal title to trading sites within the towns of the Transvaal with grave apprehensions believing, as they do, that the granting of such title would constitute an outstanding surrender to the Indian community and perpetuate the menace which their presence in the midst of the White settlers.

That in the opinion of your petitioners the rapid growth of Asiatic Trading throughout the Transvaal cannot but appeal to the growing impatience of successful competition by White traders has made it imperative that legislation be immediately passed in the direction of making a trading licence the only means by which the holder thereof, making it irremovable and restricting his presence to the premises in respect of which it is granted.

That in view of the decision in the case of the Krugersdorp Municipality v. Deboo and Garden that Indian traders and their employees who fall within the terms of Section 3, Act 37, 1912, are legally entitled to reside anywhere in Government towns, your petitioners believe that the granting of such residence was neither debated nor contemplated by Parliament, and that legislation be introduced as a matter of urgency to prevent such residence.

That in view of the decision of the Supreme Court, Transvaal Provincial Division, in the case of the Krugersdorp Municipality v. Deboo, Ltd., wherein the registered title to immovable property acquired by an Indian Company before the 1st May, 1919, was cancelled, legislation would be deemed as a matter of urgency, granting to such Company a period of two years in which to dispose of such property, as is provided in the case of companies acquiring ownership after the 1st May, 1919.

That in view of the fact that the competition is held by the inhabitants of the Transvaal that there has been a marked increase in the number of Indians in this Province, Government take steps to investigate the right of Indians and Asiatics presently residing in the Transvaal to be an resident and deport such as may be found to be an illegal residence.

And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

NOTICE

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laugh at the Hakimjee's act. They may think that his renunciation harms him himself and that the Government will be none the worse for having to remove his name from the list of Durbar. We warn the Government against committing any such grave blunder. For the community the Hakimjee's act is a symbol of oath. It is the prelude to a general withdrawal of co-operation from the Government and its consequent paralysis.

Mr. Andrews' return—Mr. Andrews has returned from his African visit. He has done most excellent work both in South Africa and East Africa. He has brought to light a situation in East Africa which is serious enough to require the prompt action by the Government of India. The Indian settlers there have a right which is superior to that of their predecessors. And yet the outlook for them is as dark as it is possible for it to be. In South Africa, Mr. Andrews has reported the Indian organisations, has given their fight against the anti-African outbreaks a definite shape, has met many European settlers, interviewed Sir Benjamin Robertson and visited the Indian community with hope. But much remains to be done before the impending blow can be averted.

The commission that is now sitting has the opportunity of rectifying a moral wrong done to a body of men who have deserved well of South Africa. But whatever the result, Mr. Andrews by his visit to Africa has added materially to the many services rendered by him to the land of his adoption.

The Spinning Wheel—The readers will recall that the 1st March last was the date fixed for awarding Mr. Rawalnaden's Jeevat's prize of 1s. 6d. for the best spinning wheel capable of turning out yarn five times the quantity turned by the common wheel. Only 56 competitors sent in their inventions. None came up to the required standard. At the same time two artisans one from Barelo and the other from Sialkot, Punjub, brought wheels which were full of promise. The artisans themselves required time for perfecting their inventions. It has therefore been decided to extend the time to the 30th September during which period it is open to others to enter the competition. We hope that many others will do so. At the same time we should warn artisans again against making the trial unless they have some technical knowledge of spinning wheels and understand well spinning. A fine technical knowledge combined with application can alone bring about the desired result.
THE PUNJAB SENTENCES
(By M. K. Gandhi)

The commissioners appointed by the Congress Punjab Sub-committee have in their report accused His Excellency the Viceroy of national want of imagination. His Excellency's refusal to commute two death sentences out of five is a fine illustration of the accusation. The rejection of the appeal by the Privy Council is more proof the guilt of the condemned than their innocence could have been proved by questioning the proceedings before the Judicial Law Tribunal. Moreover, these cases clearly come under the Royal Proclamation in accordance with its interpretation by the Punjab Government. The murderers in Amritsar were not due to any private quarrel between the murderers and their victims. The offence seems though it was, purely political and committed under excitement. More than full reparation has been taken for the murders and arms. In the circumstances, common sense dictates reduction of the death sentences. The popular belief favours the view that the condemned men are innocent and have not had a fair trial. The execution has been so long delayed that hanging at this stage would give a rude shock to Indian society. Any Viceroy with imagination would have at once announced commutation of the death sentences—this Lord Chelmsford. In his estimation, evidently, the demands of justice will not be satisfied if at least some of the condemned men are not hanged. Public feeling with him counts for nothing. We shall still hope that either the Viceroy or Mr. Morley will commute the death sentences.

But if the Government will generously err, if they carry out the sentences, the people will equally err if they give way to anger or grief over the hanging if it has unfortunately to take place. Before we become a nation possessing an effective voice in the councils of nations, we must be prepared to contemplate with equanimity, not a thousand murders of innocent men and women but many thousands before we attain a status in the world that shall not be surpassed by any nation. We hope therefore that all concerned will take rather than less heart and treat hanging as an ordinary affair of life.

[Since the above was in type, we have received the cruel news. At least 200, the Viceroy has mercifully given the rude shock to Indian society. It is now for the latter to bear the misfortune of the value least cut. — Ed. Y. I.]

SIR RAVINDRANATH TAGORE

The visit of the greatest poet of the age to Gujarat is no small event. And Gujarat has honoured itself by extending to the Poet a royal welcome in its capital. The deep reverence shown by the people must have touched the Poet's heart. His address to the Sambhore Parishad is a prose-poem. It breathes the loftiest sentiments. Every line of it is proof of the religious spirit pervading his effort. It is worthy of the Poet and the occasion. His references to Calcutta as the product of modern civilization is a fine token of his innate courtesy and humility. He had to speak the truth in Amritsar with its commercialism and its sixty old mills. He had to tell Amritsar that the search after gold must be subservient to the search after God. He performed his task with consummate skill by describing the conditions of Calcutta. We hope that the people of Gujarat will take to heart the Poet's message. That would be its best appreciation.

HAKIMJU AHMADKHAN'S STEP

The following is the text of the letter addressed by Hakimji Ahmadkhano to the Deputy Commissioner, Delhi:

It is not unknown to you how quiet and patient the Indian Mahomedans have been throughout the period of the war and in spite of the heart-rending and sometime provoking incidents connected with the Ottoman Empire, which have been taking place over the termination of the war, they have not made themselves responsible for the slightest act of violence in any part of the country. On the other hand, they have during the war fought for the British Government in the Dardanelles, Syria, Mesopotamia and the other parts of the Ottoman Empire. They believed that their holy places would remain safe as they had been promised, but in reality no one of them is in their hands; for even Mecca, the holiest of all the Moslem holy places and Medina, where our holy Prophet is buried, are in their real hands, under British dominion. Jerusalem has been wrested from the Mahomedans and is being given to the Jews, all the holy places of Iraq—Arab are directly under the British Government and the remaining portion of Jazeret—al-Arab is to a great extent under their dominion. The solemn pledges held out regarding Constantinople and Thrace so far from being realized seem to be honoured in the breach, for the British and Allied forces have actually occupied the coast of Thilat and it is proposed that it should remain under the Allied gun. The Mahomedans of this country have adopted all the constitutional means that they could think of in order to bring to the notice of the British Government their just demand, but as has been paid to their rights, and even the irreparable mistakes of their requests have not been heeded to. In these circumstances as a humble Mahomedan I have decided to relieve myself of all the honours conferred upon me by the Government and I return herewith the gold medal of Maim—Al-Hind together with the two silver medals of the Cenotaphs Darius of England and India, and henceforward I give up the title of Hisang—al-Mulk.

I hope you will be so good as to forward this letter together with the medals to the Head of the Local Government and ask him to remove my name from the list of Daurians.

As this matter concerns the public also, I am communicating it to the press.
INDIA AND EAST AFRICA.
THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENT.
(By Mr. C. F. Andrews.)
REASONS FOR INDIAN EXCLUSION.
It is stated again and again in important documents published in East Africa that the Indian is actually retarding the economic progress of the African native, that he has taken out of the African's own hands the chief opportunity for self-advancement in industry and trade. It is pointed out, that, on the Western coast of Africa, where there are no Indian traders or settlers, the Africans have learnt to undertake skilled work for themselves, under European guidance and supervision. But in East Africa, where there are many Indians, who are cleverer than the African natives, the Indians come in at all points between the European and the African. He is thus, as belonging to a "more crassly race" (to quote the Economic Commission Report), in a position of vantage and is able to keep all the trade and industry in his own hands and permanently to depress the African.
The European, it is said, in order to suit his own convenience, at the moment, employs the Indian who is on the spot, instead of instructing the African. But if the Indian were out of the way, the European would be obliged, either to employ the native, or else to undertake the work himself.
It is further argued that the Indian is a poor craftsman and a poor machine. He is also said to be untrustworthy in business. His influence over the native is bad. If the African was directly under the influence of the European, it would be better for all concerned, and things would rapidly improve.
For these and many other reasons, it is urged, the employment of Indians in East Africa has been a mistake. It would have been much better never to have brought them out at all. In South Africa, the mistake has been discovered in time. It must be put right in other parts of Africa also. No more Indians must be allowed, they must be excluded all along the coast. East Africa must fall into her own unaided columns in the South. Just as South Africa has shut the front door against the Indians, so East Africa must shut the back door.
It may be well, at this point, to recall the exact words of the Economic Commission Report. They run as follows—
"The African is not strong enough anywhere to stand against the competition of the more crassly race. So long as that race is organised to keep him in servitude by shouldering him out of all posts which lie in the path of advancement, he must continue to be a mereearer of wood and drawer of water. ..... On purely economic grounds we submit that the admission of the Indians into East Africa was a cardinal error of policy. It involved the economic stagnation of the African over a large tract of Africa and the consequent retardation of progress for the sake of which promised to be but a temporary convenience. In our view the error ought gradually, but without any unnecessary delay, to be rectified by similar means to those by which the same error is being rectified in Natal."
The Report again speaks of the presence of the Indian as depriving the African of "all incentives to industry and opportunities of advancement."
It is significant that the Convention of Associations' Petition to Indians' contains, not once only, but many times over, phrases that are identical with those of the Economic Commission Report. For instance, one of the main heads of indictment reads as follows—
"Whereas Indian competition deprives the African of all incentives to industry and opportunities of advancement!"
INDIA NEEDS A POSITIVE ARGUMENT.
As the Convention of Associations' Petition to Indians was published some months before the Economic Commission Report, it is clear that the non-official members of the Commission, such as Major Grogon and Lord Delamere, not only were over on their own side in the Indian Question the Chairman and the other official members of the Commission, but also obtained leave to draft, in a great measure, the 'Indian' sections of the Report. In this matter, no one may judge by internal evidence, official opinion has been led by non-official opinion and not the reverse. It is true that Colonel Amery, on behalf of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, has denied in the House of Commons any Government responsibility for the findings of the Economic Commission. This denial, however, must not be taken as closing the whole question. In spite of Colonel Amery's words, the main conclusions of the Report are likely to influence the administration. Then, as some later date, when the pressure of non-official opinion in East Africa gathers weight and a convenient opportunity presents itself, legislation may be hurried through. The Indians have no safeguard whatever at the present time.
The situation now brings about in East Africa by the union of permanent officials and non-officials in a clearly defined policy of ultimate Indian exclusion is one of the most sinister aspects of the times. The people aborning in India would be very foolish indeed, if they were failed to sleep by Colonel Amery's assurance in the House of Commons. It was negative, not positive, and such negative answers are not seldom explained away, when overwhelming pressure is brought to bear from the other side.
EXPLOITATION BY THE EUROPEANS.
The Economic Commissioners themselves were all of them Europeans. There was, as I have already related, not a single Indian Commissioner appointed, no Indian evidence was taken. It is therefore hardly to be wondered at, if there is no mention whatever in the Report concerning the exploitation of the East African native by the Europeans. Yet this question should have been taken up first of all by an independent Economic Commission dealing with East Africa.
For one of the tasks that humanity is called upon to accomplish in the present generation is the long neglected duty of adjusting to the African native some remuneration for the continual exploiting of their country, in European interests, which has followed European conquest. In no rhetorical phrase, but in literal fact, the African has only too often been made a mere bower of wood and drawer of water. Through three centuries of slavery and through one century of various forms of forced labour, the European has made use of his possessions in Africa in order to make money quickly. He has first taken possession of African lands and then employed every effort, short of slavery itself, in order to compel the native to work on those lands for his master's profit.

Our New Outlook

All this kind of thing was regarded with complacency and even with approval in past generations, when glory was attached to ruthless military conquest and barbaric exploitation. But it cannot possibly be regarded thus to-day, after the professions that have been made during the late war, and now, God forbid, we are to go back to those ideas again. The whole ethos and underlying principles of 'conquests and Empires' and 'possessions' have been changed. The vocabulary of the human race does not stand where it was. We have gained a new outlook. Our prospective now is different.

It is doubtful, if, in the long run, the exploiting of Central and South America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the forcing of the opium traffic upon China at the point of the bayonet during the whole of the nineteenth century, have been more fundamentally immoral in themselves, and destructive of morality in the countries affected, than this greedy European exploitation of Africa which has not yet come to an end. The events which have taken place in the twentieth century on the Belgian Congo, among the Hereros in the South West, in Angola to the Portuguese cocoa plantations, and in the recruiting of native labour far and wide for the Rand mines,—to mention typical examples from different European races—have only been the natural sequence of a long series of earlier exploitations which go back to the old slave-raiding days.

The conscience of the human race will not endure much longer these wrongs which have been so callously committed by European soldiers and settlers, by European mine owners, and by European trading companies.

The Other Side

I do not for one moment wish to suggest that this is the sole record of European conquest in Africa. That would be a wholly one-sided impression. There is a noble record of heroism and self-sacrifice, of honest work and devotion to duty, among administrators, missionaries, and many others, which has gone far to redeem much that is altogether 'of the earth earthy.' There has also been the marvellous application of modern science to the problems of mechanical transport leading to their solution, the opening up of great highways of communication from one end of Africa to another the stamping out of indescribable horrors and depravities of sheer naked savagery; the practical abolition of head-hunting and slave-raiding; the establishing of disease-resistant livestock and textile industries; the all-too-slow, but still perceptible spread of education raising men above the level of the beast.

All this must be taken into account, and much more also which can never be recorded.

I have seen the African in his raw and savage state,—the state wherein civilization was preceded as a matter of course, I have seen him, therefore, about the kind of existence which need often to be led before the European intervened.

Evills of the Present Labour Traffic

But, in the same way, I have no illusions about the consequences which follow, when the domestic and tribal life are ruthlessly broken into pieces by unscrupulous recruiting for the purposes of labour. I have seen the effects of such labour recruiting in India itself, and among the Indian labourers who have been induced (and more often inveigled) to go out in the colonies under the Indenture System. We speak to-day with loathing of the evils of the factory system of labour in England, in the early nineteenth century, but historians at some future date are not likely to speak with equal condemnation of certain forms of labour traffic in our own days.

To show that these evils are not of the past merely, but of the present, a quotation may be given from a writer, who states that he has had more than half a generation's intimate experience among the Kikuyu tribes of British East Africa, and has seen year by year the deterioration which has taken place. He calls himself by a more distinctive, Fulani han Fulani, contributing his article to the 'International Review of Missions.' He is not, however, a missionary, probably an official in the service of the East Africa Protectorate Government. He writes as follows:—

"There is an ever more sign of social disintegration than for the marriage tie to become unbreakable among the mass of the people. In the mixture of men of different tribes in European employment in British East Africa the customary union is by the mother. The African man and woman arrange such unions by themselves, the woman receiving clothing, food and money, (part of which is often sent to her family,) and serving her master at bed and board. These unions may last indefinitely for months and years. They do not exist among ordinary temporary labourers. These need their money for the tax. For them there exists a numerous class of procurer—a totally new feature in African life. But most of the men, who have taken more or less permanently to wage-earning under Europeans, have wives of their own. Their industrial life being precarious, their liabilities to their women are com-
respondingly restricted. They have no wives, as they have no homes. They get their wages at the end of the month, they change their master at the end of the month——to travel for days, perhaps, to other masters—and so they marry for a month.

These unions have no sanction in nature law or in our own. As is inevitable children are rare, diseases are common. But such unions are not felt to be disgraceful, as by many proclamation is still felt to be. The system fits the life. The state may some day awaken to the fact, that it is remanufacturing diseases faster than any conceivable means of prevention can overtake it.

"And so they marry for a month." — "The system fits the life." I have understood these two sentences, because the writer, in the remainder of his article, makes it perfectly clear that this corruption which has defiled the very fountain head of native life, has been caused by the unceasingly recruiting for the larger European estates, which must whatever happens, take their full toll of labour. The system fits the life.

Up to the present time in East Africa, the worst stage of all, that of the great limited liability companies—has not been reached as a whole. There is nothing in British East Africa as yet comparable with the wholesale recruiting of native labour for the mining companies on the Rand. The individual owner, who lives upon his own estate, may be expected to take some personal care of the human beings who work directly under his supervision. In his case, there will be little sort of kindness here and there. But I have seen too much, in different parts of the world, of what happens under the provisioning government of large companies, to have much faith in human kindness under company regimes. It will be a bad day for the East African native, whom lead speculation and the demands of modern capital bring the individual farms which now exist into large landed estates, run by directors, in a foreign country, as absentee landlords, with the amount of yearly divided as their only living interest.

Yet it can hardly be doubted that, as things are now tending, this day is rapidly approaching.

The Europeans have, therefore, first to clear their own character of exploiting the native and keeping him in servitude and making him a mere herder of wood and drawer of water, and they will find it extremely difficult to do so.

"We must steal his labour." Many of them, such as Major Oggom himself, are frankly outspoken in declaring their aims and objects. We have stolen," he writes, "the African's lands. Now we must steal his limbs. The same writer looks forward, in the future, to the division of society into two strata, of which the lower (the African) does the mental work and draws sufficient of the proceeds to meet all the simple wants, while the upper (the European) organises, directs, and takes all the surplus produce (the stakes are mines)."}

Among the only weapons 'Short of compliment,' he writes, 'director indirec, the main mass of Africa's inhabitants will never take part in the development of their country. We can never develop their country without their co-operation, (see) because whereas negroes are, white men will not do manual work. And the negroes will not disappear, as have savages of other lands.'

It would be difficult to express in cruder and grocer terms the policy of perpetual subjection of the African native. One may plausibly demand of Europeans such as those that they should turn their attention to their own shortcomings in dealing with the African, and judge the Indians by the same standard which they apply to themselves.

While I have thus felt it necessary to bring forward quite plainly and bluntly this claim against the Europeans—asserting that he should not play the hypocrite by charging others with the very evils of which he is guilty himself—I do not wish in any way to shrink the main issue on the Indian question, which the Commissioners have brought forward. It could be proved, perhaps, with the conduct of the Europeans, Indians also themselves, by occupying posts of vantage, had reduced the Africans to merely servile postures in their own country, then I, for my part, most strongly and strenuously would advise the Indian people, as far as it lay in my power, to do their utmost to stop their fellow country man from going out to East Africa at all. The last thing that I should wish would be, that India should take any share in the general European scramble to get rich at the native African's expense.

COMMISSIONERS' CHARGE IS SUBSTANTIALLY UNFAIR.

But after taking all the pains and care I could, to find out the actual facts, by examining at first hand reliable European witnesses, and by obtaining at first hand from Africans themselves (i.e. in Uganda) their own opinion of the situation, I have been convinced that my own confidence, that the charge brought forward against the Indian by the Economic Commissioners is substantially unfair. On the evidence which I have received I am convinced that the very opposite is the case. It has become clear to me beyond dispute that the Indians have done much to help forward the development of Africa.

I do not wish to imply that the Indian's record, with regard to exploitation, has been altogether clear. He has followed the fashion of seeking for large profits, instead of being content with moderate returns. But this is entirely different from the charge of the Economic Commissioners, that he has kept the native in servitude as a mere herder of wood and drawer of water. It is that, which, on the evidence which I have received, I now regard as entirely improved.

But briefly, the situation in East Africa and Central Africa appears to be this: The advance already made in bringing the native forward into the state of raw savages (seemingly shows the annual land in a great number of instances) has been due to two causes, which have been working together. One has been, first of all, the initiative and supervision of the Europeans, whose social and practical ability and higher educational train-
ing have made him usually take the lead. The European
has also had overwhelming force at his disposal, in
the face of whom any violence on the part of the savage
would easily be held in check. This force has frequently
been ruthlessly used, and its ruthlessness should never
be condoned or excused as inevitable. At the same time,
it appears to me obvious, as what I have seen, that the
interior of Asia could hardly have been opened up with-
out having force in the background at command, and the
very fact, that it was there, has put an end to head-
hunting, cannibalism, and internecine tribal fighting.

INDIANS' SHARE IN CIVILIZING THE NATIVE.

Secondly, the Indian had been, even before the arrival
of Europeans, in close contact with the African natives
along the coast and to a much lesser degree in the in-
terior. He had met the native in trade and barriers and
had performed in doing so an invaluable civilizing work.
Since the arrival of the European, the Indian has pressed
forward into the interior faster than before, often ad-
vanving into malaria-stricken districts where no Euro-
pean could possibly settle. Wherever the Indian has gone
his association with the African has been far more inti-
mate than that of the European. The latter cannot under-
take sustained manual labor in the tropics. Therefore
the actual daily apprenticeship of the Africans has been
carried forward to a successful issue by the Indian arti-
sans and mechanics. They have trained more African
workmen than all the industrial and technical schools
put together. Indian traders have also carried forward
successfully the same kind of apprenticeship in other
necessary directions, instructing the natives into the mys-
teries of trade and barter and the value of money.

There been able to obtain the opinions of many of
the largest European employers of native labor in East
and Central Africa. It was a striking fact to me that every
one of them took practically the same general view of the
situation as that which I have culled above. I was told
by the men on the spot who were responsible for the work
being done, that without the presence of the Indian as
an intermediary, rapid progress would have been
absolutely impossible.

These men, with whom I talked, were practical
men, not theorists. They had borne the burden
and heat of the day, through long years of practical
experience—in railway construction, railway workshops,
harbor works, mining works, district administration
and in the management of large estates. They told me
that, for the most part, their skilled African mechanics
had been trained by the Indians. They told me also the
interesting fact, that, whenever the African native
attained sufficient skill in manual work, he got the job
as a matter of course in preference to the Indian. The
reason was quite simple. The African was always
economically cheaper because there was no expensive
passage to and from India to be paid for.

To give certain typical instance taken from my
notes, while I was passing down the coast of Africa, on
board ship, I found that two of my fellow passengers at
the same table were European mechanical engineers.
I put to them the question, whether East Africa
would have progressed so far in works of railway and other
mechanical construction without the Indian. They both
answered "no." The present rate of progress would have
been impossible. Furthermore to exclude the Indian,
On the other hand, it should be mentioned that some employers had told me, that they have had Indian skilled workmen, who, for sobriety and cleverness of hand, were the equals of skilled Europeans.

I was told, also, by good authority, and over a wide area, that the Africans were able to learn his trade more quickly from us Indians than from a European. The reason for this was, that the Indian, though very keen to learn the language, had a peculiar gift of getting on with the native and making him understand quickly what he wanted to be done. He had also more patience with the native than the European.

There was a considerable amount of evidence given to me by those whose word I could thoroughly rely on, that an immense amount of petty thieving was rife among the African natives, and that the lower classes among the Indians had often encouraged this and either bought or received the stolen goods. As the police in East Africa are naturally still somewhat new to their work and inefficient, these thefts have been difficult to check. The slaves furnished from the Indian purchase and shopkeepers as well as from Europe. That the lower classes among the Indians and abet these crimes is due to the unrestricted Indian immigration which has been allowed in the past. Europeans, entering East Africa, have been obliged to pay 50 sh. in cash or securities before being let in, and there is a general desire that this security should be made higher. It is clear that some similar control of Indian immigration is desirable. The good name of India is involved in the class of immigrants who come over.

GENERAL FACTS IN FAVOUR OF INDIANS.

Certain larger and more general facts came before me for consideration, as I journeyed into the interior or down the African coast. These apply to me, in the whole, to add greatly to the strength of the more local evidence which I have already given. I would mention them in order as follows —

OPINION IN UGANDA.

The people of Uganda, who are the most intelligent, enlightened, and progressive Africans with whom I met on my tour, are already in favour of the retention of Indians in their country. They would have been the very first to try out against any invasion of their rights and privileges, but they have found out by their own experience that Indians materially help them, and for this reason they wish them to remain.

While in Uganda, Sir Apolo Kayaga, the Prime Minister invited me to be present at a council of the King Chiefs called the "Tutukho." The president, at my request, put the question whether they desired the Indians to remain in their country. The answer was "yes."

Before I left Uganda, Sir Apolo Kayaga, the Baganda Chief Justice handed me a document signed by themselves, on behalf of the "Tutukho," stating that the Baganda desired the Indians to remain because they did good to the country. They also wished more Indians to come out.

I shall not forget one incident which occurred during the session of the council on the Indian question. The Chief Justice is a very humorous man, and spoke some sentences which caused great amusement. I was told by the interpreter that he had said,—

"If the Indians were to leave our country, we should soon have to begin weaving bark-cloth again."

Perhaps the most important piece of evidence which I obtained in Uganda was from the young Baganda ladies. These young Bagandas are nationalists to a man. They are extremely eager to keep their country free from all outside interference. They would personally, also, be more likely to succumb to competition with the Indians than any one else, because they are all English educated. They asked me to meet them apart, without any of their elders being present, and I readily consented. They understood my own position as a man who desired to say nothing with their national approbation, and it was for this reason that they had invited me to meet them.

When we were seated together I asked them at once, if they wished the Indians to reside in their country. They were quite unanimous in their answer. Yes! It came spontaneously, and I am certain that it expressed their inner mind.

This immediate answer of the young Bagadas was most striking. They were very thoughtful men and very remarkably intelligent. One of the young Bagadas said to me at the end of my visit, "We shall look more to India, the future, to help us." I believe that his expectation will be realized.

OPINION IN ZANZIBAR.

2. When I went from British East Africa to Zanzibar, I found there a large Indian community. It seemed to me, also, that the state of the African was far better than anywhere else along the coast. The long Arab occupation of the island may possibly account for this in part, but I cannot help thinking that the Indian also have been a stabilizing element.

The relief was very great indeed when I came from the midst of the strained racial relations at Nairobi into the calm and natural social atmosphere at Zanzibar. In Zanzibar there seems to be no racial conflict at all. Life was urban and peaceful and full of human courtesy, not artificial and shamorous and violently controversial.

THE RESIDENT'S OPINION.

On both occasions, while visiting the Indians, I was fortunate enough to see the Resident and to be able to discuss with him the Indian question. He told me that there was no Indian problem at all in Zanzibar and he hoped that there would be no such problem. The Indians fulfilled their own part in the community, and no one wished to turn them out.

The Resident told me, also, that he had been for over sixteen years in Nyasaland and more than once had noted as Governor. He gave me full permission to state his opinion, that the Indians had played a useful part in Africa by opening up and developing the country through trade and industry. He had always encouraged their coming, because he had found that they helped the natives forward and brought them into touch with the Europeans.

A very simple illustration that he used remained in my mind and appealed to me. It seemed to be the root of the matter.

The first element, he said, of progress, in dealing with the raw savage, is to gain his confidence by means of trade and labor. Here the presence of the Indian is invaluable. The native is not frightened of him, as he is of the European, and the Indian pushes on in the back regions, where a white man could go. The
YOUNG INDIA.

April 7, 1820.

Native corn along with a few eggs, a lump of bread was and other produce and sold down to bargain with the Indians. They grow hargoneing, sometimes for hours—the European could never stand it—and at last the natives give away combated with a bit of Manchester cotton cloth, and the Indians takes the eggs to the nearest market. There would not be a better gizkanization for such a useful purpose of exchange.'

I had many other testimonials concerning the way in which the presence of the Indians had helped the Nyaasland Administration. I planned to go there as well as to Rhodesia in order to see things with my own eyes. But my plans fell through.

The Berlin Commissioners' View.

3. A third fact, which seemed to me to strengthen the argument in favour of the Indians in East Africa, had been the verdict of the German Royal Commission with regard to what was now called the Tanganyika Territory, and was then called German East Africa. There were no German obligations towards the Indians, as holding my part in their empire they were allies and foreigners. The commission which came out from Berlin was for economic purposes. It was sent to gather evidence on the utility, or otherwise, of the Indians as the development of the colony. The commission, after a very thorough enquiry decided in the Indian's favour.

I notice the East Africa Commissioners suggest that all this was mere camouflage, and that it was really undertaken for political reasons. This seems to me to be a gratuitous assumption. If Indians were desirable for political reasons, the obvious thing would have been to have made no fuss about them, and to let them go on coming to German East Africa as they had done before. The commission seems rather to point to that scientific thoroughness in their colonial work, which has been acknowledged by leading colonial experts all over the world.

If this is the true explanation, then, as an impartial testimony to the value of Indian antelachew, the findings of the commission are noteworthy.

Opinion in Portuguese Africa.

4. The Portuguese have had a longer experience in the East coast of Africa than either the Germans or the British. For at least a hundred years, if not more longer, they have allowed Indians freely to reside in their Mozambique territory at the different parts of Beira, Mozambique, Maputo, Lourenço Marques, Sofala. Indians have also settled in the interior, where they have been allowed to buy land quite freely.

It has been quite easy for me to find out, on my visits to the different ports, and especially during a somewhat long stay in Beira and as my journey inland, the conditions under which the Indians live in Portuguese East Africa. The Indians have told me, that they have been everywhere welcomed with equal treatment and courtesy and kindness. They speak very highly indeed concerning the freedom order which they live and the absence of racial

prejudice amongst the Portuguese themselves. They receive everywhere genteel mannerly treatment.

I went also to call on the Portuguese Officials, bank managers, merchants and others and obtained all the evidence that I could from that side. I found it was uniformly favorable to Indians. The Portuguese at the only expressed a liking for the Indians, as a sober, industrious, law-abiding people, who never gave any trouble, they also stated positively that the presence of valuable to the country and to the African native. In more than one message, the direct answer was given to me, "we could not get on without them."

Opinion in Rhodesia.

5. I passed on from Portuguese East Africa to Rhodesia on Umviti, the border town, I was met by the Indian community. The European Manger, the Magistrate, and the local bank manager accompanied them, and they expressed to me their satisfaction at having Indians in their town. In the Indian address of welcome, it was stated explicitly, that in Rhodesia, Indians were treated well and had no grievances to bring forward. The one thing that they most desired was education for their young children. I found it not only the Administration, but also the Indian community eager to give the Indians education in this direction.

Indians have the right of entry into Rhodesia on a very simple educational test. No Indian woman accompanied by a relative is asked to pass any test at all. On inquiry from Indians themselves, I found that this educational test was fairly and impartially administered and it speaks well for the immigration office staff, that not a single complaint of unfairness was brought before me.

In accordance with Cecil Rhodes' mixture of the franchise for every civilized man, the vote has been given to those Indians who have reached a certain standard.

I had many opportunities of meeting my fellow countrymen in Rhodesia and of discussing frankly the Indian question with them. It was a very great pleasure to find that the Indians were welcomed and that there was no movement on foot for their restriction. Every one seemed quite satisfied with the present arrangement, which gave back, in its origin, I was told, to Cecil Rhodes himself and to the following out of principles he laid down concerning the rights of citizenship, from the Cape to the Zambezi river.

What was of even more importance was to notice that the legal status was the kindly feeling between the European and Indian communities. From the administrator downwards it appeared to me, that there was a general desire to make the Indians a welcome citizen. The Indians might have been expected, have not been less strongly than the first. In every address that was presented to me, they emphasized the fact that they were well treated and that they had no grievances to bring forward.

(To be continued.)

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THE SPIRIT OF THE EAST

The American Review

The organization of Europe has at last forced Asia to better itself. Common but no less than territorial homogeneity and cultural affinity is bringing the Amatas races wonderfully together, and they seem determined to take their fullest share in the world's problems. They even more. The other failure and dwindling down of the neo-mediaeval Chittagong civilization of the west before their very eyes has put them on their guard against all smooth talking and of consoling them in the spirit of the past. It has made them realize in good time the virtues and grandeur of their civilization and put heart into them to proclaim it to the world. To do this they must begin from the beginning. They must make themselves understood. For understanding is the keynote to every thing. Baron von Hahn and Ros. Chiln of the Japanese Peace Delegation has remarked: Understanding is the keynote to the diplomatic art. When we understand one another, negotiations will never enter our intercourse, and smooth diplomacy will be ensured. On the other hand if misunderstandings prevail suspicions and passions will gain the upper hand, leading to antagonism and hostility even a condition based upon justice failing to secure due hearing. A League of Japanese patriots known as the Kakuyukai have been trying to do their part in bringing about this understanding, and judging from the articles by Mr Uchida, the President of the League it seems they are an unimportant body, having helped a good deal in shaping the present Japanese policy in China and Korea. And now they have started the Amas Review with the objects stated above.

In a beautiful little article that appeared in the "Asiatic Review" Mr. Paul Richard, outlines the aims and intentions of the magazine. Asked why a Frenchman undertakes such a project, he replies:

"Because there is nothing greater that was the national soul to emerge and affirm itself in the light of its higher truth.

"Therefore the propaganda work of the "Asiatic Review" will be, as far as possible, just the contrary of that generally carried on Officially or not, by most western countries. It will not be the glorification of oil. It will not be the dressing of the most disconcerting facts in angels' wings—speech which decides as the exception who promulgates it. It will be worthy of the true meaning of the word as a means by which we can make the people to think about it."

These are aims, goals and useful. And all that we can add to Mr. Paul Richard's remarks are Amen.

The depth of feeling of the writer in the "Asiatic Review" can be judged by the following concluding passage of his note on the Turkish question:

"Our hearts go out in full sympathy to our Turkish friends in their impending tribulations. To them we extend our prayers and our hope. May they have the best of luck in their struggles and in their efforts. We share their bereavement and their sorrows. We wish them success in all their endeavors, and may God bless them and give them strength and courage to face the difficulties they have to overcome."

Our readers will be interested to learn that Dr. James H. Comings and Mr. Paul Richard are the literary and general editors of the "Asiatic Review." Our congratulations to the editors on their success in bringing about an understanding between the East and the West, and we wish them every success in their noble work of promoting peace and harmony between the different nations of the world. We heartily endorse their efforts and hope that they will continue their work and contribute to the advancement of knowledge and understanding among people of all nations.
Notes.

An earnest of the Reforms—On the first day of the National Week, the nation with one voice repeated its protest against the Rowlatt Act. The repeal of the Act, as Mr. Gandhi said in his speech, is the only way in which the Government can redress the wrong done in the Punjab. They concurred the Act in a spirit of distaste. And now if they have realized their error, the winds of change are perhaps too thick for a splendiferous conference to make its way out. True one error breeds another. The continuance of this Act on the Statute Book is the continuance of an indefatigable challenge to the public opinion. If respect for public opinion is the basis of responsible government, the repeal of this Act must come as an earnest of the Reforms. We hope the nation's voice has reached the Government's heart.

Its works never heal—The resolution on Abhart Reforms was one of the few important resolutions unanimously passed at the Bombay Provincial Conference of L. L. V. of Poona, when moved by the proposition, said that Abhart was to be a transferred subject. He explained that the question before us was whether to forego a revenue of four crores a year as a sort of immediate prohibition or whether to continue with gradual reform allowing local option on an increasing scale. The resolution said that the Conference requested all the temperance bodies in the Presidency to hold a special conference for considering the future Abhart policy.

We thank that one of the questions before this special conference will be how to organise the activities of the present temperance bodies in the Presidency so that there is not the moral reputation of our Province on this respect to the level of the pre-British days. An organised attempt backed by Ministers is sure to arrest the drink evil. A group of workers selected by Mr. Lavalette's function will find it very difficult to root out this evil altogether. The bold and uncomprising attitude in this respect, of a Hebr unary Chief, will be of striking interest.

I fear Lo Bengula less than I fear brandy. I taught Lo Bengula when he had his father's great warriors from Natal, and drove him back, and he never came again, and God who helped me then would help me again. Lo Bengula never gave me a sleepless night. But to fight against drink is to fight against demons, and not against man. I drink the white man's drink more than all the assagis of the Mutshabe, which kill men's heads, and are quickly over, but drink, puts devils inside me, and destroys both their souls and their bodies forever. It would never heal. I pray your Honour never to ask me to open even a little door to the drink—Letter from Mabula to Sir Sydney Sheppard.

An unbecoming gap—Elsewhere we publish a letter from a correspondent, complaining about the indifference of our leaders towards the masses. Although we may not associate ourselves with the tone of the letter, we give it a place, because, we feel the letter draws attention to an important point. In these days of democracy, only the temperance can be the medium in our public meetings. That is the only way to fill the present unbecoming gap between those who know English and those who do not know it.

THE SOUTH AFRICANS' LEAGUE.
A SURPRISE BOYCOTT.

The decision of the General Committee of the South Africans' League to boycott the Commission at present sitting at Cape Town to inquire into the Asiatic question in South Africa, come as a rather surprising surprise. It is a surprise, because it was to satisfy the demands raised by the Anti-Asiatics in the last Parliament that the Commission was originally promised by the Government, and because, when the South Africans' League was formed last September, one of the reasons for its formation was the acknowledged need to collect and arrange evidence and statistics for presentation before the Commission on behalf of the Anti-Asiatics. Moreover, it was in some extent due to the pressure exerted by the League—that they were supported in this by the Indians themselves both in South Africa and in India—that the terms of reference of the Commission were enlarged so as to include inquiry into the settlement of the two most vital points at issue for the whole of the Union. A resolution passed unanimously at the inaugural congress of the League in September said—"The Congress views with satisfaction the contemplated action of the Government in appointing a Commission to inquire into the Asiatic question in South Africa, and expresses the hope that adequate representation on that Commission will be given to the residents of the League, . . . and further expresses the hope that the terms of reference of the Commission will be as wide as possible."

Another resolution, also passed unanimously, was—"That Local Authorities, Chambers of Commerce, Trade Unions, and other public bodies be urged to collect all available information in regard to Asiatics, and take steps to lay such information before the Commission."

Now, what can have occurred since September to cause the leaders of the League to execute this volte face? The announcement of the personnel of the Commission has been received with enthusiasm by neither the existing Anti-Asiatics nor the extreme sections of the Indians, which may be taken to mean that, in the circumstances, the Government have succeeded in appointing a fair and moderate Commission. But even in their disappointment at having no nominees on the Commission, the General Committee of the League, which have not shown
themselves to be many-mouthed, have not for a moment hesitated that the Commission is a jestors pre-iniders. We believe that there are two main causes for this boycott. First, that the League have discovered that outside the Transvaal there is practically no Indian problem and hardly any Anti-Indian sentiment. The second is the fear of a Commission that will not consider the question as a Transvaal problem, but will suggest what may best be done in the interests of the whole Union. The League, therefore, feel that, since they are commanded by the support of the masses, they must give up all pretense and come out into the open as a purely provincial body with a definitely local government. Secondly, we believe that the Indian leaders have been 'endorsed' in the Cape, and the League, having difficulty in prove their facts and figures, have been forced to rely on the support of the people. They do not need an Indian sympathy movement, but the support of the masses.

Young India.
Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 14th April, 1930

THE NEW STAGE

It is for the last twelve months that the Khilafat question has been urged both in England and in India. In its first stage the question was more systematically agitated in England than here. The Moslem leaders in England focussed the Moslem view of the vital problems affecting Islam and it was known to the Peace Conference. They pleaded their case before the British ministers and the publicists. It was the failure of these efforts and the trend of the happenings in Paris that came as a cruel awakening to them. The Mahomedan leaders in India could see that the Allied Powers were all with an exception overborne by the heavy weight of the selfish interests involved in the secret treaties. They then lost no time in forming a deputation, and what was till then called a wild cry by some, assumed a shape, the maximum of the Moslem demand was raised. The first deputation proceeded to England.

This Khilafat Deputation saw the great leader of the Liberal party. They also presented their case to the Premier. The results of these interviews we all know already. The Delegation's efforts are not confined to personal interviews only. They addressed a crowd meeting at Essex Hall on 22nd March. There was a large English audience. The meeting is reported to have created an excellent impression on the audience, including notable English publicists. The "Bombay Chronicle" correspondent informs that a larger meeting is to follow shortly.

The decision of the Khilafat question rests with the Big Four. Of them the Italian Minister Signor Nitti is one. His speech and the response he received from the Chamber makes it clear that Italy does not desire territorial aggrandisements in Turkey or Aegean. He declared that it would be a mistake to assume religious feelings of the Moslems. But from beyond the Atlantic has been coming unhappy news. The American reply to the Allied Note regarding the Turkish Treaty negotiations expresses the opinion that the part of East Thrace outside the Constantinople zone should be given to Greece, but Achiropolis and Kirkilitza and the surrounding territory should be given to Bulgaria. The boundaries of Armenia should be drawn so as to recognize all legitimate claims of the Armenians, particularly, for an easy access to the sea. It (the reply) suggests that it should be divided and the Turkish should be given to Greece and the Albanian, Pindos, Epirus, and the islands in the hands of the Great Powers. This will, it is said, diminish the impression of the American Armenia Commission Report. It reads:

The only solution of the Near East problem is to give some power and a mandate which should also include Constantinople." Reading these two telegrams our sympathies are increased. The State Department's wish of paying a visit to the United States message has been already addressed to Senator Lodge and the American Press. The appeal urges an impartial inquiry into the whole history of the question of the so-called "Massacres" by an international Commission, including an adequate number of Indians selected by the Indian people themselves. It complains that the Turk record of massacres has been ignored and the Jewish more likely on the separate allegations. It further asks America to suspend its judgment pending the result of the first fair investigation. The Deputation concludes:

"Please place this our appeal before the Senate, also the House of representatives and America generally." We are sure that the Khilafat Deputation will easily traverse the balks and contributions involved in President Wilson's "first five policy. They will prove to America how the la�名e champion of self-determination has himself showed against his Tripple Point and his Mount Veron speech.

Though the representatives of the Allied Nations refuse to acknowledge the justice of the Moslem case, we do not feel quite displeased at the Christian public at large. And it is clear that the Deputation is determined to take their cause to every ear that hears and that hears not. Such diligence on the part of our Moslem brethren is comforting enough to show that they are trying all constitutional methods harmoniously.

In their anxiety to avoid all future bitterness the Moslem leaders have been consistently frank in expressing the Moslem opinion. They have with their characteristic frankness protested against the
YOUNG INDIA
April 14, 1920.

OUR NATIONAL DEBT

The history of the national Debt of India is a sad one. Generally speaking, national debt is no solution of wealth. At best, it only labours two and gains greater energy to production, provided it is used in assuring the creation of fresh wealth. Where the debt serves merely some other purpose which is not conducive to economic production, then there is so far as national power non-economic expenditure ought to be primarily in the interest of funds and unless it can be so dealt with, it might not be incurred at all. This is an eternal principle that we may be unaccountably observed by those unwise in the management of national finances. In theory, we can be unwise in practice.

Whatever might be the fault of the East India Company rule over India, the Company did not neglect the administration of the country more or less equally throughout the year. From the East India Company's point of view this did not exceed 7 and these estates the Mysore-Maratha were ordered some 16 millions to all, and when Lord William Bentinck took up the reins of government he ordered on 30 millions. This rule by the potent and efficient this reduced from 27 then followed the record of forward policy and 10 coin wars were maintained which ended in disaster. Thus the first Afghan War added some 15 millions to the debt. The Sikh War made a further addition of 15 and this total stood at nearly 60 millions before the break-out of the Sepoy Mutiny.

That great soldier and India's friend Lord Roberts had once expressed his opinion that 'if there were a justifiable excuse for a mutiny, there was no excuse for the British' argument. Thus, the mutiny was caused by the bad conditions committed by British officers in both civil and military India was saddled with the burden of expenses incurred in putting the mutiny down and thus India debt rose up to 60 millions at a stretch. This was followed by a greater injustice. By the Act of 1858 the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the British Crown and thus, India the biggest jewel in the British Crown became the so-called property of the British nation. But who paid the price of the jewel? Not the British Nation but the hard working men of the Indian people. This entire capital stock and debts of the East India Company were added to the public debt of India which now swelled to the enormous sum of 600 millions in sterling.

This payment of the Company's stock at Indian prices involved no more dangerous feature to the country's financial position than the acquisition of the Act. And that in this Up-to-now the major portion of the public debt was in Rupees Loan which was held in India alone. Consequently the drain by way of payment of interest in England was negligible. But now since the Company's stock was bought out of borrowings in England the interest on debt in that country jumped up to 32 millions. This was followed by a period of comparative recovery, and in the year 1900 the rupee debt stood at 50 crores in India and 75 in England, while the sterling debt in England was 35 millions. A change, however, followed in 1905, the Government of India abandoned its policy of Guarantee System of Railways and began to borrow capital in England for the building up of Railways in India. Ever since that date gradually continued to rise. In 1879 the rupee debt stood at 18 millions while the sterling debt stood at 52 millions. But things were not to stop there. The virtual abolition of Lord Bentinck's policy involved India in the disastrous second Afghan War and India's burden was augmented by two crores rupee debt and ten millions sterling debt. It was only at this point that the constitutional reform made in India a Committee was appointed to inspect some check to the Indian expenditures which was mainly by leaps and bounds. But the effects of this Committee only came in 1911. At once the maximum limit of 20 crores half millions was set down for the grants of borrowing in England but without any effective control either in England or in India. The Secretary of State for India, then the sole master of Indian destinies was not bound to observe this rule and so the drain continued.

The Burra War was responsible for the addition of some 10 millions more, and the continuous borrowing for railways, and the exchange compensation module raised the rupee debt to 103 crores and the sterling debt to 115 millions.

The finances and expenditure between 1905 and 1906 added considerably more to the national debt. But even in the early days the railway borrowing remained unaltered. Now, the Secretary of State for India allowed himself with a light heart to be committed to the five millions of twelve and a half millions sterling to be spent every year on railways. Besides the construction of new lines some old lines meant to be brought up from the Companies already owing them, and which show an additional bur-
The position on the Indian State Debt in 1898 was as follows: The total debt amounted to 699,922,000 rupees and 23 lakhs, of which 349,452,000 rupees and 7 lakhs was due to the British Government, leaving a net debt of 350,470,000 rupees and 16 lakhs. It is estimated that the net debt is likely to increase by 30 lakhs in the current year.

The Indian Railways, on the other hand, have a net debt of 77,800,000 rupees and 12 lakhs, of which 23,100,000 rupees and 5 lakhs is due to the British Government, leaving a net debt of 54,700,000 rupees and 7 lakhs. The Railways have a net revenue of 2,500,000 rupees and 11 lakhs, and a net profit of 1,000,000 rupees and 6 lakhs, indicating a healthy financial position.

The British Government has not made any contributions to the Indian Railways since 1860, and the excess of revenue over expenditure on the railways is now 1,000,000 rupees and 6 lakhs per annum. The Indian Railways are managed by the Indian Government, and the British Government has no control over them.

In conclusion, the financial position of the Indian Railways is strong, and they are an important source of revenue for the Indian Government. The net debt of the Railways is increasing, but the excess of revenue over expenditure is sufficient to cover the interest on the debt.

The Indian Railways are an important aspect of the national finances, and they play a crucial role in the economic development of India. The Railways are responsible for the transportation of goods and passengers, and they are essential for the functioning of the Indian economy.
GRAVE SITUATION IN FIJI.

To the Editor, "Young India."

Sir,

The situation in Fiji has been growing more serious day by day. Governor Amery has stated in the House of Commons that 160 Fijians have been arrested in consequence with the disturbances on the occasion of the recent strike. We know that an armed guard of 60 men had been sent from New Zealand to assist in maintaining order. The Fijian authorities have declared that the recent strike of the Fijian Indians was a political movement, and the arrest and deportation of Indian leaders in Fiji is said to be imminent. We have already learnt the news that 200 "Indian rioters" were arrested, revolver were fired upon them, one of them was killed and 12 were wounded. The last telegram that we received from our countrymen in Fiji informed us that the employers and the Fiji Government had a sympathy with the Indians and that great distress was prevailing.

The Indian public has heard all the news about our countrymen in Fiji with the least interest. With the exception of a few comments in the papers nothing has been done in India for the Fijian Indians. It is high time that we took up the cause of these unfortunate people.

The first thing that we ought to do is to appoint a commission of Indians to be sent to Fiji to inquire into the present position of our countrymen in the colony. After the abolition of indentured slavery in Fiji the things have gone from bad to worse. It is a fact that the employers of Indian Labour in Fiji are willing toindenture spontaneously. Whether the question of the cessation of indentures was brought before the Fiji Council in July 1912, the young Colonial Secretary referred to his speech on "The natural reluctance of the planters to cancel indentures until they could see some relief ahead."

Hon. Mr. M. Scott K.C. said "I feel sure that some explanation is due to our change of front. It has been long known that the pressure has always opposed the policy of granting the 'give and take' from India. The position now is that unless we agree to voluntarily cancel the indentures, wages will rise to double. We urge that the Government is the dominant factor in this matter and we may be told by some one a higher up that we will get no Labour unless we freeze all our Labour. We are forced to do this."

It is therefore clear that the cessation of indentures in Fiji has some deeper reasons than that of pure philanthropy. Mr. M. Scott K.C. and Mr. H. V. M. Scott of Fiji wrote in their letter of 10th May 1918: "There are threats of repression in case Indians persist in her refusal to supply Labour. "We know how weak the Fijian Government is and how easily it can be influenced by the C. & R. Company and the Planters of Fiji. Under these circumstances we have grave suspicions about the impartiality of the Fijian Government in concerning 150 Indians.

The matter is a very serious one and it ought to be investigated very carefully by an Indian Commissioner. Mr. Andrews has returned from South Africa and certainly he is the best person to do this difficult task. He has not kept good health and it will be most advisable on your part to ask him to start again on a long journey to Fiji. I would therefore suggest the names of another gentleman who has also done some useful work for the Fiji Indians. He is Pandit Tota Ram Sandhya of Broach. Mr. Andrews has a high opinion of the Pandit's work in Fiji. In the introduction of a Hindi book, Mr. Andrews writes: "I have the greatest respect and regard for Pandit Tota Ram as one of my friends. I regard his eloquent and remarkable for its steady persistence of purpose and unsurpassable honesty of work. In Fiji, I have not seen a man respected by Indians and Europeans alike. He has done a signal service to his fellow country-men by his fearless advocacy of their cause. I do not know any single Indian who has done more for the Indian men and women in Fiji than Pandit Tota Ram."

Pandit Tota Ram served under indentures for five years from 1858 to 1868 and he lived for twenty-one years in Fiji. He was held in high esteem by the Fijian Indians who sent him as their representative to the All-India Congress of 1914. Pandit Tota Ram has done good work in connection with the agitation for the abolition of indenture slavery. He has got a thorough knowledge of the Fijian language which he can utilise in getting impartial and independent opinions of Fijian eyewitnesses to the recent strike and riots in Fiji. Besides the Pandit Tota Ram's visits to Fiji will be a source of great satisfaction to the Fijian Indians.

May I hope the Imperial Citizenship Association of Bombay will take up the cause of the Fijian Indians. It will not be a very difficult thing for the Association to send one of its members with Pandit Tota Ram to Fiji.

Our Government also has a duty to perform. The Government should at once wire to Fiji authorities that they should postpone the punishment of the 100 "Indian rioters" until an independent Indian Commission has reported on the disturbances in Fiji. We can never be satisfied with one signed telegram sent by the Fiji Government.

Yours truly,

[Signature]

We shall give in our next the other part of the letter—Ed Y. I."

INDIA AND EAST AFRICA.

THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENT

(By Mr. C. F. Andrews)

(Concluded from our last issue)

COMPARISON WITH THE TRANSVAAL SITUATION.

The difference from this attitude on reaching the Transvaal was very marked. The racial antagonism has come there to a head. The Transvaal today is in the storm center.

From the point of view of the present enquiry it is not necessary to discuss the Transvaal situation, but one fact is worthy of careful notice. The economic argument, which is used against the Indians in the Transvaal and South Africa generally, is not the same as that which is used by the economic Commission in East Africa. In the Transvaal, the argument has been that the Indian companies with and taken away the trade from the European in East Africa. The argument has been that the Indian companies with
and keeps as servitude the African. The point is so important that it may be worth while to quote the passage from the East African Commission report:

"To ask in the minor sphere (of trade), in the Report, the European, if the Indian would submit to the civil, moral and commercial obligations, seconded in European society, has nothing to fear from Indian competition, the theory, which formerly found favour in the Government circles, having been completely exploded by the history of the last thirteen years."

Thus the ground on which the hostile party in the Transvaal base energetic argument against the Indian is repudiated in East Africa and vice versa.

**Situation in Natal.**

No reparation through the Orange Free State and then across into Natal without noticing at once the difference in cultivation. It may be rightly argued that the Poor administration in the Free State is more backward and not in part less fertile. But making allowance for both these differences, credit must be given to the fact that Natal has Indian cultivators and Europeans all these past sixty years and the Orange Free State has not.

What is of even more importance to this argument is that it be shown that in Natal where there is a greater number of Indians than in any other part of Africa, the progress of the African natives has been more rapid than in the Free State. So far as far as the Africans been removed from European services, that has been way much higher in Natal than in the Orange Free State where there are no Indians at all, so far as the Africans in Natal today from the position of a mere nurse of wood and draw of water to the Indian, that he has actually surpassed the Indians in the average age of their monthly wage, and the Africans’ wages are rising while the Indians’ wages are declining. I am taking part of the latest statistics from the Official Year Book of the South African Union, published by the Director of Statistics.

**Situation in the Orange Free State.**

I have seen the treatment of the African natives in the Orange Free State. I believe it is right in saying that the Africans of the Free State has no right to own land and no civil status at all. He must belong to one of the European masters, who have taken possession of all the soil. If ever there existed a class of people, who, by their very principles and traditions, were determined to keep the African in servitude, the bush-veld farmers of South Africa are such. Their religion itself opposes to minsion the attitude. Yet these very bush-veld farmers are great champions for the native in East Africa and were allowed in the Sudan areas which have been wrested from Indians. The Europeans in East Africa knew perfectly well the principles and traditions of these bush settlers. Why, then, was there no protest against their admission, if it was sincerely desired to protect the African native?

**Situation in the Cape Colony.**

In the Cape Colony for many years past, Indians, along with ‘coloured’ people and African natives, have been allowed the franchise on the two qualifications of (1) having been properly valued at 75 L. and (2) being sufficiently literate to sign their names and write their addresses and occupations.

It was of supreme interest to me in the Cape Colony to find how entirely the Indian question has passed the background. There is a very great measure due to the rights of citizenship having been granted. The number of Indians are not large. They are contented with their present position and desire no alteration. With regard to the African natives, there is not an economic depression of any kind that can be traced in the presence of the Indian Depression. Depression has come entirely from the European trading systems, which still maintain in certain classes of skilled work, which the Africans are quite capable of doing but being reserved for the European workers. The African native is similarly prevented by the stringer traders' union rules of the 'coloured bar', from rising in his trade. Every effort has been made by liberal statesmen and by liberal Labour leaders, to break that colour bar, but without avail.

I will give one instance, which was quoted for, there are probably hundreds of similar nature. A certain type of mining in the mines has been reserved for European workers, but the European is allowed to employ a Kaffir, on a mere promise, to do the actual work, while he looks on and directs and draws a high monthly wage. This instance in the colour bar reduces the intelligent and highly skilled African worker to economic servitude.

**A striking fact.**

There was a striking fact, which held an positive direction in favour of the Indian Dr Abrahman, a leading member of the Indian community, who does more than any person in South Africa to uphold the cause of the African natives, and to raise their moral and political status. He has represented them for many years in the Cape Provincial Parliament and Council, and, if he is returned, has been removed from the South African Union Parliament, he will be the first to represent them also. The native and coloured population at the Cape trust him more than their living man.

**Unlimited scope.**

And he has been there changing all his life. This fact will be difficult to fit in with the theory of the Economic Commissioners, that Indians retard the progress of the African natives and keep them in an economic servitude as mere owners of wood and drawers of water.

I have now gone through, at length, the different heads of evidence which I have gathered while travelling up and down Africa. Looking back over the whole field, there is very little indeed that bears out the contention of the East African Commissioners against the Indians.

On the other hand, there appears to me overwhelming evidence which tells in the Indians' favour.

The longer I have studied the main question on a wide scale, the more clearly I have seen that there is a fundamental falsity underlying the whole position of the East African Commissioners. It is the same as the falsity that someone accuses the working man in Europe or America, where he thinks that the amount of work is to do is limited, and that there is only just enough to go round. The working man does not see that new work is always created, and that work does lead on to other work. Similarly the Economic Commissioners in East Africa seem to regard the whole amount of skilled work in the country as strictly limited. They appear to assume that every Indian occupying a skilled post is keeping an Africa out. But the truth
The crisis is the reverse. Since the work to be done in Africa is practically unlimited, each new piece of work opens up much more work that can be done in the same Nework, new posts, a post in the same Nework, and so on, and need not be done in the other. The same goes for more work.

A mere handful of 15,000 Indians, to quote the Economic Commissioner’s own figures, is a country almost entirely undeveloped, and it cannot possibly fill up every vacancy. Wherever the Indian is doing skilled work, many African natives are content to be employed as assistants. Out of these assistants, few have watched the Indians at work, there are certain to be some who are more handy with their tools than others. There are some who are better suited to the work, and some who are not. The Indian has the advantage, because they are more willing to work harder, and because they are more willing to learn.

But as we have seen, over and over again, not one of these points can be proved. Instead of Indians working in Africa, we find that the Indians have not been granted the same opportunities as the Africans, who are doing better work. The Indian has not been granted the same opportunities as the African, who is doing better work. The Indians have been given lower status, for linguistic reasons, as quickly as possible instead of the African not making progress, under the apparent sway of the Indians, he has been advancing with extraordinary rapidity.

CONCLUSION

This is the conclusion of the whole matter. The comparatively small number of Indians, who have gone out to Africa, have, for the most part, been useful, and necessary work. They have never migrated to such numbers as to swamp the progress of the African native. Their presence, if the country is to advance, is still urgently required.

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1. Indian Rupees (with postage) Four Rupees.
2. Outside India Eight Shillings.

All manuscripts and printed matter to be sent in advance in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Balchandnath, Subtract.

Yours etc.

One in the audience.
Notes.

Communal representation—We have abundance enough in India to communal representation being demanded by other small groups because the principle has been conceded to the mass of Mahomedans. But when the cry for communal representation comes from Indians in Burma, the absurdity becomes criminal. We understand some Indians of Rangoon have pleaded for communal representation in the Burmese Council to be formed under the reforms. We do hope that the demand will be withdrawn before mischief is done. The Burmese will have every right to resent any such separate treatment of Indian settlers there. We are in Burma as guarnets of the Burmese for their and our mutual good, not for the exploitation of the former. Their welfare should be our first consideration. As a friend correctly points out, the Indian demand would be like the Parsees or Marwaris clamoring communal representation for themselves in the Bengal Council. Surely, Indians of Burma would have a right to enter the Burmese Council, only if they by force of ability and service can command the Burmese vote. We, who desire that nobody should set up claims in India which are against our interests, are bound to guard against such rights in Burma in conflict with the interests of the Burmese. And yet that is precisely what lies at the bottom of this demand for communal representation by Indian settlers. We, therefore, trust that wiser counsel will prevail and that we shall hear no more of communal representation for Indians in Burma.

Mr. Homman's Deportation—28th April will be the anniversary of Mr. Homman’s deportation. During the interval the public have shown in various ways their strong disapproval of the summary order of the Bombay Government. Apart from Mr. Homman’s qualifications, deportation without trial of any British Subject must be a matter of great concern to every lover of liberty and follower of justice. We must make it impossible in India for any British Subject to be deported or have his liberty otherwise restricted without due trial except under circumstances in which every government must have the power of suspending the operation of the ordinary rules of law. And we must make it clear that no circumstances are proved to have existed for Mr. Homman’s deportation. We hope therefore that the whole of the Presidency will act at public meetings in every village that Mr. Homman’s deportation should be cancelled without delay.

Jallianwala Bagh Memorial—The National Week has been a striking success at Bombay in any index at the rest of the country. The three meetings were entirely successful. The Government knew the opinion of the country on the Rowlett Act, the Khilafat question, and the Punjabe tragedy. It is difficult to know what extent fasting and prayer were undertaken. But there is no doubt that respectable number went through the discipline, in a proper religious spirit. But the most effective demonstration of the success of the national observance was the response made to the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial. The kit published daily shows the liberality of the donors and its catholicity. But the public know little of the spontaneous help rendered by the fair sex and by those who have not been touched by the national spirit. A band of ladies went through personal canvassing with most encouraging results. Even Dhade and Bhauda collected subscriptions for the Memorial. Lists have been coming in from far and near. Contributions have come in from far off Champaran. It is hoped that those who have reserved the amounts will send their contributions to Lalaji Cirdharil at Aurangabad without delay. They should remember that the day for the payment of the balance of the purchase price is near.
in there Peace in the land?—Our labour contemporary is generally known for its considerate views. But in the criticism of the Satyagraha Week, it finds fault with the wording of the first resolution on the repeal of the Bowitl Act. It is of opinion that the words "there will be no peace in the land until the Bowitl Act is repealed," should have been modified for the simple reason that it reflects from outward signs, that there is peace in many parts of the land. This is not correct. The Tribune perhaps seems to imagine that there is no peace in the land, only when there is bloodshed, cleaver, and violent agitation. It forgets that we are all working for—and we believe with considerable success—the total elimination of these elements from our public life, however much discontented and disappointed we may be. These, therefore, should not be the signs to gauge our feelings.

The Punjab and the Bombay disturbances during April last were due to the high feeling that ran among the masses, firstly on account of this Act and subsequently, the arrest of Dr. Kitchlew, Saipai and Mr. Gandhi. And unless that was not genuine agitation, the feeling cannot subside or die out till the cause of its irritation is removed. That this feeling has not died out is simply proved by the number of queries Mr. Gandhi has received from every part of the country about the renewal of the Satyagraha movement in connection with this Act.

The fact that we have been repeatedly demanding repeal of all repressive legislation again shows that our men are not at rest and cannot be at rest till such legislation is removed. And the first and most representative measure of such legislation is the Bowitl Act.

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Manager,
Young India.

The National Week closed on Tuesday the 13th. It was in every way a remarkable demonstration of Hindu-Muslim unity, the determination to secure repeal of the Bowitl Act and the Satyagraha spirit. The speeches delivered were sober and more to the point than before. There was no disorderliness at any of the meetings of which we have received reports.

What however about Swadeshi? Was Swadeshi too not a product of the Satyagraha spirit and activity? It undoubtedly was. But Swadeshi work is the most constructive of all. It does not lend itself to speeches so much as to solid action. It is not possible to save fifty scores of rupees annually by speeches or demonstrations. It involves much more than the saving of this annual drain. It involves the honour of Indian womanhood. Everyone who has any connection with the mill industry knows that the women working in the mills are exposed to temptations and risks which they ought not to be exposed. Many women (in want of house employment accept road repair labour. And only those who know what this labour is, understand the risks the women run. Give them the spinning wheel and no woman need ever seek any other employment then sitting at the spinning wheel. Swadeshi means a distribution of wealth from an occupation next in importance only to agriculture. It supplements agriculture and therefore automatically assists materially to solve the problem of our growing poverty. Thus Swadeshi is our veritable Kandheen supplying all our wants and solving many of our difficult problems.

And an occupation which saves our honour and provides our livelihood, becomes a religious duty.

How can the great communication be achieved? The answer is simple. Those who realize the importance of the problem must set about working in one or all of the following directions:

1. Learn spinning yourself whether man or woman. Charge for the labour if you need money, or make a gift of at least one hour's labour to the nation daily.

2. Learn weaving yourself whether for recreation or for maintenance.

3. Make improvements in the present handlooms and the spinning wheels, and if you are rich, pay for them to those who would make them.

4. Take the Swadeshi vow and patronize the cloth that is both hand-spun and hand-woven.

5. Introduce such cloth among your friends and believe that there is more art and humanity in Khadi whose yarn has been prepared by your poor sisters.

6. If you are a mother, you will give a clean and national culture to your children and make
them wear clothes made out of beautiful Khadi which is available at mills and which can be most easily produced.

Swadeshi then means the creation of a most perfect organization in which every part works in perfect harmony with every other. If we succeed in bringing into being such an organization, not only is success of Swadeshi assured, but real Swaraj comes to us as a matter of course.

INDIANS ABROAD.

The prejudice against Indian settlers outside India is showing itself in a variety of ways. Under the impudent assumption of sedition the Fijian Government has deported Mr Muntal Doctor who with his brave and cultured wife has been rendering assistance to the poor underdogs Indians of Fiji in a variety of ways. The whole trouble has arisen over the strike of the labourers in Fij. Indentures have been cancelled, but the spirit of slavery is by no means dead. We do not know the genesis of the strike, we do not know that the strikers have done no wrong, but we do know what is behind when a charge of sedition is brought against the strikers and their friends. The reader must remember that the Government that has assumed sedition in the recent upheaval to Fiji is the Govern-ment that had the hardihood to libel Mr. Andrews' character. What can be the meaning of sedition in connection with the Fij strikers and Mr Muntal Doctor? Did they and he want to cause the ruin of government? Did they want any power in that country? They stood for elementary freedom and it is a prostitution of terms to see the word sedition in such connection. The strikers may have been overstepping Mr Muntal Doctor may have mistaken them. If his advice bordered on the criminal, he should have been tried. The information in our possession goes to show that he has been strictly constitutional. Our point, however, is that it is an abuse of power for the Fijian Government to have deported Mr Muntal Doctor without a trial. It is wrong in principle to deprive a person of his liberty on mere suspicion and without giving him an opportunity of clearing his character. Mr Muntal Doctor, he is remembered, has for years past made Fiji his home. He has, we believe, bought property there. He has children born in Fiji. Have the children any rights? Has the wife none? May a promising career be ruined at the bidding of a lawless Government? Has Mr Muntal Doctor been compensated for the losses he must sustain? We trust that the Government of India which has undervalued in its efforts to protect the rights of Indian settlers abroad will take up the question of Mr. Doctor's deportation.

Nor are Fiji the only place where the spirit of lawlessness among the powerful has come to the surface. Indians of (the late) German East Africa find themselves in a worse position than herefor. They state than even their property is not safe. They have to pay all kinds of dues on passports. They are harrassed in their trade. They are not able even to send money orders.

In British East Africa the closed is perhaps the thickest. The European settlers there are doing their utmost to deprive the Indian settlers of practically every right they have hitherto possessed. An attempt is being made to cripple their rights both by legislative enactment and administrative action.

In South Africa every Indian who has anything to do with that part of the British Dominions is watching with bated breath the progress of the commissnence that is now sitting.

The Government of India has no easy job in protecting the interests of Indian settlers in these various parts of His Majesty's Dominions. They will be able to do so only by following the firm and the most consistent policy. Justice is admittedly on the side of the Indian settlers but they are the weak party. A strong agitation in India followed by strong action by the Government of India can alone save the situation.

THE CAUSE OF THE VERNACULARS.

To anyone who watched the proceedings of the recent Sahitya Sammelan it must be clear that our national awakening is not confined to politics alone. The enthusiasm displayed at these gatherings indicated a happy change. We are given in thought their proper place to the vernaculars in our national life. Raji Ram Mohan Roy's prophecy that India will one day be an English-speaking country, has not to-day many stars in its favour. The great reformer's spirit, however, still hangs some smoke. Among our ornamented men, hasty generalisations in favour of English as the national medium.

The present status of English as a court language weighs with them unduly. They fail to see that the present status of English is no credit to us and that it is not conducive to the growth of a true democratic spirit. That score of men should learn a foreign tongue for the convenience of a few hundred of officials is the height of absurdity. An instance is often cited from our past history to prove the necessity of a tongue foreign to strengthen the central Government of the country. Nobody disputes the necessity of a common medium. But it cannot be English. The officials have to recognize the vernaculars. The second consideration that appeals to the Anglocrats is India's position in the Empire. The argument, put in plain words, amounts to asking 31 crores of Indians to accept English as their common language, for the sake of the other parts of the Empire whose population is not more than 12 crores.

The first fact that ought to receive consideration from every student of the problem, is that after a century and a half of Bri-
which supported the Angunat or the Bilingumata. Thus, though the reply to the Commissioners' question do not in themselves decide the future, they do reveal a strong movement in favour of the immediate introduction of English for some university purposes, and of its ultimate introduction for others, a movement of which there was little sign in the debates in the Imperial Legislative Council of 1915.

If we study the Commissioners' analysis of the replies we can more fully appreciate their remark, The question put to the witnesses was, "Do you hold English should be used as the medium of instruction and examination at every stage above matriculation in the university course?"

The replies are analysed as follows—

(i) 129 are positively in the affirmative;
(ii) 29 are in the affirmative, with slight reservations;
(iii) 68 are in favour of a joint use of English and the vernacular either side by side in the same institution, or in parallel institutions;
(iv) 33 replies suggest the gradual replacement of English by the vernacular as the object to be aimed at,
(v) 37 are in the negative, and
(vi) 9 are insusceptible of classification.

So 155 replies are in favour of the English-medium and nearly 138 are not against using the vernacular-medium sooner or later. Thus proportion is certainly encouraging to the vernacularists besides, even among those that favour the English-medium there is not an insuperable section of witnesses who advise the foreign medium, because, there is no provision for props and sufficient text-books for different subjects. The school of educators is not against the vernacular-medium on principle. They do not like us to set into water till we have learnt swimming. Of a similar sort but more decisive is the evidence of the remaining witnesses that stand for the English-medium. This latter evidence has stamped the vernacular as an ever to serve the purpose of the medium of instruction. These witnesses betray an ignorance of the history of our vernaculars. There was a time when Sanskrit was the sole medium for Hindu philosophy. But a few centuries since scholars concurred their vernaculars with a decent store of philosophical literature and brought Hindu philosophy within the reach of the masses. Can we not with our present ideas of organisation do for our vernaculars in the sphere of science what once those vernacular scholars did in the sphere of philosophy? As against the difference of those witnesses, the vernacularists can cite the example of Japan. The Rev. W. E. S. Holland Principal of St. Paul's Cathedral College, Calcutta, in his evidence, writes, "Japan by use of the vernacular, has built up an educational system that commands the respect of the West." The evidence of Bhab Ramnasa Chatterjee, the editor of the Modern Review, is even more convincing. He says: "The use of the vernacular in all grades of university education is indispensably necessary. All ob-
INDIANS ABROAD

GRAVE SITUATION IN FIJI

We give below the latter part of Ek Bhardya Bhanday's letter (see p. 6 of our last issue for the first part).

The Fijian Government, which is at present in our country, has claimed to represent the Fijian Government and the Planters. We should ask the Fijian Government to be kind enough to answer the following questions:

1. Is it not a fact that the Fijian Government, and the sugar companies have taken advantage of the labour of Indians during the war to make immense profits out of sugar?

2. Is it not a fact that the Fijian Government and the companies have themselves appropriated that part of the Indian labourers' earnings which was to pay for their return passage?

3. Is it not a fact that the great sugar consumers in Fiji are crying their trade an usual and not even one of them has been spared to repudiate the labourers who have helped to grow this sugar?

4. What is the number of those Fijian Indians who have earned the right of free passage to India during the last 5 years? When will they be repatriated? Will not an early repatriation of these labourers give an immediate relief to the Fijian Indians?

5. Last but not least, that during the war the Fijian emigrant was promised a payment of 12 annas by the respective to Fij. We are not these twelve annas reduced to zero and a half annas as Sundays and all Saturdays are not working days! Is not a fact that the necessity of life in Fiji is the same as in India.

6. Why was Dr. Swaminathan, the teacher, prosecuted? Is he not a supporter of the vast majority of the Fijian Indians? What was the effect of his press in upon the Indian population of Fij?

7. How many untrained labourers were liberated on 2nd January 1920? Did it not the Fijian Planters allow the Fijian Indians to repatriate, or did they force them to do so reluctantly?

8. Is there not in Fiji a law entitled "The Masters and Servants Ordinance"? If so, it is as old as the fold age, may be applied to free immigrants and under which they may be made to serve for a period of one year, and after which they will be allowed to go or to leave the plantations.

9. Is it not a fact that the Fijian Planters have made two distinctly agreements with the labourers who have been working to the same conditions as indentured men, and for the same wages, with the addition of a bonus of £ 1. 10 shillings? How many labourers are working under this system?

10. Is it not a fact that the reserved and undistributed profits of the C.B. R. Company of Fij were amounted to £ 30,000 in January 1920, and in £ 131,000 in March 1919?

11. Is it not a fact that more than £ 300,000 extra profit was made by the Planters in Fij?

12. Is it not a fact that during the first three years of the war, the fraction of these immense war profits was distributed among the untrained Indians who helped to make these profits?

13. What were the causes of the recent strike of Indian labourers? How are the present 'tried' in Fiji compared with the strike? Was it an attitude of the Planters during the strike?

14. Will you please give the particulars of the strike in Fiji in 1913 and 1920?

The Indians in Fij have been suffering all sorts of humiliations and degradations for last 40 years. They are deformed if we do not help them in this time of great trouble. Shall we do something for the sixty thousand of our countrymen in Fij ?

British Guiana.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak writes to the "Times of India": -

In your leading article entitled, "Indians Abroad," published in your issue of the 8th ultimo, you deal, amongst other problems, with that of Indian migration to British Guiana, and in the course of your remarks, you refer to
by reference being made to the high death-rate attending those engaged in its cultivation.

"The Government are not in earnest when they speak of colonization as the solution of the problem to which we are making due. The late Mr. J. A. Lachlan’s speech, before our Association, in the West India Committee Circular of August 7th, 1919.

My Association’s attention is drawn to the fact that as a result of the representations made by the Colonization deputation while in England, some interest was shown in the Colony from Liverpool to better the position of the workers, but being unable to find the same employment, they were eventually sent to one of the Sugar Estates, and the condition of the workers is pitiful. In the case of these workers, what will happen in the event of any large numbers of Indians being sent to the Colony? The matter is referred to in a local newspaper the Trinidad, which, I understand, is not English-owned or controlled. My Association is in possession of reports showing that through surplus labour from the British West Indies in the last report, to 1920, to British Guiana. There is no reason for this, and until the matter is satisfactorily explained it is more than questionable whether Indians should be induced to emigrate. There is yet another reason why I venture to think that India ought to consider the matter at the present time. The system of indentures still prevails in the Colony as it does also in Trinidad, Jamaica, and Surinam, and there should be no question of any further emigration from India to any of these places until the termination of existing indentures. That they are not an economic necessity, my Association has just heard the best possible evidence from the admission of the largest Sugar Estates in Trinidad whose managers admit that they no longer use indentured labour, and they have every reason to be satisfied with the result of their experiment. Having regard, therefore, to these various considerations, is it not desirable that the sanitary and agricultural needs of the Colony are admitted to be reduced for and to the extent of the numbers between the East India Association of Georgetown and the duplication of in India, it would seem that the restriction of the number of the Colonization Scheme has not been prepared for the Colonization Scheme have not been prepared. The Rice Industry, pressured by East Indians and the next greatest industry to sugar is being discouraged owing to the lack of drainage and irrigation, and the need for a higher standard than the half-assayed jimmies that are on the estates.

The abuses which led to the abolition of indentured immigration still exist to-day on the estates though kept down to a certain extent. It is an increase in the number of the cases to give evidence of the progress of the scheme is now in its second year. The cost of land is high, and the labourers are underpaid, and the health of the labourers is not good. Cane-cutting and community life is hard, and the mortality is high. The conditions are hard, and the conditions are not conducive to a healthy and contented life on the estates.
As far as you know, there has not been much difficulty in carrying out the law referring to the issue of licenses to Absentees. You have not heard of any serious grievances — No, except the ordinary grumbles that come up under any piece of legislation. I do not think it has been specially made, as far as my knowledge goes.

Col. Wyllie has been listened to some power in refusing a renewal since a license has been granted —

Not, as far as I know.

Mr. Hofmeyr — Suppose a man habitually sells short weight, cannot you cancel his license? — No, I think he must him in death with either municipal or other laws.

Col. Wyllie — If a renewal is refused, is there any appeal to the Supreme Court? — I take it there would be, under the common law No is not provided for in the Ordinance.

Witness, in reply to Mr. Hofmeyr, stated that, apart from the town of East London, he had no knowledge of any segregation of Amnesties in the Cape Province. Speaking from observation in the Paamplaids, he should say that there was a tendency amongst Amnesties to live in a particular area.

In reply to the Chairman, witness stated that where the municipal authority had refused to authorize renewals to other purposes, there had been appeals by the licensee to the Administrator, but not in many cases. In each case the Administrator had allowed the renewal, and reversed the decision of the municipality.

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**The Budget.**

From "The Modern Review." *§*

**Military Expenditure and Educational Expenditure.**

In the financial statement for 1919-20, the total actual revenue was given as Rs 335 crores, of which Rs 333 crores have been spent for military purposes. That 63 per cent. of the revenue should be spent for military purposes shows an abnormal state of things. This must mean the starving of production by means of agrarian and other restrictions, of education of sanitation, etc., and must in the long run lead to industrial bankruptcy. But it is not this that we intend to say, in this Note.

Indias, most present a phenomenally dilapidated country and her educational expenditure is lower than that of any other civilized country. As the following figures of her national expenditure per head of the population of different countries, published by the New Zealand and India Leagues, will show:

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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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<td>United States</td>
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<td>Switzerland</td>
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<td>Austria</td>
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<td>England and Wales</td>
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<td>Canada</td>
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[Note: The figures are in crores.]
The Budget Estimates for military expenditure in 1915-16 was Rs. 94.64 acres in round numbers. But the actual military expenditure has been Rs. 65.33 acres. So there is a substantial amount to be found, not surprisingly by previous deliberations and effort, for education. Let us see how far this sum may go in great free primary education for our boys and girls.

According to the census of 1911, there were in British India 8,474,138 boys and girls of the ages of 5 to 10. According to the official report of "Education in India" published by the National Education in India, the annual cost of educating each pupil in primary school in British India is Rs. 5-8-7. The total expenditure would then be about Rs. 30.25 acres. This amount is less than 21 acres.

In the year 1864-5 the military expenditure was 16.85 acres of rupees. In 1871-2 it stood at 94.64 acres. Even in 1915-16 the expenditure was in round numbers 33 acres. In 1918-19 thirty-seven acres, and in 1917-18 forty-five acres. For the year 1920-21 some 40 acres have been budgeted for. So our military expenditure is now to stand much higher than even the average of the years of the great war, and we are required to believe that however high the military expenditure in any year, it is less or will be indispensable, and could be and can be found, but that 16 acres of rupees for universal free primary education cannot be found by any means. Thus we absolutely refuse to believe.

THE NATIONAL WEEK.

SIR RAVINDRANATH'S MESSAGE

The third and last of the series of public meetings in celebration of the National Week was held in the open space near the French Bridge, Bombay, on the 13th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah presiding. The meeting was overcast under the joint auspices of the Bombay branches of the Home Rule League and the National Union and Education.

The President at the outset announced that his Ravindranath Tagore was unable to be present but had sent a message, which he intendt to read.

Mr. Andrewercum posed the message which ran as follows:

"A great sin has been done to the name of law in the Punjab. Such terrible atrocities of anti, leave their legacy of the upbuilding of ideals behind them. What happened in Jallianwala Bagh was itself a monstrous glory of a monstrous war, which was for years had stained God's world with fire and poison, physical and moral. The memories of the men through which humanity had waded across the blood-red length of agony has bred efforts in the minds of those who have power in their hands, not of check of sympathy within, or of fear of resistance, without. The consciousness of the power who owned no shame in using their machines of fright, fulness upon the unarmed and awed villagers, and inflicting unspeakable humiliation upon their fellow-leaves behind the corner of an unloving munificence, and yet not feeling for a moment that it was the most innocent form of insult to their own mankind, has become only possible through the opportunity which the late war has given to man for most monstrously raising his own higher nature, tempers truth and honour under foot. This disruption of the basis of civilization will continue to produce a series of moral earthquakes, and men will have to be ready for still further offerings. That the balances will come the long time to be restored, so clearly each by the secular savagery of vindictive manly taunting and the atmosphere of the peace deliberations.

But we have no place in these organs of triumphant powers sending the world into kits according to their own purposes. What must we now is to know that the moral degradation not only preserves the people, inflating indignities upon the helpless, but also their victims. The deadness of moral justice, confident of its injustice to ugly mean, but the fear and impotent anger which they are apt to breed upon the minds of the weaker are no less abject. Brothers, when physical forces, in its arrogant fault it itself, tries to scrub the spirit of man, then comes the time for them to assert that his soul is incomparable. We shall refuse to be afraid and to own moral defeat by breathing in our hearts and dreams of vindication. This time comes for them to be the victors in the field of righteousness.

"When brother spills the blood of his brother and excites in her grief, giving it a high sounding name, when he tries to keep it, that blood stings fresh as the soil on a memorial of his anger, then God in abasement consents under His green gaze and the sweet purity of His flowers. We who have witnessed the wholesale slaughter of the innocent in our neighbourhood, let us accept God's own office and cover the bloodstains of iniquity with our prayer.

"Rahere ye to dakhilman rakhon to saam pahal antyam
With Thy gracelessness O, Terrible, for ever
swa kis

For the true grace comes from the Terrible, who can save our souls from the fear of suffering and death in the midst of terror and from victoriousness in defense of injury. Let us take our lesson from His hand, even when the mark of the pain and insult is still fresh— the lesson that all magnificence, cruelty and wrath are for the subjugation of slaves, and only the Nobles and True are for eternity. Let them, who wish, try to burden the minds of the future with stones, carrying the black memory of wrongs and their anger, but let us be steadfast to the generations in some memorials that only which we can erase—let us be grateful to our forefathers, who have left us the image of our fathers, who conquered self, preserved forgiveness, and spread love far and wide in time and space."

THE RESOLUTION.

Mr. Gandhi then moved the following resolution—

"The meeting of the students of Bombay is of opinion that whilst much excess at Amritsar although committed after grave provocation were worthy of condemnation, the deliberate and calculated massacres without warning by General Dyke of innocent, unarmed and otherwise defenseless multitudes at Jallianwala Bag was an unparalleled act of barbarity, and hopes that the Government of India and the Imperial Government will take such steps as to render impossible a repetition of such barbarity and other similar barbarities committed by responsible officers in the Punjab during the period of the martial law administration and hopes that recommendations made by the Peacock Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress will be carried out in their entirety."

The resolution was passed and the meeting was dissolved.

Trusted by Shamsaril O. Pandit at New Jivas Madrasalaya, Chaule 07, Panmure Kale, Ahmedabad and published by Mohabey H. Deol at the same place.
TO THE MEMBERS

THE ALL-INDIA HOME RULE LEAGUE.

It is a distinct departure from the even tenor of my life to turn to an organisation that is purely and frankly political. But after this admission and consideration of friends I have joined the All-India Home Rule League and accepted the office of its President. Some friends whom I consulted told me that I should not join any political organisation and that if I did, I would lose the position of ascetic isolation I enjoy at present. I confess that this caution had considerable weight with me. At the same time I felt that if I was accepted by the League as I was, I should be wrong in not identifying myself with an organisation that I had wished for the advancement of the cause of which I had special and some of the methods which experience has shown me to be attended with quicker and better results than those that are mainly adopted by the League, I endeavored to ascertain the opinion of those who were outside the Presidency and with whom I had not the privilege to come in such close contact as with co-workers in the Bombay Presidency.

The names referred to by me are Swadeshi Hindu-Muslim Unity with special reference to Khilafat, the acceptance of Hinduism as the state religion and a linguistic re-constitution of the Provinces. I would engage the League if I can carry the members with me in these activities so that they occupy the largest part of the nation's time and attention.

I freely confess that Reform takes a secondary place in my scheme of national re-organisation. For I feel that the activities chosen by me if they would but absorb national energy, would bring about all the Reform the most ardent enthusiasts can ever desire, and as for the desirability of full self-government at the earliest possible moment, as concerned, I yield to none in my desire to hasten our progress. And it is because I feel that the progress towards self-government can be best accelerated by developing the activities I have mentioned that I keep them in the forefront of the national programme. I shall not treat the All-India Home Rule League as a party organisation in any sense of the term. I belong to no party, and I wish to belong to none hereafter. I am aware that the constitutional League is a national party organisation, even as the British Parliament is the combination of all parties and has one party or other dominating it from time to time, I am not a party organisation. I shall venture to hope that all parties will cherish the Congress as a national organisation providing a platform for all parties to appeal to the nation with a view to moulding its policy and I would endeavour to mould the policy of the League as to make the Congress retain its properly national character.

This brings me to my method. I believe that it is possible to introduce non-compromising truth and honesty in the political life of the country. Whilst I would not expect the League to follow me in my Civil Disobedience methods, I would have every nerve to strike truth and non-violence accepted in all our national activities. Then we shall cease to fear or distrust Governments and their measures. I do not wish however to develop the themes any further. I would rather let me solve the many questions that arise from the bold statement I have made. My purpose was just to set out to demonstrate the propriety of my action on the truth of the policy herein advocated. Let us take the members of the League into my confidence and to invite criticism of the programme I have put forth and any suggestions they may wish to make for the advancement of the welfare of the League.

M. K. GANDHI.
Notes

The problem of the unclad—Sir Charles Macready of the Empire Cotton growing Association has recently published that out of the world’s population, 730 million people are well clothed, 500 million are half clad, and 280 million unclad. We have so much figure in regard to India, still it is undeniable that the proportion between clothed and unclad people is largely disarranged to the Indian nation, especially in view of the fact that it ranks only second to America among the cotton growing countries. It is proved by the Cotton Committee that we can grow more and better cotton. We are indefinitely waiting for new mills to be erected to utilise our cotton. We look to others to provide us with machinery. But, the situation regarding mill machinery in very serious given England which has been one of our largest importing countries. The "Manchester Guardian" in its quarterly review of the cotton industry, tells us that new mills would be so costly that hardly anybody contemplates erecting them, and, consequently, there is a prospect of the demand for goods exceeding the supply, for a considerable period. This makes it evident that unless we revive our old spinning wheels and handloom, we cannot solve the problem of the unclad. Nature has given us enough and it promises more, we must work to deserve it.

East African Exchange—Already the news from East Africa about the proposed change of currency, from the rupee to the shilling is causing alarm and anxiety. And now news comes that legislation has been enacted under instructions from the Colonies office enforcing a most unfair rate of exchange for the rupee. The rate of exchange in India stands to-day at 21s. 6d. to 2s. 11d. to 3d. in the rupee. One does not know how and when this rate is going to rise as well. But the East African legislature has already enacted a drastic legislative fixing the rate of the rupee at 2s. 6d. to 2s. 11d. to 3d. from July 1, and 2s. 3d. from December.

Now every body knows that a very great portion of the East African Trade and Finance is geographically dependent upon India. Because, East Africa is itself a great producer of cotton and other raw materials which it exports to European countries. Naturally, the consent of these legislatures has led to a state of chaos and confusion which has resulted in serious disruption of trade, and a financial and industrial crisis is imminent. It is clear that no consideration has been given to established concurrent and industrial interests and the native productions of the country, a very large portion of which is held by the Indian Community.

Beginning with cigarettes—Apropos of the proposal of Imperial Preference, some of our friends hold out to us the prospect of its favourable working in the case of our exports. They point out to us the instance of its working in the United Kingdom. Do not our tea, coffee and tobacco enjoy distinct advantage by preferences? And now comes our brilliant and versatile contemporary from Bombay and says to us, "Look here! the British Government's new budget contemplates to impose an additional duty of 50 p. c. on imported cigars but with a preferential rebate of one-third on cigars from the dominions and India! Is not the prospect a good example of the advantages under Imperial Preference?"

But we submit that though we are not more sentimental, we do not like the idea of exporting cotton at a lower price to India than to the old countries. The product of many harmful substances as tea and coffee, tobacco and cigarettes, but we shall put aside our sentiments for a while and look at the question squarely. It does not matter whether two pence whether rebate is granted to India and additional duties are imposed on foreign cigarettes. What matters in the first place, is what is the actual state and scope of our Cigarette Industry. And we have it on the very old evidence of an eminent writer in the very same paper that though we produce tobacco, we pay import duties of Rs. 44 each year.

For the sake of higher issues which are involved in the question of Imperial Preference, we may not today insist upon the revaluation of our contemporary's expectations. We may even concede to it, now that discoveries have proved that tobacco flower is capable of yielding alcohol and spirits, the "bright" prospect for India in the trade monopoly of alcohols and spirits. But the question of questions is, whether the only side of Imperial Preference? Is this a good example of the advantages under Imperial Preference?

Why so ear?—Why is the Premier so anxious and uneasy at the imminent departure of the Congress deputation for the purpose of presenting before the British public the Punjab Reports? Our worthy contemporary insists that no passage should be granted to the deputation unless its members have got their names previously registered.

And then passages should only be shifted in the order of priority certificates. We do not know whether the deputation have done this or not, but our contemporary's previous expectation and attitude towards the sub-committee and its workers have been such that he will accept the contention that it has been prompted by an honest anxiety to deal strictly, fairly and impartially with those who have submitted their priority certificates earlier and stand a better claim than the deputation. The Indian view will be that our contemporary has, in his extreme anxiety to shelter the official wrong done and their exculpable and unknown acts, but upon this ignominies plea in the name of fairness and impartial treatment. We on our part, however, do not wish to question the nature of our contemporary. But we
would surely question the wisdom of the suggestion. The paper would be a ready instrument to suppose that the departure of the repatriation would not serve any useful purpose. To the utmost national importance that the grave wrong and unprofessional crime perpetrated in the name of British justice and British Rule should be retribution and the fair name of British and the British Empire retrieved. Only then will the bitter feeling be smoothed in blue country. The sooner, therefore, this is done, the better it will be for the stability and honour of the British Empire and its administration.

Disgraceful—In July and a shameful that complaints of ill-treatment of Indian passengers by railway officers and by individual European passengers should still be heard often, in spite of repeated warnings and humiliation of the offenders by law courts in previous instances. The very exposure of these malpractices and ill-behavior, we thought, was sufficient to carry home to them that thereby the whole community of the races they belonged to was put to disgrace and shame and that their conduct was a sin against their own community besides being criminal before the law of the land. We were surprised to hear in a few days' time of two instances being repeated one after the other, in which not Indian male passengers, but females have been harassed and victimized over by some railway officers in the one case and by a Captain of His Majesty's Army in the other. The account of the latter instance has been telegraphed to us by a correspondent which we reproduce below:

On the 19th April Ruralee Seth Chirmpanji Digla was traveling with his family to Lucknow by the famous Lakhelli-Delhi-Delhi Express, which leaves Bombay at 21-15. peeled at a second-class compartment labeled "For Ladies Only.

The Sethji bhimul was in another second-class compartment. At 22-15 the ladies' compartment was entered by a subaltern European, dressed in Military dress, who was more long after the one Capt. Butler of the 3rd curly, Delhi Durbar. He entered the compartment unannouncedly, seized the sleeping ladies and asked them to vacate the compartment at that late hour when the guard was far away in another compartment. The poor ladies were frightened. The Capt. began insulting words and threatened to forcibly take them out. The indignant Capt. instead of the ladies' trust and trustiness was about to use utmost force, when Seth Chirmpanji arrived, by chance, at the compartment to look after the ladies. To his astonishment he found the strange scene. When he proceeded in his usual with sedgenty. The station master and guard intervened. Their protests against the high handedness of the Capt. were unheard. As the last resort, the ladies, met the discomfort of the sleeping lady, were obliged to shift to another compartment, when the train was about to depart. The attention of H R. the Commander-in-Chief and H E. the Viceroy is invited to the outrage.

Young India.
Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 23rd April, 1920.

WHY I HAVE JOINED THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

(By M K Gandhi.)

An esteemed South African friend who is at present living in England has written to me a letter from which I take the following excerpts—

"You will doubtless remember having met me in South Africa at the time when the Rev. J. J. Duke was assisting you in your campaign there and I subsequently returned to England, deeply impressed with the righteousness of your attitude in that country. During the last few months, before you wrote, and lectured and spoke on your behalf in several places which I do not regret, since returning from military service, however, I have obtained from the papers which you appear in, a more militant attitude...

"I notice a report in 'The Times' that you are assuming and concentrating a touch between the Hindu and Muslims with a view of bringing England and the Allied Powers in this matter of the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire or the recognition by the Turkish Government of the Mandate system. Knowing as I do your sense of justice and your human instincts, I feel that I am entitled, in view of the humble part that I have taken to promote your interests on this side, to ask you whether this letter will be conveyed to you. I am certain that you have not knowingly or casually taken this attitude, but have you transferred a movement to place the issue and adjust dignities of the Mandate system as a Mandate system and all your interests of humanity, if any country has created these interests in the East it has surely been Turkey. I am personally familiar with the conditions in Sana and Armenia, and I can only suppose that if the report which 'The Times' has published is correct, you have taken into the field your moral responsibilities and allied yourself with some of the prevailing interests. However, until I hear that this is not your attitude I cannot presume my mind. Perhaps you will do me the favour of sending me a reply."
NON-CO-OPERATION

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

A writer in the "Times of India" the Editor of that wonderful daily and Mrs. Besant have all in their own manner condemned non-co-operation conceived in connection with the Khilafat movement. All the three writings naturally discuss many outside issues which I shall not touch for the time being. I propose to answer two serious objections raised by the writer. The sincerity with which they are stated estails them to a greater consideration than if they had been given in a violent language. In non-co-operation the writer thinks it would be difficult if not impossible to avoid violence. Indeed violence, the "Times of India" editorial says, has already commenced in that ostracism has been resorted to in Calcutta and Delhi. Now I fear that ostracism to a certain extent is impossible to avoid. I regard to South Africa in the initial stages of the passive resistance campaign those who had fallen away were ostracized. Ostracism is violent or peaceful according to the manner in which it is practiced. A congress in may well refuse to write papers after a priest who prices his titles above his human. But the stram will become violent if the individual life of a person is made unbearable by insults, humiliations or abuse. The real danger of violence lies in the people resorting to non-co-operation becoming impatient and revengeful. This may happen, for instance, if payment of taxes is suddenly withdrawn or if pressure is put upon soldiers to lay down their arms. I however do not fear any evil consequences for the simple reason that every responsible Mahomedan understands that non-co-operation to be successful must be totally unattended with violence. The other objection raised is that those who may give up their careers may have to starve. That is quite possible but a remote one, for the committee will certainly make the provision for those who may suddenly find themselves out of employment. I propose to refer to the whole of this article is useless much more fully in a future issue and hope to show that if Indian Mahomedans doing is to be respected, there is nothing left but to work co-operatively if the decision arrived at is observed.

NOTICEL.

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THE USES OF KHADDAR

(By M K Gandhi)

While the Swadeshi movement is going forward by leaps and bounds and Mahatma Gandhi is taking it up enthusiastically as Khaddar, it is well to consider the method of promoting swadeshi. The best way in Swadeshi is to manufacture our own cloth. If therefore we merely use mill-made cloth, we simply deprive the poor of what they need, or at least, increase the price of mill-made cloth. The only way therefore to encourage Swadeshi is to manufacture our own cloth. Mills cannot grow like mushrooms.

We must, therefore, feel back upon hand-woven and handspun yarn. Yarn has never perhaps been so dear as it is today and while making-Swadeshi, we are making fabulous profits out of yarn. Ie, therefore, who handspins a yard of yarn, helps his production and cheapens its price.

How to spin yarn and weave cloth as then the question I know from personal experience that it is possible to flood the market with hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, if the standard cloth comes to be recognized as fit for wear. This cloth is called Khaddar in Upper India. It is called Khadi in the Bombay Presidency. Thanks to Sita Devi, she has shown that it is possible to make even Satin out of Khaddar. She thought that the cloth could best express herself. During the National Week, by wearing Khaddar Satin and Khaddar Blouse and she did it. She attended parties in her Khaddar Satin thought it was impossible. They thought a woman who had worn nothing but the finest silk or the finest Lace could not possibly bear the weight of heavy Khaddar. She sat all day and was no less active or less elegant in her Khaddar than in her finest silk cloth. "If you do not feel awkward in this Satin of yours, you may go anywhere and have anything you want!" and you will find it will be well with you. It has been with some people that her great uncle, Sir C. Ramachandra Tagore, blessed her when he saw her in Khadi Saris. I, therefore, think, in order to show that even the most active people of Bengal are willing to use Khaddar. Thus is the cloth I venture to introduce to the educated families of India, for want of the most immediate research of the Swadeshi movement during this summer season. To me Khaddar is anything more exciting than the Tarot Deck. Stalin, for its associations. Khaddar supports every one of those who were starving. It supports women who have been restored from a life of idleness or women who, because they would not go out for work, remained idle, and quelled themselves for want of occupation. Khaddar therefore has a soul about it. It has an individuality about it. It is beautiful to trace at all the progress of this movement in the respect a woman takes. If our ladies were not driven, we would prefer Khaddar to any foreign even during the summer season. Let those who are now using it certify, if they will, to the truth of my statement.

This Khaddar is now being stocked at the Saiyadnagar Ashram. And I have accumulated a stock which is beyond the capacity of the space at my disposal. I therefore ask the readers of "Young India" to come in the season by introducing this Khaddar in their own homes.

Necessity to say the Ashram makes no profits from it. Any margin left is devoted to recovering the loss incurred in the initial stages or in reducing the price of Khaddar now from a small where the cost is higher than elsewhere, for the cost is not the same all over. In making we try to tell to their original occupation, I am obliged to pay enough to support them and for the present.

Khaddar can be used for making underware, even if one is not inclined to use it for self conformation. But even if one is not inclined to use it for personal wear, it can be used for making caps, towels, worsted scarfs, nuphos, jabot, handkerchiefs, bed-covers, and cushions, covers for furniture & c.

I am having it dyed turqoise in Sweden: dye, it does not become more durable and looks in a dirty white. When it is used for carpets or mattress-making or upholstery I would advise those who wish to support the industry of the poor, and the scheme to send for the Khaddar by corresponding with the Manager, Khaddar Department, Saiyadnagar Ashram, Sabarmati.

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For washed Khadi add 0-0-0 to the above rates.

IMPERIAL PREFERENCE AND FISCAL AUTONOMY.

Elsewhere will be found the report of the Committee appointed to consider the draft for the investigation of the Imperial Council to investigate the trade statistics. For the report upon the advisability or otherwise of adopting. For the draft for the investigation of the Imperial Council to investigate the trade statistics. For the report upon the advisability or otherwise of adopting. For the report upon the advisability or otherwise of adopting, it is more advantageous to consider the industry of the Khaddar than the Indian cotton industry.
by the Government of India. Naturally, therefore, when the decision of this all-important, all-embracing and highly controversial question of the future of our fiscal affairs was in hot debate, referred to a ready-made, ill-equipped and not sufficiently representative committee, without adequate means and date at its disposal, to examine the theory questions and arrive at some definite conclusions, public apprehension was aroused, there were protests from the Indian commercial community and the report of the Committee was received with bated breath and mixed feelings of suspicion and fear. Thanks, however, to the consciousness of its own weaknesses, the Committee made the only useful and acceptable recommendation, viz., the appointment of a strong and representative commission which would take evidence in various parts of the country from all the interests concerned—from importers and exporters, producers and manufac
turers, and from persons entitled to speak on behalf of the consumers—and examine the whole question of the future fiscal policy of India.

The question of our fiscal policy is one of the most intricate queries on which little or no opportunity has, in the past, been given to the people of the country of discussion and of giving their mature judgment. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that so far we have enjoyed no measure of fiscal freedom, and that our fiscal policy has always been dictated from whitehall more in the interests of Britain rather than in our own. Whatever little freedom has been given to us has been appropriated by the Government of India, who, as a rule, have refused to admit any of public opinion in influencing their decision and policy, and have always shown their readiness to ring the tunes of their high masters. The whole position so far is, has been anomalous. With the advent of the present reformation, we are promised something but what something is, no one can tell. That something remains undefined and vague. Here are the actual recommendations.

Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That belief exists at the moment there can be no doubt, and there ought to be no room for it in the future. It is equally clear that India's position in the Imperial Conference opened the door to negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire, but negotiation without power to legislate is likely to remain ineffective. A solution of the question can only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government of India to devise their fiscal arrangements which were best suited to India's needs as an integral part of the British Empire. It can be guaranteed by Statute without limiting the ultimate power of Parliament to control the administration of India and without limiting the power of veto which rests in the Crown, but neither of these limitations finds a place in any of the Statutes in the British Empire. It can only therefore be assured by an acknowledgment of a convention. Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufactures, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa.

"In the opinion of the Committee, therefore, the Secretary of State should as far as possible avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its legislature are in agreement, and they think that this impression when it takes place should be adapted to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire by supranational arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party."

But we are not so far been interpreted by different responsible persons. Lord Curzon, in his speech in the House of Lords, in the debate on the Indian Bill, claimed that India should have been given "almost full fiscal autonomy" and spoke in his speech at Bombay, in reply to the address presented to him on behalf of the Western India Liberal Association, about "how things were going to happen in the future. India would have the same right of regulating her policy as all other dominions of the Majesty." In other words, we have been given something very close to fiscal autonomy. The Honorable Sir George Curzon, member for communes and industrial honours, stated some time ago to Bombay that something approaching fiscal autonomy would be given. With these three different reasons of the one and the same recommendation, the Government of India was approached last session, to solve the engine and explain the real nature, scope and meaning of the recommendations. But the people have not been surprised by the Government yet, "These are the recommendations of Lord Balfour's Committee. You had asked us to study and put your own construction." In view of all this, it is imperative that the countryGear up to the position, its real power of controlling its own interests before it committed itself to and embarked upon any policy involving other responsibilities, risks and dangers.

Again, even after we are strengthened out of the mesh we will find that the question of Imperial Preference is by itself complicated and intricate as the other one. This question had been carefully examined during Lord Curzon's vacancy, and the conclusions arrived at are fairly familiar to us. They were that without any system of preference, India enjoyed an exceptionally large measure of the advantages of the free exchange of exports and imports, that India had something but not much to offer to the Empire that she had little to gain in return, and that she had a great deal—through the risks of penal duties by her foreign customers which might disturb the balance of trade—of risk. We have to deal with these conclusions successfully, to justify any deviation from the original policy. We have to prove that the conditions are the reverse of what they were in Curzon regime to justify the adoption of the policy of Imperial Preference.

(To be continued)
The Premier's Reply

The English mail has brought as a full and official report of the Premier's speech which he recently made when he received the Khilafat deputation. Mr. Lloyd George's speech is more definite and therefore more disheartening than H E the Viceroy's reply to the deputation here. His speech contains five main demands from the same high principles on which he has based his own pledge only two years ago. He declares that Turkey must pay the penalty of defeat. This determination to punish Turkey does not become one whose immediate predecessor had, in order to appease the Moslem soldiers, promised that the British Government would not use force on Turkey and that the Moslem Government would never think of punishing the Sultan for the massacre of the Turks. Mr. Lloyd George has expressed his belief that the majority of the population of Turkey did not really want to quarrel with Great Britain and that their rulers misled the country. In spite of all this conviction and in spite of Mr. Asquith's promise, he is about to punish Turkey and punish it in the name of justice.

The expansion of the principle of self-determination and disintegration of the land of the Turks is one after another. While justifying this scheme he does not exclude even Thrace and this shows the reader must be aware how very Thrace he had mentioned in his pledge as predominantly Turkish. Now we are told by him that the Turkish cemans and the Greek cemans again in pointing out that the Musulman population in Thrace is a considerable minority. Mr. Yalikou Burza, speaking at the Madras Khilafat Conference, has challenged the truth of this statement. The Prime Minister cites among others the example of Smyrna, where, he says, "we had a most careful investigation by a very impartial committee in the whole of the question of Smyrna and it was found that considerable minority was non-Turkish." Who will believe the qualified "impartial committees" investigations until it is displayed that thousands of Musulmans have been murdered and hundreds of thousands have been driven away from their homes and lands? Strange enough, Mr. Lloyd George, believes in the necessity of fresh investigations by a purposely appointed committee in Smyrna as the most unreasonable and unpractical report, whatever he would not accept Mr. Mahmoud Ali's proposal for an impartial committee in regard to Austrian manifestations. Deplorable and one-sided facts, and figures suffice for him even to conclude that the Turkish Government is incapable of protecting its subjects. And he proceeds to special foreign influences working over Amin Minir in the interests of civilization. Here he cuts at the root of the Slavonic independence. This proposal of appropriating superior status is distinctly unlike the treatment meted out to other enemy powers.

The destruction of the Sultan's authority is only a corollary of the Premier's renewal towards the Muslim ideal of the Caliphate. The Premier's regularities in treating the Turkish question becomes graver when he thus lightly handles the Khilafat question. There had been occasions when the British Government was seeking to gain the advantage of the Moslem idea of associating the Caliph's spiritual power with temporal power. Now this very association is treated as a controversial question by the government.

Will this raise the reputation of Great Britain or obtain for it credit and interest to those who fought against Turkey with full faith in British honesty? More receipts of gratitude cannot console the wounded Moslems. There is the alternative for England to choose between two conclusions: a mandate over annexed territories which is sure to lead to strife all over the world and a mandate over the hearts of the Moslems, which will redeem the pledged honour of Britain. The Prime Minister has made one narrow choice. This narrow view restricts the future temperature of British diplomacy.

Mr. Gandhi's Speech

The following is a true rendering of Mr. Gandhi's address to the people of Ahmedabad on the occasion of the second anniversary of the struggle that took place in 1919 between the mill owners and the mill hands.

The second anniversary of the peaceful triumph of justice. I call in you all for the mill owners and the mill hands. I call you for the victory of justice because the demand of the mill hands was just and the insane adm.by them to secure acceptance were pure. I should not wish victory for the mill hands, but support. This victory became the banner of non-violence and Truth.

Last year during Khilafat anniversary, I passed the first anniversary by his presence. But now many things have happened and they have altered materially the state of India. A new spirit has been new atmosphere pervades Indian society. But I do not propose to detain you at the general point on our country. It would be wonderful if one can call myself a friend and I pride myself in being considered a fellow labourer. If I wanted all matters of the part that the mill hands played in the events of the April of last year. During that month I was arrested at the instance of Government. There is no doubt that it was a serious blunder that could the mill hands here is the refusal by hacquarors and brothered. You are deeply interested in my time. She is worth of you consideration. You heard a rumor to the effect that she was arrested, you were angered, you were angry. You felt that you were made fools with the palm of your hand. All this does credit to your love for her. Let us consider the expression of your love for her? Not only will we escape responsibility by proving that others were concerned in the misdeeds. It is impossible for me to describe in your adequate language the deep grief till I felt when I heard of the happenings in Ahmedabad. You are not last thing but catastrophe for India. from methods of violence. Which would would be committed inside and India would have to suffer untold misery. It working men were to meet him with criminal disobedience of the laws of the land. I wish that you would not be used into one of violence because resistance you see
violence seriously answer the purpose for which it is intended. When I began to preach integrative and civil disobedience it was never meant to cover criminal disobedience. My proclamation of non-cooperation must never be propaganda by doing violence to those who believe in the just cause of their cause have used to power boundless patience and there are few to offer civil and disgraceful acts which are above committing civil disobedience or doing violence. A man cannot commit both civil and criminal disobedience at the same time even as he cannot both cooperate and function at the same time and yet self-restraint is required after all and is known as the capacity for giving up obedience acquired after the disciplined self-control in complete and voluntary obedience of the laws of the land. Again, just as he alone can be said to be proof against temptation who has been exposed to them and has resisted in resistance; so we may be said to have conquered anger when having sufficient cause for it we have succeeded in controlling it in ourselves or in others. We are taught to pray to you all that on the auspicious day you will recite the symbols of the flag and make a firm determination never to repeat them.

I shall now say a few words about the conclusion in the main issue, of which they need to know a great deal. We cannot become rich by merely getting more wages, nor is becoming wealthy the aim in all. Above all, we have not dedicated our life to you merely for the purpose of securing for you better wages. The object is doing so is not that you may get enough to make you happy, but that you may make the internal laws of ethics that you may give up bad habits such as drinking, gambling, etc., that you may make good use of your earnings, that you may keep your homes clean and that you may educate your children.

Your economic condition has improved. There is reason for yet more improvement. It can take place in two ways by combination with the millionaire or by using many factors. The first is the only true remedy. In many cases union has set up between capitalist and labor. Every party to the other is the natural enemy. But union is a permanent bond, and it finds its permanent bond, it would be the first joint of our industry and of our peace. If both parties were a real tie that each is dependent upon the other there will be little cause for quarrel.

IMPERIAL PREFERENCE

COMMITTEE'S REPORT

The report of the Committee on the subject of Imperial Preference has been published together with the draft resolutions which state that the recommendations made by the Committee stereotyping careful ones of the Government of India and that their decisions will not be fixed as soon as possible.

The following is the report:

In accordance with our terms of reference we have examined the trade statistics of imports into and exports from India. Statistics have also been laid before us relating to the imports into the United Kingdom and other principal parts of the British Empire. The main articles which India produces or which there is a likelihood of her producing in the near future. We attach

to this report a copy of a memorandum which has been laid before us and the arguments showing the value of the duty at present levied on the imports of these articles into the United Kingdom and the principal Dominions of the year 1912 and 1913. We first considered the question whether the application to the Indian custumar of a system of preference in favour of goods of the Empire origin would be likely to involve any danger of retaliation or any serious disturbance of our export trade. So far as we are able to judge, we are unanimously of opinion that, in view of the demand for our raw materials, there is no danger of such disturbance.
YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)


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THE DELHI NOTIFICATION

and PRESS ORDERS

The first press release in connection with the Khilafat movement has commenced at Delhi in the shape of a notification under the Sedition Meetings Act and a general notice of the Muslim Press. We are not surprised at this. We must expect the Government to anticipate every move of the Committee and expect it to thwart the scheme of non-co operation. Nor can the Government be blamed for it. So long it acts wisely and temperately, but the people must be prepared for the Government even to lose its senses, become panic-stricken, and adopt martial measures. On certain occasions it appears anywhere in any day. The people must prepare for all contingencies. The preparation is simple: they must not lose their heads on any account whatsoever; they must not be angry. They must not play into the hands of mischief makers and answer Government orders with violence. No one should act on his own, responsibility. It should be remembered that civil disobedience is not to be offered at any rate at this stage in connection with the Khilafat movement. No co-operation has not yet commenced. Every Government order must be strictly obeyed, all rules and laws faithfully carried out. Then and then only can co-operation likely to succeed. All the laws of war are applicable to this great struggle. An army moves silently, calmly and deliberately. No one acts on his own responsibility. Discipline is the watchdog of success. So must it be with the Khilafat army of peace. Its strokes will be sure and certain only when there is no violence in the face of the greatest provocation. The Government is bound by any rule of non-violence. Indeed, the last report of a Government is violence. The leaders must be prepared for provocations, interruptions, imprisonment, etc. Others must be ready to take their places. Then, when we have proved ourselves by going through the process of purification, will victory come, not till then.

KIDNAPPING AT THE BORDER

The recent instance of kidnapping a European girl by tribesmen on the North West Border shows that they are no respecters of persons. The Abdullahs have however published from their correspondents harrowing details of kidnapping of Hindus so that Hindus from the N.W. Frontier have also been coming to Mr. Gandhi, complaining of the danger to their families having been kidnapped and ransomed after heavy payments. One man from Bannu told him that his people were content to pay Rs. 14000 as ransom. The Hindustanis have ever been questioning the utility of Hindu-Muslim unity if such things could happen at the Border. With all our desire to ensure relief from the depredations complained of, we fail to see how Hindu-Muslim unity can be blamed for the conduct of the mischief. The Khilafatists of India have not a rule as much or as little influence as the Hindus over these freeloading tribes who have been known to carry away Mahomedans almost as frequently as Hindus. In the first instance it is the office of the Government to protect the Border villages from the freeloading tribesmen, and not to blame the Khilafatists. In the first instance it is the office of the Government to protect the Border villages from the freeloading tribesmen, and not to blame the Khilafatists. In the first instance it is the office of the Government to protect the Border villages from the freeloading tribesmen, and not to blame the Khilafatists.
Notes.

The Armenian Mandate—The Allies have been professing to be on a pilgrimage of peace. The programme of the pilgrimage was to begin with achieving freedom for weak countries from the tyranny of foreign rulers. The next step was to hand over to some mandatory Power the work of strengthening these weak countries to stand on their own legs. The Allies counted in the list of such weak and struggling countries the name of Armenia. It was decided on one-sided evidence that the Turko rule was tyrannical and that Armenia should never all connection with the Ottoman Empire. As a compromise with this autocratic decision, the Indian Mahomedans proposed that Armenian should remain as one of the self-governing parts within the Turkish Empire. But the Allied sabotages refused to accept any such compromises and began to condemn the Turkish rule in general on the strength of the one-sided report about the Armenian massacres. Mr Mahomed Ali going to the root of the matter asked for an impartial, fresh investigations into the whole matter.

Immediately after the proposal of Mr Mahomed Ali comes the occasion of taking the second step in regard to Armenia, viz., that of choosing a guardian. America has refused to undertake the responsibility of a trustee. The Council of the League of Nations has reported to the Supreme Council that it is difficult to find a mandatory Power to guide Armenia. Armenia itself is reported to be feeling the need of a trustee. This difficulty in solving the Armenian problem has brought an opportunity for the Allies to pause and reconsider their first step which they had taken too hastily. They may require more time to find an impartial investigations before arriving at any final decision. But such a measure decision alone will bring peace to Armenia and its neighbours. Such a souredardate solution alone will advance the cause of peace.

A challenge—Elsewhere we reproduce from the Independent an Ottoman Communiqué on the alleged massacre of 20,000 Armenians by the Turks. Beyond the scrappy evidence as to the number of the massacred, we have not had before us, till now, any official or semi-official version by the allied powers as to the causes and nature of the massacre. We are thus deprived of the smallest opportunity to judge as to whether the two versions could be more probable and true unless we quietly assimilate the bare statement of our Premier which he made on the floor of the House of Commons last on which he declined to throw further light, in the interest of all (2) concerned. We should have done even that had we some knowledge of the prejudices and preconceptions of the allied powers against Turkey. Further, their information is likely to have been inspired by far more interested parties than themselves. In any case the two versions are likely to be so divergently conflicting that there would be little with which to arrive at a sound and unbiased judgment.

The Turkish version which we have before us runs as follows: the calamity was there and not the Armenians. If the veracity of that communiqué remains unchallenged, Indian Muslims may be justified in relying upon it. Then it would seem not an "Armenian massacre," but a "Turkish massacre."

The Turkish Treaty—The Turkish treaty will be cut on the 10th of May. It is stated to provide for the internationalization of the Straits, the occupation of Gallipoli by the Allies, the maintenance of Allied contingents in Constantinople and the appointment of a Commission of Control over Turkish finances. The San Remo Conference has entrusted Britain with mandates for Mesopotamia and Palestine and France with the mandate for Syria. According to Smyrnes the accounts so far received affirm that Turkish sovereignty over Smyrnes will be ascertained by the fact that the population will not be entitled to send delegates to the Greek Parliament but at the end of five years the local Smyrnes Parliament will have the right of voting in favour of union with Greece. In such an event Turkish sovereignty will cease. Turkish sovereignty will cease to exist within the Chaldean lines. With regard to Memorandum's position there is no news except that the Mandates of Britain and France transform his military title into a civil title.

We have given above the terms of the Turkish treaty as indicated in Reuter's messages. These reports are incomplete and all of them are not equally authenticated. But if these terms are true, they are a challenge to the Muslim demands. Turkish Sovereignty is confirmed to the Chaldean lines. This means that the Big Three of the Supreme Council have cut off Truce from Turkish dominions. This is a distinct breach of the pledge given by one of these three, viz., the Premier of the British Empire. To remain within the Chaldean lines and we are afraid, as a dependent of the Allies, to the Swiss, humiliating position inconsistent with the Krasic recognition. Such a restricted position of the Turks is virtually a success of the bag and baggage school.

It is not yet known how the Supreme Council has disposed of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor. Mr Lloyd George's views recently expressed in this respect have removed the Allies' sanction—it is probable—nothing less than a common control is expected. The decision in the case of Smyrnes will be satisfying to none, though the Allies seem to have made by their arrangements skillful attempt to please all the parties concerned. Mr Lloyd George, in his reply to the Kuhlman Deputation, had talked about the careful investigations by an impartial committee and had added "the great majority of the population undoubtedly prefer Greek rule to Turkish rule, as I understand. But the decision postpones to carry out the understanding till a period of five years."

When we come to the question of mandates, the Allied Powers' motives come out more distinctly.
The Arabs' claim of independence was used on a difficulty against keeping Turkish Sovereignty. This was defeated in the game of self-determination and by pointing out parallels of Transylvania and other provinces. When the final moment came, the Allies went to the wait, the spoils amongst themselves. Britain is given the mandate over Mesopotamia and Palestine, and France has the mandate over Syria. The Arab delegations complain in their note lately issued, expressing their disappointment at the Supreme Council's decision with regard to the Arab liberal sentiments, which, it declares, is contrary to the principle of self-determination.

So what little news has arrived about the Turkish treaty, is uniformly disquieting. The Muslims have found sufficient ground to honour Russia more than the Allies. Russia has recognized the freedom of Khiva and Bukhara. The Muslim world, as H. M. the Amir of Afghanistan said in his speech, will feel grateful towards Russian receptacles of all the troubles abroad about its anxiety and disorder, whereas the whole Muslim world will resent the action of the other European nations who are united with each other to carry out a joint coercion and extinction of Turkey in the name of self-determination and partly in the guise of the interest of civilization.

The terms of the Turkish treaty are not only a breach of the Premier's pledge, not only an attack on the principle of self-determination, but they also show a reckless indifference of the Allied Powers towards the Koranic restrictions. The terms point out that Mr. Lloyd George's misinformed idea of Khilafat have prevailed in the Council. Mr. Lloyd George, other statesmen also at San Remo have compared Caliphate with Pope and ignored the Koranic idea of conferring spiritual power with temporal power. These misguided statesmen were too much possessed by hankum and so they refused to receive any enlightenment on the question of Khilafat from the Delegation. They could have corrected themselves had they heard Mr. Mahomed Ali on this point. Speaking at the Essex Hall meeting, Mr. Mahomed Ali distinguished between Pope and Caliphate and clearly explained what Caliphate means. He said: "Islam is supranational and not national. The basis of Islam is charity, not a common outlook on life and a common culture... And it has two meanings. The personal centre is the heart of Islam. The Khilafat is the Commander of the Faithful, and his command must be obeyed by all Muslims as long as it is our duty to command it. This is the number of the Koran. And since there is no ineradicable distinction between things temporal and things spiritual, the Khilafat is something more than a Pope and cannot be "Vetkanised". But he is also less than the Pope for he is not infallible. If he permits an infallible conduct we can depose him. And we have disposed him more than once. But so long as he orders only what the Ulema demands we must support him. He and no other ruler is the Defender of our faith."

These few words could have removed the misunderstanding rooted in the minds of those that met at San Remo, if they were in earnest for a just solution. But Mr. Mahomed Ali's deputation was not given any hearing by the Peace Conference. They were told that the Peace Conference had already heard the official delegation of India on this question. But the wrong notions the Allies still entertain about Caliphate are a sufficient indication of the effects of the work of this official delegation. The result of these wrong notions is the present settlement and the unjust settlement will unsettle the world. They know not what they do.

Critical Situation in E. Africa—At the time of our going to press, the Romany Chronicle publishes the following from the Hon. Mr. Abdullah Vicuna, K. B., E., British East Africa and Uganda—

I have received the following cablegram from Mr. Jivraj, London, who heads the Indian delegation from East Africa.

"Interview with Milner on 13th regarding East African grievances unsatisfactory. Milner non-committal. Peace will yield strong pressure and Indian interests. See telegram to "Chronicler". Please do every thing possible your side. Mr. Matter should be brought before Council. Situation very critical. Colonial Office anxious reach decision before matter gets public. Strong pressure from India therefore essential. Particulars post." I have also received the following cablegram from the President of the Indian Congress at Nakuru.

"Jivraj cables position Indians critical. Imperative both you myself proceeding England. Have requested Aga Khan accompany—President Congress.

All will understand how critically serious the position is and it gets from the communications that despite the sympathetic attitude of Mr. Montagu the attitude adopted by Lord Milner makes it imperatively essential for us in India to move very strongly in time if we all want to have our footing there.

I reserve my comments on the cablegram and the action that can be effectively taken to achieve our purposes for about two days more, pending the result of my negotiations with certain responsible quarters.

Bhai Parmaram—Our readers will be delighted to hear that Bhai Parmaram, whose case it may be remembered, had been dealt with in the columns of Young India, has been released."
HOW TO WORK NON-CO-OPERATION

(By M. K. GANDHI)

Perhaps the best way of answering the fears and arguments to non-co-operation is to elaborate more fully the scheme of non-co-operation. The critics seem to imagine that the organizers propose to give effect to the whole scheme at once. This is far from the truth. The organizers have fixed definite, progressive, four stages. The first is the giving up of titles and resignation of honorary posts. If there is no response or if the response is ineffective, resources will be had to the second stage. The second stage involves much previous arrangement. Certainly not a single servant will be called out unless he is either incapable of supporting himself and his dependents or the Khilafat Committee is able to bear the burden. All the classes of servants will not be called out at once and never will any pressure be put upon a single servant to withdraw himself from the Government service. Nor will a single private employee be touched for the simple reason that the movement is not anti-English. It is not even anti-Government. Co-operation is to be withdrawn because the people must not be party to a wrong—a broken pledge—a violation of deep religious sentiment. Naturally, the movement will receive a check if there is any undue influence brought to bear upon any Government servant or if any violence is used or threatened by any member of the Khilafat Committee. The second stage must be entirely successful, if the response is at all on an adequate scale. For no Government can last long the Indian Government—can subsist if the people choose to desert it. The withdrawal therefore of the police and the military—the third stage—is a distant goal. The organizers however wanted to be fair, open, and above suspicion. They did not want to keep back from the Government or the public a single step they had in contemplation even as a remote contingency. The fourth stage, suspension of taxes, is still more remote. The organizers recognize that suspension of general taxation is fraught with the greatest danger. It is likely to bring a speculative class in conflict with the police. They are therefore not likely to embark upon it, unless they can do so with the assurance that there will be no violence offered by the people.

I submit as I have already done that non-co-operation is not unattended with risk, but the risk of suspension in the face of a grave issue is infinitely greater than the danger of violence ensuing from organizing non-co-operation. To do nothing is to invite violence for a certainty.

It is easy enough to pass resolutions or write articles condemning non-co-operation but it is no easy task to restrain the fury of a people incensed by a deep sense of wrong. I urge those who talk or work against non-co-operation to descend from their thrones and go down to the people, learn their feelings and write, if they have the heart, against non-co-operation. They will find, as I have found, that the only way to avoid violence is to enable them to give such expression to their feelings as to compel redress. I have found nothing saves non-co-operation. It is logical and harmless. It is the inherent right of a subject to refrain from assisting a government that will not listen to him.

Non-co-operation as a voluntary movement can only succeed if the feeling is genuine and strong enough to make people suffer to the utmost. If the religious sentiment of the Mahomedans is deeply hurt and if the Hindus entertain a suspicion that their Musalman brethren, they will both want no hate too great for achieving the end and Non-co-operation will not only be an effective remedy but will also be an effective test of the sincerity of the Musalman claim and the Hindu profession of friendship.

There is however one formidable argument urged by friends against my joining the Khilafat movement. They say that it will become me, as a friend of the English and admiring of the British constitution, to join hands with those who are today filled with nothing but ill will against the English. I am sorry to have to confess that the ordinary Musalman entertains today no affection for Englishmen. He considers, not without some cause, that they have not played the game. But if I am friendly to an Englishman I am no less friendly to my countryman, the Mahomedan. And as each they have a greater claim upon my attention than Englishmen. My personal religion however enables me to serve my countrymen without hurting Englishman or for that matter anybody else. What I am not prepared to do to my blood-brother I would not do to an Englishman. I would not injure him to gain a kingdom. But I would withdraw co-operation from him if it became necessary, as I had withdrawn from my own brother (now deceased) when it became necessary. I serve the Empire by refusing to partake in its wrong. William Stead, offered public prayers for British victories at the time of the Boer war because he considered that the nation to which he belonged was engaged in an righteous war. The present Prime Minister maid his life in opposing that war and did everything he could to obstruct his own Government in its prosecution. And today if I have thrown my lot with the Mahomedans, a large number of whom bear anti-feeling towards the British, I have done so frankly as a friend of the British and with the object of gaining justice and of thereby showing the capacity of the British constitution to respond to every honest determinata when it is complied with suffering. I hope by my alliance with the Mahomedans to achieve a thorough and to obtain justice in the face of odds with the method of Satyagraha and to show its efficacy over all other methods.
to secure Mahomedan friendship for the Hindus and thereby internal peace also, and last but not least to transform the union into a federal union in spite of its imperfections has weathered many a storm. I may fail in achieving any of the ends I can but attempt. God alone can grant success. It will not be claimed that the ends are all worthy. I invite Hindus and Englishmen to join me in a full-hearted manner in shouldering the burden. The Mahomedans of India are carrying. There was admittedly a just fight. The Viceroy, the Secretary of State, the Maharajah of Bikaner and Lord Elgin have testified to it. Time has arrived to make good the promise. People with a just sense are never satisfied with a mere protest. They have been known to die for it. Are a high-spirited people like the Mahomedans expected to do less?

**IMPERIAL PREFERENCE**

**AND FISCAL AUTONOMY**

(Concluded from the last page)

The Committee on Imperial Preference, realising perhaps all this, hesitated to give "authoritative" opinion on the subject of Imperial Preference admitting that only the Commission they were proper to be entitled to give such an opinion. We should have liked the Committee, after having read this, to have asked any further opinion specially of such an important nature which by their own admission they were not entitled to give even as "provisional recommendations," they are likely to make it and confirm the public certain what much has been released. The absolute and no independent economic study is to be taken to put forward preference proposals. At least these recommendations are in the nature of interim states and as such we may put ourselves to them and test them.

In the first instance the Committee states that they examined the trade-statistics for India and the statistics of the United Kingdom and the Colonies and they came to the conclusion that "India is neither likely to gain nor lose appreciably in the balance by the adoption of a moderate preference in our import duties." This statement, conjoined as it is with vague, unspecific, undefined and indefinable terms, is still unsatisfactory on the basis of the imperfect data supplied. In the first place mere statistics cannot be the sole determining issues of the question through statistics play a great part in influencing the decision. There are a number of other points relating to industrial and economic problems which are affected by Imperial Preference and which have to be carefully considered before arriving at any definite conclusions. Taking the statistics, however, the conclusions of the despatch of Lord Curzon's Government cannot be disclaimed as we have on the authority of the Honorable Member for Finance and Industry in the Government of India that "as far as actual statistics go, the position has not greatly changed." Indeed the variations are so slight that they would not seem graver than to vitiate the general conclusion reached in 1903 that India can have little to gain from a scheme of Imperial Preference. Then, what are the conditions that result in a contradiction of the conclusions arrived at in 1903 and a departure from the policy so ably upheld and defended since then? Only the other day Mr. Moulsham stood up in the House of Commons to defend the old policy. We are told by the Committees that there is "no danger to be feared" on the score of retaliation. But says Lord Curzon in his despatch of 1903, "The danger to India of reprisals by foreign nations even if eventually unsuccessful is so serious and the results would be so disastrous, the Government would not be justified in embarking on any new policy. The Committees insisted that in view of the demand of our raw materials, the particular aspect of the question would in the present circumstances be unsound. As it there was no demand of our raw materials then and as if retaliation has only one meaning and one form! The Committees forget that there is a political bearing also of the question which is as important as the economical and that foreign countries which may be adversely affected, either directly or indirectly by our preference, can effectively retaliate in a hundred other subtle ways than meted by an economic move. Even here, so far the foreign imports into India are concerned if the foreign nations do not retaliate by an economic move the Indian consumer is still a sufferer on account of the adoption of Imperial Preference which would naturally entail lower duties on our foreign imports than are levied to-day.

Then we are told by the Committees that "so far as the Dominions and Colonies are concerned it poses materially the same issue in 1908. They have not received such a preferential tariff in India." Are we to believe that the recent relations granted to all the members of the British Empire, in the case of India and India, was intended to give a boon to India and not an advantage to the colonies? And what have the colonies to gain? Or what have they done to deserve that of India? Perhaps they have exhibited a little more of their interest in the Indian settlers amongst them—not in their welfare but in the systematic and sure annihilation of the Indian community from the surface of their dominions.

From the economical point of view we do not know what forms Imperial Preference may take in England and the colonies and what effects their policy may have on India. We have yet to learn whether we have with the new Reform Bill, enough power in our fiscal policy to protect ourselves against any possible injury. The "provisional conclusions" of the Committees are altogether unsound. The Committees have applied the results obtainable now,
when the policy of free trade has been to full operation, to the unknown conditions that may obtain under the new policy of preference and have judged the consequences of that policy under those uncertain conditions. This is the real and chief fallacy of their whole position.

The fifth and substance of our position is that the Committee has not been to the discretion of the new commission either to refuse or to confirm the chief argument of the despatch of 1897 that without preference India already enjoys a large, probably an exceptionally large measure of the advantages of free exchange of imports and exports. We must therefore keep it in mind, both as regards our manufactures and industries on the one hand and the determination of our national policy on the other, is not made entirely corresponding to that of Great Britain and the dominions the policy of Imperial Preference cannot work with equity and justice.

MR. GANDHI'S SPEECH.

(Collected from our last issue.)

A LAWFUL DEMAND

I do not propose to examine the duty in the capitalist. If the labourer alone were to understand his rights and responsibilities and confine himself to the resume means, both misfortunes result from the mistake made in two things are necessary—both the demand is the means to enforce them must be just and clear. It is an unlawful demand which seeks merely to take advantage of the capitalist's position. But it is an altogether lawful demand when the labourer asks for enough wages to enable him to maintain himself and to educate his children decently. To seek justice without resorting to violence and by an appeal to the goodness of the capitalist by education is lawful means.

UNIONS AND ASSOCIATION

In order then to achieve the end you must have Unions. A beginning has already been made. I trust that the mill-owners in every department will form their Unions and every one should scrupulously observe the rates that may be fixed for them. You will then approach the mill-owners through your Unions and if the demands of the form of the demand do not satisfy you you will appeal to arbitration. It is a matter of satisfaction that both parties have accepted the principle of arbitration. I hope that that principle will be fully developed and that strikes will for ever become an impossibility. I know that strikers have an inherent right of the working man for the purpose of securing justice but they must be considered as crimes immediately the capitalists accept the principle of arbitration. Ways are improving and there is every prospect of a considerable improvement. But there is equal need for reducing hours of labour. The mill-owners seem to be working twelve hours a day. Those who have to work so many hours per day can have no time left for mental or moral betterment. Their condition therefore must be reduced to that of the beast. It is our duty to expose the past and yet in every step we take we must guard ourselves against damaging our industries. The mill-owners tell me that the mill-owners are lazy, they do not give full time to their work and they are

MAY 5, 1920.

USE OF INCREASED WAGES

It is new time to examine the use we should make of the increased wages and the hours saved. It would be like going into the frying pan out of the fire to use the increase in wages in the same shop and the hours saved from the gambling day. The money received, it is clear should be devoted to education of our children, and the time saved to our education. To both these matters the mill-owners can render much assistance. They can open open reading-rooms and provide harmless amusement and games for them. Provided such healthy surroundings the craving for drink and gambling will leave them. The Unions also should attempt similar things. They will be better employed in dividing means of improvement from within than in fighting, the capitalists.

DIVISION OF LABOUR

It is a sign of national degradation when little children are removed from schools and are employed in earning wages. No nation worthy of the name can possibly afford to mislead its children. At least up to the age of twelve they must be kept in schools. Similarly women also must be gradually weaned from mill labour. If men and women are partners in life and complementary each of the other they become good householders only by dividing their labour, and a wise mother finds her time fully occupied in looking after her household and children. But when husband and wife have to labour for mere maintenance the whole system becomes degraded. It is like a bankrupt living on his capital.

DEVELOP THE MORAL FACULTY

And just as it is necessary for the labourers to develop their minds by removing education and to educate their children so it is necessary to develop the moral faculty in them. Development of the moral faculty means that of the religious sense. The world does not quarrel with those who have a true faith in God and who understand the true nature of religion. And if it does such men turn away the wrath of their adversaries by their goodness. Religion here does not mean merely offering one's name in going to the temple. It means knowledge of one's self and knowledge of God and just as a person does not become a weaver unless he knows the art of weaving so does he fail to know him if unless he complies with certain rules. Chief amongst these are three that are universal observances. The first observance of truth He who does not know what it is to speak the truth is like a false coin valueless. The second is not to injure others He who injures others, is jealous of others, is not fit to live in the world. For the world is at war with him and he has to live in perpetual fear of the world. We all are bound by the laws of love. There is an every-
thing a counterpoise force without which nothing could have existed. Scientists tell us that without the presence of the cohesive force amongst the atoms that comprises the globe of earth—it would crumble to pieces and so would cease to exist and even as there is cohesive force in blind matter so much more there is in all things organic and the mind and the soul for that cohesive force among animate beings is love. We notice it between father and son, between brother and sister, friends and friendly but we have to learn to see that force among all that lives, and in the use of these same unchangeable God, Where there is love there is life, where there is unchangeable and constant we have to learn to see that affection of our own person for the whole of humanity. The third rule is that we have to suspect our passion. It is called break-downs by Santals. I do not use it here merely in its popular sense. He has a break-down when, although he may be a desirable man, he is incapable of living in anything as a married man, other than marriage, a man into a variety of indulgences. His inability is capable of knowing himself when he is as a helpless ascetic, all his passions. He becomes a self-restrictor, or as the Englishman would say, a man of faith, a true Mohammedan.

ARMENIAN MASSACRES

THE OTHER SIDE OF IT

The following communiqué was issued on March 5th, 1920, by the Ottoman Government in regard to the events in Cilicia—

At the time when too many of the Turk is an in the balance, certain ineptitudes have spread ominous news, with the object of redressing the Turkish nation within the eyes of Europe, and of influencing the decisions of the Peace Conference unfavorably to Turkey, that 20,000 Armenians have been massacred. The communiqué asserts that in a number of massacres committed on Christian population besides the columns which were produced in the region of Marash as a result of thousands of Musulmans by Armenians in the case of an official report. "When the British evacuated the place, the French Military Authorities entered in the local gendarmerie a great number of Armenians. Patrols, composed exclusively of Armenians, made frequent rounds in the Musulman quarters where the Armenian patrols gave themselves up to several acts of aggression, with the design of wounding the susceptibilities of the Musulman population. The French Authorities themselves found it necessary to take preventive measures against the authors of those outbreaks. Armenian contingents in Marash, as well as in certain villages of the region, indulged in every kind of violence against the Musulman population and in spite of the punishment produced on the Muslim population by the above outbreaks, the Musulmans refrained from any hostile manifestation."

Influenced by the Armenians, who made the French believe that the Turks were committing an attack against the French troops by massacres of Cilicians, the French Political Agent arrested,
without any evidence of the said suspects, the
act seized Governor, the Prefect and the Engineer
of the military Works, as well as two notables of
the town. At the same time, the said Agent
seized the Governmental residence, where he
announced the assumption of the administration
of the country.

Suddenly, a large body of the insurgents, led
by the Armanians, entered the Company's resi-
dence, and seized the Governor, the Prefect and
the Engineer, who were then in the garret. The
people seized the two notables and were about
to take them to the Governmental residence.

The crowd, however, did not allow any
treatment to be administered to the prisoners,
and the insurgents followed them up and
succeeded in seizing the arms and ammunition
from the buildings. The insurgents then retired
without offering any resistance, but the
Armanians pursued them and regained their
arms and ammunition.

In spite of these assurances, the insurgents
were not satisfied with the treatment of the
Company's servants, and continued to demand
the release of their leaders. The crowd then
divided into two parts, one going to the
Governmental residence and the other to the
Company's residence.

For a time, the situation remained peaceful,
but the insurgents continued to demand the
release of their leaders. The crowd then
divided into two parts, one going to the
Governmental residence and the other to the
Company's residence.

In order to throw light upon the matter, the
Government has asked for a special inquiry into
the events by a mixed Commission.

S AFRICAN COMMISSION.

PETITION FROM CAPE INDIANS

At the sitting of the Assam Assembly at Ceylon
on Tuesday March 25, Mr. J. M. Baxter gave evidence as
behalf of the Cape British Indian Union, formed out of
an amalgamation of the South Indian Association and the
Cape British League. He presented a memorandum from
the Union praying for the safeguarding of the various
rights which the Indian community at present
enjoys in the Cape Province, and particularly the right
to acquire land and to trade.

The Union further submitted in the memorandum
that the law should not differentiate between Europeans and
Indians, but that there should be a uniform system of
law applicable to both races. The Union
stated that the laws and regulations should be
uniformly applied.

The Union also requested that the provisions of the
Arrivals Act in the Cape Province be amended to
allow for the free entry of Indians into the Province.

Mr. Baxter argued that the matter was not an
individual one but connected with the interests of the
whole community. He pointed out that the Indian
population in the Province was growing rapidly and
that the difficulties were increasing.

The Union stated that the attitude of the Union
was that of an Indian community in the Province.

The Union did not wish for Indians to spread themselves
indefinitely throughout the town. As to the Indian
law of succession, Mr. Baxter pointed out that the
laws, which constituted their law, were not as
exact as those in the Cape Province. The laws of
succession were based on the customs of the
people and were not as strict as those in the
Cape Province.

The only fair course would be to apply all existing
regulations with stringency and impartiality.

In reply to the Chairman the Unionists said that
development in the way of the transfer of
property was not so great as it had been.

In view of the broad policy of the municipalities the
Union did not want any further action to be taken until
further consultations were held and placed in the
hands of the Magistrates, but they wished to ask
for some means of protection in the event of
unauthorised refusal.

Mr. William Lucas, Iresimhar of Deeds, Cape Town,
said that it would be impossible to enforce the
Commission with the existing statute in regard to
these particular cases.

The fact, however, that since the beginning of the
year approximately sixty mortgages had been
registered is a definite indication that the
interests of the Indian community were being
protected.

(From the Times of India.)
DISTRESS IN ORISSA.

(By M. K. Oram.)

Orissa is said to be one of the greatest places of pilgrimage in India, and it is said to be a land of plenty. But during the recent famine, the people of Orissa have been suffering greatly from hunger. The Government has been trying to relieve the distress by distributing food, but the situation remains critical. Many people have been forced to abandon their homes and seek refuge in other parts of the country.

For lovers of Khadder

Since the appearance of the article in "Young India" dated 20th April last, on "The Uses of Khadder", the magazine has been inundated with letters containing orders for Khadder. The readers will be pleased to know that the whole of the stock has been taken up, therefore, who have sent orders, will receive the Khadder as ordered. We are pleased to announce that the Khadder has been arrived and will be dispatched as soon as possible.
Young India.

NEITHER A SAINT NOR A POLITICIAN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A kind friend has sent me the following cutting from the April number of the "East and West"—

"Mr Gandhi has the reputation of a saint but it seems that the politician is too often associated with his name. He has been making great use of horticulture and there can be no better means of enlisting the support of the people. He is an artist in selecting the best measures of the day. The horticulture has its advantages. It is a cheap industry, and direct action however pleasant doesn't work for any. In Mr Gandhi's case, it is serving the highest ideals of life. He is an artist in this field, and the nation is the one who will profit by it." Mr Gandhi has been careful to say that he is not a saint, but a politician. He is an artist in the horticulture field, and the nation is the one who will profit by it. He has been making great use of horticulture and there can be no better means of enlisting the support of the people. He is an artist in selecting the best measures of the day. The horticulture has its advantages. It is a cheap industry, and direct action however pleasant doesn't work for any. In Mr Gandhi's case, it is serving the highest ideals of life. He is an artist in this field, and the nation is the one who will profit by it."
as it by now on the 15th of April 1919 and had at last been for the interruption of the 15th of April brought about by Satish Chandra Bhuyan who was the manufacturer of the 15th of April. I have been offered for his services and even by the 15th of April. I have been offered for his services and even by the 15th of April. I have been offered for his services and even by the 15th of April. I have been offered for his services and even by the 15th of April. I have been offered for his services and even by the 15th of April. I have been offered for his services and even by the 15th of April. I have been offered for his services and even by the 15th of April. I have been offered for his services and even by the 15th of April. I have been offered for his services and even by the 15th of April. I have been offered for his services and even by the 15th of April. I have been offered for his services and even by the 15th of April. 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that Turkish rule should be imposed upon the Arabs against their will, one could not, now-a-days, recognize as a really real demand as one which required the considerate opposition of so many people by another. What assurance was given at the beginning of the war in the Indian Mahomedans that the Mahomedan religion would be protected, that could never mean that a separation of identity which violated the principles of self-determination would be upheld. We could not be asked by any one to recognize Turkish rule in Syria or Persia which seems so removed from all possibilities that it seems like dissolving a restoration of the Holy House of Empire. I cannot conceive what terms of states could bring it about. The Indian Mahomedans certainly could not wish to see the Arabs as a state, and the Arab of the Sultanate and no account ofcollision and trouble in India would ever lead England to put back Turkish rule to the Arabs.

In this matter is an English Imperialism which the Indian Mahomedans are up against, but the mass of English Liberal and Humble-minded opinion, the mass of the better opinion of England, which wants self-determination to go onward to India. Supposing the Indian Mahomedans would put up an equal resistance in India as to the connection between India and the British Crowns, or they would not be any nearer to their purpose. For to-day they do have considerable interest in British world-policy. Even if in the matter of the Turkish question their influence has not been sufficient to turn the scales against the very heavy weights on the other side, it has weighed to the scales. But apart from the British connection, the Indian Mahomedans would have an influence all over India. They would not count for more in world politics than the Mahomedans of China. I think it is likely (apart from the presence of Anjumans on the other side) that the influence of the Indian Mahomedans may at any rate stand to keep the Sultan in Constantinople. But I doubt whether they will gain any advantage by this. For a Turkey war being to the Turkish parts of Asia-Moor, Constantinople would be a very important event and I think its influence would more than outweigh the sentimental gravitation of keeping up a phantom of the old Caliphate Empire. But if the Indian Mahomedans want the Sultan to return his place in Constantinople, I think the assurance given officially by the Viceroy in India now stands us to rest on his remaining there and I think he will remain there, in spite of America.

This is an extract from the letter of an English man enjoying a position in Great Britain, to a friend in India. It is a typical letter, sober, honest, to the point and put in such genial language that whilst it is direct it is not intemperate.
tory on the part of a nation that prides itself on its righteousness.

It is unnecessary for me to examine the position advanced by the English framers of the Indian Act as to how India would have fared had she been an independent power. It is unnecessary because Indian Mahommedans and for that matter Hindus are fighting for a cause that is admirably just, a cause in aid of which they are invoking the whole-hearted support of the British people. I would however venture to suggest that this is a cause in which mere sympathy will not suffice. It is a cause which demands support that is strong enough to bring about substantial justice.

IN PROCESS OF KEEPING.

(By M. R. Guirdal)

The writer of "Current Topics" in the Times of India has attempted to challenge the statement made in my "Khilafat" article regarding constitutional pledges, and in doing so cites Mr. Amost's Guild Hall speech of November 19, 1914. When I wrote the article, I had in mind Mr. Amost's speech: I am sorry he ever made that speech for, in my humble opinion, it is by the least a confession of the Turks as a free and governing race? It is, again, true historically that the Turkish rule has always been a bright light that has enlightened some of the darker regions of the earth? And what is the meaning of his statement that followed, viz., "Nothing further from our thoughts than to imagine or encourage a crusade against them? If we do have any meaning the qualifications the Mr. Amost introduced in his speech should have been a crusade from Indian Muslims in favor of. And that if his meaning were the same as the meaning of his speech, without anything further to support it, I would say that even Mr. Amost's assurance is in danger of being set afoot if the resolutions of the San Remo Conference are to be translated into action and I base my remarks on a considered speech made by Mr. Amost some years ago. Two years later when things had assumed a more threatening aspect than in 1914 and when the need for Indian help was much greater than in 1914, the pledge would have reaped the till it is fulfilled. He said: "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital, nor the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish race. We do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homeland of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople. It is only every word of pledging is fulfilled both in letter and spirit there would be little left for quarrelling about. In so far as Mr. Amost's declaration can be considered hostile to the Indian Muslim claim, it is supported by the later and more considered declaration of Mr. Llwyd George—a declaration made

irrevocable by the fulfillment of the consideration at expected viz., the extinction of the have Mahommedan solidarity which fought in the very place which is now being partitioned into two parts. But the writer of "Current Topics" says Mr. Lloyd George is now in process of keeping his pledge". I hope he is right. But what has already happened gives little ground for much such hope. For, expenditure on a movement of the Kaiser in his own capital will be not only a mockery of fulfillment but it would be adding injury to insult. Either the Turkish Empire is to be maintained to the homeland of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople or it is not. But, if the Kaiser's promises are to be broken up, let the mask of hypocrisy be lifted and India see the truth in its nakedness. To join the Kaiser's movement then means to join a movement to keep invalid the pledge of a British minister. Surely, such a movement is worth more, greater sacrifice than may be involved in non-co-operation.

THE CHOICE.

Other Constitutional Means and Non-co-operation

After a critical reading and a syntactical analysis of the sentiments and ideas expressed by the "Leader" of Allahabad in its issue of May 1, on the question of Khilafat, we feel as if our last attempt to forward a reassurance to our view-point. Befitting the great talents and sentiments against the tyranny of non-co-operation supported by Mr. Amost, we would associate with and endorse whole heartedly every word of our contemporary. We have special reasons to do this, as we feel that the logical and syntactical conclusions of the Leader's remarks are in favour of the adoption of the tyranny of non-co-operation.

The Leader's position as announced by itself when rejoin to its essentials comes to this: Our contemporary believes the Muslim cause is a just cause. It believes in the working of moral law and the victory of right. Yet he believes that the present struggle can be fought more on the moral than on the material plane. What is needed is faith and patience. Roads to violence cannot but irreparably mar the cause. Self-control is only difficult when deep sentiments are stirred, but it is a great source of moral and spiritual strength and a reward beyond all human calculations.

THE REMEDY.

It is opposed to Mr. Gandhi's doctrine of non-co-operation, because, according to it, that is sure to break into violence. The bulk of the people are not ready to undertake the sacrifice of self in the way of non-co-operation. It is therefore suggested resuming "the other recognized constitutional means" in which it has full faith. The effort that will be needed may involve a great deal of labour and expense, but it will afford the real test of seriousness. Since "other recognized constitutional means" which our contemporary urges for adoption are not defined by us and since
there can be no other "constitutional means" that we can imagine our contemporary to refer to, than those usually referred to, such as petitions, protests, debates, appeals, and so on. We shall be justified in saying that these are the "means" our contemporary refers to.

A SCIENTIFIC EXAMINATION

Having said this, we shall attempt an examination of the whole position taken up by our contemporary. With the first part there can, absolutely, be no fault-finding. On the contrary we shall take it as the basis of our contention in favour of non-co-operation and shall use it for the achievement of the common and the "Leader's" own remedy viz. other recognised constitutional means fall far more short of the necessary requirements than does the policy of non-co-operation. Our contemporary will be ready to admit—of it if it has not actually done so in the article under reference—that there is already deep resentment and dissatisfaction among our Moslem brethren with the way in which the Allies, including England are handling the Khilafat question and approaching its decision in spite of our most abject sentiments, repeated appeals and entreaties to the contrary.

Now, believing in the working of certain universal laws, we know that every moving force in this universe has its action and its reaction. If A applies any force to anything, the force acts on the object but at the same time acts on the mover. As well e. e. o. on A if something is moving against A's direction and A wants to move it in his own direction he applies a force, be it percussion, physical, mental or moral. The resultant motion in A's direction is according to the force applied which analyses itself into counteracting the force moving in the other direction and in producing a velocity in its opposite direction to A's force and the direction in which it is applied. But the total work done by that force required not merely by the amount of the direct effect but also by the counter-effect upon the resistance itself. This is true not only in the case of inorganic bodies and machines but the animal and human machines as well. In fact the law of inertia propounded by the greatest of our philosophers is but another name for the great law of action and reaction. Side by side with this phenomenon works the great law of conservation and transformation of energy which, if interpreted in plain language means that what we call mental deduction and deductions and conclusions are nothing but abstract results of our form of things to another by a secret and regulative thought-process of transformation of energy from one thing to another that being so, let us now examine the nature and the effect of the two remedies viz. the forces of non-co-operation and "other recognised constitutional means."

Non-co-operation in no doubt a more lurid one of that is the term our contemporary chooses for it as the other. But it will be conceded—-we hope without least dispute—that in the manner in which non-co-operation is proposed to be applied in the present case—-it is likely to cause greater suffering upon ourselves than we would by resorting to the other recognised constitutional means which our contemporary puts faith unto. The struggle on one side is thus more truly on the moral plane than by any protests, appeals, petitions, depetitions, and what not.

Let us also see the direct effect of the two remedies.

The effect of both the remedies is conservation of force in our favour. That conservation takes place not only in the Allies or in the formation of world opinion but also in ourselves.

We shall grant for the moment that the effect of the remedy of the "other recognised constitutional means," will be less effective and forcible, upon the Allies and the world opinion as would non-co-operation—though we could also show that the impulse given by the latter, if worked out in the proper form desired, will be far greater than any one can conceive of.

On the other hand, let us consider the reaction of the two remedies or forces upon ourselves and there do we find the departure of the two roads.

The effect of "other recognised forces produces in us an energy or impulse equal to which it does in the Allies and on the world opinion in our favour, or also non-co-operation. But the shape and the form of the one which thus conserved energy ultimately deliver or transmit or transform itself into—nothing is bound to by the same working of the laws of nature—is quite distinct from that of the other. In the one case we transform the energy which is in the same thing, what the "Leader calls deep sentiments" or "resistance" or "instrumentation"—thus stored into a moral force by our self-sought suffering. These sentiments—-or whatever our contemporary may call it—have a channel in which to flow and to continue on flowing. In the other case, however these "sentiments" are allowed to conserve and to grow without any outlet being provided for them.

Naturally the brute-force or the other forces is raised and ultimately the energy conserved in us transforms itself into physical force or what is called violence. The question of self-control and discipline in both the cases is a matter of the path or the height of tension and is the same. It is like attempting to reach that point wherein the transmission or transformation of energy takes place without any waste.

CONCLUSION

If there is anything truly dangerous in the life of a nation it is the reaction in the part of the leaders at a critical juncture when the nation on a whole is imbued with high and aspirations. When it is maintained that the nation is not prepared for non-co-operation, it simply means that, some people from amongst those who consider themselves educated and who are supposed to voice the opinions of the people, do not feel like co-operation with the
WHAT IS AN I EAL GURUKUL?

The following is the conclusion of the paper read by Shrushti Sara Devi Chaudhary, on the occasion of the Saints Cruz Gurukul Annual celebration—

Upon my becoming domiciled in the Punjab and on my coming in contact with Arya Samajis, two words attracted my notice by constant repetition. One of them was Gurukul. The word was intended to convey to the hearer the impression that it was a preparation to think that a Gurukul was necessary for one's evolution. As a time thus disregard of an ancient truth did not dissatisfy me. It seemed quite appropriate as there were in those times no teachers who carried out the ancient Vedic rituals and whose word could be accepted as law.

The other word I heard was Gurukul. I was told that word connected with a school where teaching was imparted after the ancient style and if pleased me but I was disturbed and I asked myself whether it was possible for a Gurukul to exist under circumstances in which the mention of a word like Gurukul became necessary suggestive of the non-existence of true Gurus. For Gurukul are an ancient institution. It is Upanishads give us a glimpse of what they were. The idea which were formed by the sages for the conduct of such institutions show also that they were romances of a high order. We understand from their history that knowledge of the soul was their chief object. All other sciences but an ad-theorists. The discussion between Sanat Kumar and Narad demonstrates the truth of my observation. Narad went to Sanat Kumar in search of Brahman. The latter wanted to know what Narad knew. Narad told him with great instance that he knew the Vedas the Puranas, Arthashastra, Dharma, History, Astrology. But he had not the knowledge of the soul which brought about salvation.

We learn too from the ancient scriptures that the divine knowledge was obtainable not by study of the scriptures merely, important though that part of the students' curriculum was. The disciple went as it is said to the teacher, Saunyog. Thus went Bengali and others to Pippaladi. It is in the meaning of the disciple going to the teacher with a few sticks of wood in his hand. It seems to me that it was an emblem of his wits which was service. And I am supported by my belief by many passages from our scriptures. We reach by constant and step zigzag streams of water do we gain knowledge by deep and constant service.

Now was this all. There was a direct family relationship established between Guru and disciple of old. The teacher had all the qualities that entitled him to the pupil's respect and affection. He was upright, calm, loving to all learned and yet humble, free from even a suspicion of hypocrisy. Every lesson was prefixed by a prayer in which the teacher and the taught invoked the blessing of the Almighty on all their joint activities. We learn further from a study of our scriptures that the meaning of the learner going to the learned with sticks of wood in hand was that there were no fees in ancient times. Personal service of the teacher was sufficient consideration for the gift of knowledge received, and it was at once a sign that the learner was not only to have his mind developed but that he had to engage in various necessary physical exercises such as cutting firewood, fetching water, tending cattle etc. To-day we are jealous of our children having to do these useful things of life whilst they are studying though we see quite clearly that in our palmy days for man's full development his body was trained and disciplined just as much as his mind. Trees of this culture are seen even in Bengal which are now lost under English influences. I have known there many Brahmi lad cooking his own food and developing himself during the period of learning. And when the body is spent in selfish service it becomes strong and tough as iron, and the soul when becomes fearless Man thus trained is able to stand erect in the face of heavy odds and approaches, unperturbed, the future which is so full
of storm and stress. When a lad has to wander in the for a week, has to take charge of cow-stalls and beyond the annals which the becomes quick-witted and keen from stool and soul-dependent. And the government officials, in whose observance of truth, obedience and fairness are like a breath of fresh air.

Now the question that faces us is, what are our schools and colleges according to the standard above. I believe that there is no facility there for religious teaching. Indeed I consider it to be very rare to find religious teachers in our schools. Even so, I am of the opinion that religious teaching is properly harmful. Therefore those who want such teaching for their children, built modern educational institutions to be suitable places for their children. The consequence of this demand between learning and religion is to be seen plainly. There is not that full moral weapon which we would expect in a system of training which includes sound religious education. The majority of Hindu girls have no true conception of even the fundamental truth of Hindutva. There can be no doubt that an institution where our children can receive religious training and practice, is a great desideratum.

This enables us to understand what a Gurukula should be like. If we desire our children to receive the same teaching that is imparted in our schools and colleges, we have no hesitation in saying that Gurukulas are not a necessity, but we can never have too many of them, if they give our children the religious knowledge and emotional feelers that the soul is so good. In joining a Gurukula, therefore, we shall not be underserved of it because it is a hard work to train a Gurukula or כדורע תינכט רהט הילקאה, because it has up-to-date teachers. But we shall want to know whether a particular Gurukula has special facilities for imparting religious teaching and for enrolling the learners in the fear of God. Here religious training is not to be had by learning religious songs by rote. We have the authority of the main institutions that it cannot be taught by setting at the feet of a true Gurukula. We want, therefore, these surroundings of such an institution also to be in keeping with the goal. A Gurukula should be situated amid pleasant surroundings, far from the din of the noisy crowd, where the pupils can get peace and quiet. I would have there our current up-to-date colleges rather than big dormitories.

But we have seen that the chief thing is proper teachers and suitable pupils. We cannot produce a modern Gurukula by advertising for the most gifted teachers and drawing pupils from the bazaar. I know that to get ten teachers we want as the most difficult task of all, but we must recognize that until we get them all our effort must be vain. I know it is easy enough to state the difficulty, it is not equally easy to overcome it. I admit my inability to show the way, but by way of recapitulation I would place before the managers of Gurukulas the following three submotions—

1. Religious knowledge and religious practice must be imparted and instilled upon in their Gurukuls.

2. There should be an earnest endeavor to get teachers with the qualifications mentioned by me.

3. The pupils should receive an educational training that would benefit India.

I am myself making an experiment. I have put my boy in a Gurukula institution where I have studied somewhat. I observe that he is making an attempt to reproduce all the best of our ancient Gurukuls. Is it but possible for hands of such institutions to meet together and evolve a workable plan of action such as to satisfy these suggestions above?

INDIANS IN AFRICA

Mr. C. F. Andrews' Review

We take the following from the communication which was given to the Associated Press by Mr. C. F. Andrews—

In Uganda, Zanzibar, Rhodesia and Nyasaland the Indian situation is good. The Indians are regarded as desirable residents and the economic value of Indian industry and commerce is recognized.

Outside British territory I spent an inordinate time in Portuguese East Africa. The Portuguese Government has treated Indian residents with every courtesy and consideration. Equal rights have been granted them in practically every sphere of life, and Indians from Goa have been appointed to some of the highest positions in the colony. There are no racial differences.

EXPLOSION FEARED.

In contrast with this, the situation in British East Africa and in the Transvaal has become more strained, owing to recent agitation, that an explosion of racial passion is possible at any moment. The most careful and thoughtful statements to the South Africa Union told me that the Indian position in the Transvaal was far worse than that in 1910-11. I regard the atmosphere of British East Africa as one less highly inflammable. It has been a happy belief in the past that economic causes were the chief factors in this tension, but after traversing all the evidence on the spot I am convinced that the racial factor is the greatest. I have seen with my own eyes racial treatment of Indians which fully bears out this opinion.

A HOSTILE PARTY.

The new Parliament of the South African Union can hardly fail to absorb Asmass in its policy. A Nationalist, who have obtained a greater number of seats than any other party, are pledged to a directly liberal programme. The majority of the Labour parties of Parliament are likely to side with them. The South African party under General Smuts cannot be relied upon to take a united stand on these matters, the Unionists are interested. Thus, the Parliamentary situation is in every way similar to that in 1910-11, but the Indian public were never so united. The balance of power has shifted in an anti-Asmass direction. The Indian question cannot be kept out of the next session and, whatever the pressure or its import, the Parliamentary system is likely to be hostile.
YOUNG INDIA

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SWADESHI DAY BY DAY.

Readers of "Young India" will be agreeably surprised to learn that the article about Khaddar has not only resulted in complete disposal of the stock that had accumulated at the Ashram, but it has evoked orders from Baluchistan, the Punjab, and even Agra. This is as it should be. The revival of the ancient spinning industry of India—hand spinning during leisure hours in their own homes by the millions of women, and hand-weaving in similar circumstances by men—cannot but produce a salutary effect in this country and prevent a steady drain of dollars and rupees which need never have left India if distributed in the hands of a few capitalists. This is not to say that we do not want capitalists in India. They are there already. They are able to take care of themselves. It is the poor millions who have to be lifted up from grinding poverty and consequent degradation. Nothing but a full revival of the hand-spinning and the hand-weaving industry can raise them effectively and speedily. It is to be hoped therefore that the demand for Khaddar being proved its production will be stimulated in every nook and corner of India.

The most wonderful experience, however, of the popularity of Swadeshi has been that of Shrimati Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Mohan, the wife of the noted and indefatigable worker, Motilal. Dr. Mohan Writing from Lahore whilst preparing to go to Baroda where she had gone to attend the Khudak Conference, the former says, I have done my packing armed with clothes as to what to be taken and what not to take with me—whether to wear Khaddar, dress them while addressing the audiences or Swadeshi all, the point of which will not be as well understood—whether to take up the trunk or to wrap up the bold all with clothes inside the bedding—whether to be smart and fashionable as of old or to be simple and common only. I have at last chosen to be the latter. But it is taking time and trouble to accustomise the new method. Writing after her experiences of Baroda, she says: Just coming back from visits to Muhammadan families. There were two Indian—wife and sister in our place. They took the vow for Khaddar and Swadeshi. Another place there were two ladies who all took the main vow. It was a family of quaint tradition very rich and cultured, settled down here since the days of the Mutiny. I find I can do the Swadeshi and Khaddar propaganda to perfection to these people. My Swadeshi dress has having its effect. At a meeting called by Baroda by Mrs. Mohan, into Muhammadan ladies took the Swadeshi vow.

Speaking to the Baroda diwani conference in Hindustan on a resolution on Swadeshi, she laid stress upon the deep poverty of India and her two chief weak points—food and raw materials, and said that if we did not know how to manage our own houses and could not make the two ends meet, we could not put on a face and say that we were strong enough to attend to the national affairs. It was remarkable, she added, that whilst the people were ready to listen to speeches which were heard from them, not an exhibition and no sacrifice they were willing to attend meetings where they were told home truths and which drew their attention to their primary duty of attaining to Swadeshi at all costs. She asked them to work in the spirit of the late Vidyasagar, who was not only not ashamed of but took pride in wearing throughout his life Khaddar sixth. She submitted that the return to Khaddar was difficult, but all outward movements were an India would never be able to produce the beautiful clothing did before, until this absolutely refused to use milks from China, Japan, France and elsewhere, and saw not in the interval to wear cloth made of coarse yarn that daughters of India were able to produce to-day. Her poverty and her nakendra too left no option to those who realized the actual condition of the country. She appealed to them on the platform to lead the way, emphasizing her argument by quoting:

\[ शक्तिका के अधिकारियों के \]

The Congress had not much been left to them to test the truth of the above remarks in their own homes, for they had to prepare decision for their elections, and whose marriage was to take place on the 14th instant. Pandit Ramchunder Datta Chandra writes, "All marriage clothes have been made of Swadeshi silk made in Benares. It is somewhat costly but excellent stuff. We have rigidly excluded all foreign silk."
Notes.

Bengalis in Behar—I n Behar and Orissa as in several other provinces, separate representation is given to the Munshimis, Anglo-Indians and Indus Christians. Besides this, just as Hindus in some other provinces have their own questions of communal representation, so also in the province of Behar and Orissa they are not without their own special question in this respect. The Bengalis in Behar are agitating for separate representation being granted to themselves in the Provincial Council. Most of them "the Bengalis argue," are the owners of landed property or are in Government employ and a considerable number have worked their way into the forefront of the legal and medical profession. This shows that they are not a people whose voice can be neglected. But they want to make their voice stronger and they seek to achieve this by separate representation. It is argued that if the Mahasabha is in that province, where are stronger by almost half than the Bengali population, have 17 seats, the Bengalis should have 11.

We consider it deplorable that the Bengalis who are neither numerically weak nor otherwise less advanced than their Bihar brethren should resort to separate representation in order to acquire more strength for themselves. If they may not be blamed for emphasizing a wrong principle of representation they cannot escape the charge of being short sighted even as far as their own interest is concerned. Their "special interests" for which they cannot identify themselves with other people of the province are that they have not the same claim to educational scholarships and of admission to educational institutions, particularly to medical and engineering institutions, as other Hindus and Oiyas have." The proper means to remove these educational discriminations against them will be co-operation with the Bihar leaders instead of any separatist tendency. Any such tendency will increase the existing bitterness between the two sections of the province.

This controversy gives rise to another important question. Writing on this subject the Modern Review says: "The Bengalis are for the most part permanent aboriginal inhabitants of tracts of country which, until recently, have been from older times integral parts of Bengal and have been Bengali-speaking for the most part. So that the real truth is that some parts of linguistic and natural Bengal have been for administrative purposes excluded in the province of Bihar and Orissa." Out of nearly 21 millions of Bengals in the administrative province of Bihar and Orissa only 165,000 can be spoken of as immigrants or settlers.

The question that these lines suggest is, why should these Bengalis in the border districts continue under an unnatural administration? Their natural place ought to be in Bengal, and if they agree, all administrative purposes should yield to the natural division of the two provinces—Bengal and Behar and Orissa.

Indians in East Africa—Elsewhere in printed the memorandum submitted by a joint deputation of the East African Indians and the Indian Overseas Association to Mr. Montague and Lord Milner on the question of the position of Indians in East Africa. The deputation was a very strong and influential one and it consisted of Lord Elgin and Mr. Charles Roberts ex Under-Secretary of State for India, Sir J. D. Kosse M. P., Mr. J. B. Bennet M. P., Col. Wedgewood M. P., Sir C. Armstrong, Sir Krishna Gupte, Sir M. Bhuvanagiri, Mr. Rosh and the members of the East Africans' delegation. Many other influential persons who were unable to attend had expressed their sympathy with the object of the deputation.

The members put the whole case clearly before the Secretary of State for India and the Colonial Secretary, pointed out to them how the Imperial Government who are solely responsible for the administration policy of East Africa, are to be blamed for allowing the anti-Indian agitation to grow in the Protectorate. The Imperial Government had for a long time been waxing more and more, and officially adopted by the Government of East Africa Indians look upon British East Africa, Uganda, Zanzibar and Tanganyika as the territory which had been developed by themselves. They had brought with them a large amount of capital. There was no European settlement whatever until its "unheard-of growth" of the last twenty years. If the Indian population were to leave East Africa to-morrow, the whole territory would immediately fall to pieces and the native population slip back into barbarism. Finally they hope that the British people and the British Government would not allow judgment to go by default and would respond generously to India's claim to the equal treatment of her coelites as in East Africa and the reversal of the prevalent anti-Indian policy.

Mr. Montague and Lord Milner are each reported to have sent a very sympathetic message to the representatives of the deputation about the mistakes of the Imperial Government in not taking up the Indian case earlier which was undoubtedly very strong and which had suffered unreasonably owing to the delay. In spite, however, of Mr. Montague's sympathetic reply, Mr. Jhunjhunwala's cable to H. H. the Aga Khan, shown that the Indian members are not at all satisfied and they consider that Lord Milner will yield to the European clamour and give up the Indian case. It is therefore necessary for Indian public opinion to assert itself on this question and inform the Imperial Government that it will not tolerate the threatened encroachment by the greedy European merchants upon the rights of the Indian settlers in the East Africa Protectorate.
SOME QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I write to thank you for your sly of the 7th inst. and especially for your request that I should, after reading your writings in Young India, make no non-co-operation, give a full and frank criticism of them. I know that your sole desire is to find out the truth and act accordingly, and hence I venture to make the following remarks. In the issue of May 5th you say that non-co-operation is "not even anti-Government." I feel sorry to be here any-thing to do with the Government to the extent of not serving it and of not paying its taxes in actuality, if not theoretically ant-Government and such a course must ultimately make all Government impossible. Again, you say, "It is the inherent right of a subject to refuse to assist a government that will not listen to him." Leaving aside the question of the ethical soundness of this proposition, may I ask which Government, in the present case? Has not the Indian Government done all it possibly can in the matter? If its attempts to secure the return of India should fail, would it be at all just to do anything against it? Would not the proper course be non-co-operation with the Supreme Council of the Allies, including Great Britain, if it be found that the latter has failed properly to support the demand of the Indian Government and people? It seems to me that all your writings and speeches refer to the present question, but the Government and people are more than ever, and it is not to be wondered what they will do, when the question of non-co-operation arises? Hindus and Englishmen and the Government are all playing, "considering a full mental massage hearing the Indians all that are carrying on etc." But is not the question of our own, what then? Are we to refuse to cooperate and with whom?"

"I wish to recommend the consideration of the following course of conduct:

(1) 'Wait and see' what is actual terms of the Treaty with Turkey are.

(2) If they are not in accordance with the aspirations and demands of the Government and people of India, then every legitimate effort should be made to have the terms revised.

(3) Let the latter co-operate with a Government that co-operates with us, and only when it refuses to cooperate, go in for non-co-operation."

So far I personally see no reason, whatsoever for non-co-operation with the Indian Government, unless a real and genuine desire were to have the sympathy of the whole-hearted co-operation of every one in India. I hope that you will kindly consider the above, and perhaps you will be able to find him for a reply in Young India."

"In the second place, I think the difficulty experienced by the English in understanding the circumstances of those who are anxious to understand a particular cause and take sides after mature judgment. It is only by patient argument with such honest men that one can look to them to see the light and bring them over to one's side. This Khilafat question is specially difficult because there are so many side-issues. Is it therefore no wonder that many have more or less difficulty in making up their minds? It is further complicated because the painful necessity for some direct action has arisen in connection with it. But whatever the difficulty, I am convinced that there is no question so important as this one if we want harmony and peace in India.

My friends object to my statement that non-co-operation is not anti-Government, because he considers that refusal to serve it and pay its taxes is actually anti-Government. I respectfully dissent from the view. If a brother has fundamental differences with his brother, and association with the latter involves his partaking of what in his opinion is an injustice, I hold that it is his brotherly duty to refrain from serving his brother and sharing his earnings with him. This happens in everyday life. A brother did not act against his brother when he declined to associate himself with the latter's blasphemous. Nor was Jesus anti-Jewish when he declined to associate with the Pharisees and the hypocrites, and would have none of them. In such matters is not the intention that determines the character of a particular act? It is hardly correct on the friend suggests that withdrawal of association under general circumstances would make all Government impossible. But it is true that such withdrawal would make all injustice impossible.

My correspondent considers that the Government of India having done all it possibly could, non-co-operation could not be applicable to that Government. In my opinion, whilst it is true that the Government of India has done a great deal, it has not done half as much as it might have done, and might even now do. No Government can absolve itself from further action beyond protestating, when it realises that the people whom it represents feel as keenly as do lakhs of Indian Menists in the Khilafat question. No amount of sympathy with a suffering man can possibly avail. He must have bread or be dead, and what is wanted at that critical moment is some action to fetch the wherewithal to feed the dying man. The Government of India can to day head the agitation and ask in the point of conscience for full vindication of the pledged word of a British Minister. Has the Government of India resigned by way of protest against the threaten of shamefull betrayal of trust on the part of Mr. Lloyd George? Why does the Government of India hide itself behind secret despatches? At a loss are—
Pledges Broken.

(By M. K. Grewal)

After the foregoing was printed the long-expected peace terms regarding Turkey were received. In my humble opinion, they are humiliating to the Supreme Council, to the British ministers, and to the Hindu with deep reverence for Christianity. I may say, a denial of Christ's teachings. Turkey broke down and fell under the curse of a nation within which subtle the arrogant and despotic suzerainty of England has been wanting. I will say nothing about President Wilson's Fourteen Points, for they seem now to be entirely forgotten on a day's wonder. It is a matter of deep sorrow that the Government of India could not hold the Kaiser to its parting on the terms of the Musulmans of India. The terms of the promise, and the promise only, was to be a satisfaction to the Government of India as to its demands. What is the use of the Viceregal saying, 'The promise of the Kaiser is only the promise of the Kaiser and Musulmans only and not with their race in the matter Government have no desire to interfere,' while the Kaiser's dominions are ruthlessly desecrated, his control of the Holy places of Islam shamefully taken away from him and he himself reduced to utter impotence in his own palace which can no longer be called a palace but which can be more fittingly described as a prison? No wonder, His Excellency fears that the peace includes 'terms which must be painful to all Musalmin. 'Why should he assent to the humiliation by sending the Musulmans of India a message of encouragement and sympathy? Are they expected to find encouragement in the cruel deeds of the arrogant terms or in the rememberance of the splendid response made by them to the call of the King in the day of the Empire's need? It is the Excessory to talk of the triumph of these ideals of justice and humanity for which the Allies fought. Indeed, the terms of these-called peace with Turkey if they are to last, will be a monument of human arrogance and man-made injustice. To attempt to crush the spirit of a brave and gallant race, because it has lost its fortune of war, is a triumph of humiliation, a demonstration of ruthlessness, and an act of treachery. And if Turkey enjoyed the closest ties of friendship with Great Britain before the war, Great Britain has certainly made ample reparation for her mistake by having made the largest contribution to the humiliation of Turkey. It is unanswerable therefore when
the Viceroy feels confident that with the conclusion
of this new treaty that friendship will quickly
take life again and a Turkey regenerate full of
hope and strength, will stand forth in the future as
the past a pillar of the Islamic faith. The Viceroy
message audaciously concludes: "That thought will,
I trust, strengthen you in accept the peace terms
with reparation, courage and forbearance and to keep
your loyalty towards the Crown bright and untem-
pered as it has been for so many generations": If
Muslim loyalty remains untempered it will certainly
not be for want of effort on the part of the Gov-
ernment of India to pull the heavy strain upon
it, but it will remain so because the Mahomedans
realise their own strength—the strength in the
knowledge that their cause is just and that they
have got the power to vindicate justice in spite of
the agitation suffered by Great Britain under a
Prime Minister whose continued power has made as
reckless in making promises as in breaking them.

Whilst therefore I admit that there is nothing
either in the peace terms or in the Viceroy's
message relating them to the Mahomedans and
Indians in general with confidence or hope I tenta-
tively suggest that there is no case for despair or
ger. Now is the time for Mahomedans to retain
absolute self-control, to utilise their forces and
work through the religious and political
institutions in India—both Hindu and Mahomedan
can set as one man and can withdraw her partnership
in this campaign. Inanimately, which the peace
terms represent, she will soon cause a revision of
the treaty and give herself and the Empire at least, if
not the world, a lasting peace. There is no doubt
that this struggle would be better and possibly
prolonged, but it is worth all the sacrifices that it is
likely to entail. Both the Mussalmans and the
Hindus are on their trial. Is the humiliation of the
Khusieds a matter of concern to the Hindus? And
if it is, are they prepared to exercise restraint, reli-
giously refrain from violence and precise con-
trary operations without counting the material loss
it may entail upon the community? Do the Hindus
honestly feel for their Mahomedan brethren to the
extent of sharing their sufferings to the fullest
extent? The answers to these questions and not the
peace terms, will likely decide the fate of the
Khusieds.

A RUMBLE SUGGESTION

Under the above heading Mr. Gandhi has con-
tributed to the columns of Navajivan an article
whose free rendering we give below Mr. Gandhi
says

I observe that many candidates have come for-
ward for the choice of the head of the electorate for
the reformed council. It must be granted that it is
possible to render some service in the State by
entering these councils. But is it my firm belief that
many can serve the country better by remaining
outside. The late Mr. Keir Hardie used to say that it
was practically impossible for a true Christian to
remain in the British Parliament. Carlyle called it
the talking shop. When there are many candidates,
those who have accepted service of the land as an
article of faith would do well to stand outside the
lists, and they will find that they will be better
occupied by educating the electorate and keeping
the electorate members in these promises at the polls.

In England one case the most effective service ren-
dered by those who keep themselves outside the
House of Commons. The real affairs of the English
nation are conducted not by the several hundred M.
Ps. but by the larger body who really control them. I
would therefore suggest to the larger body of those
whose only ambition is to serve India, not to trouble
about entering the councils. To the aspirants after membership of councils I would
respectfully urge "Pray avoid the councils if it is
any one of your own which you want
to stand there, for it can be ground elsewhere
In a democracy where only national interests are
supposed to be considered and whereas half the
interests will be put up against strong vested interests, how
can you think of serving your own little interests.

Surely you will not wish to injure the national
cause by mixing your own with it. I do not know
who are the aspirants, but I draw my inference
from what happens at municipal council elections.
We shall benefit by our people entering the
councils if they are true men filled with humility
and love for the country courageous, fearless
and versed in the subjects they have to handle.

The Reforms Act is full of defects which must
be remedied. But even as a factor with the nearest
edge in modern middle at hands, may a most
perfect constitution be handed to us, it is
blandly by selfish or ignorant councilors. The
most expeditious way of reforming the Reforms
Act would be to send to the councils only those
who wish to serve the Nation. These hands, even a
defective constitution may be utilized for
the good of the Nation even as an able artist
effectively manages indifferent tools and even
makes them better.

DISTRESS IN ORISSA

The following is Mr. Thakkar's report on the
distress in Orissa—

I went here on the 22nd April last being sent by the
Secretary of Indian Society and ...
fire their banks. The District Board had to open its doors last year for supplying more rice to the people to enable them to withstand the exceedingly high prices which went up to 6 Bengal mutes per reapea. On the top of such a year came the floods in the rivers in August last, doing the embarkment of Khadadhin, which flooded a portion of the district between that river and Bhagwati and covering a tract about 100 square miles. The water was 10 ft. in deepest part and stood for a period of from 7 to 8 weeks. Not only was the Moonsoon crop thus washed away, but the normally run of November had spoiled autumn crops also. Thus the cultivators and labouring classes were reduced to a condition bordering on poverty and extreme destitution.

PRIVATE RELIEF.

Cry for assistance is by nature futile and vain, due to continuous tyranny since the 16th century by Afghanistan, Mogols and Maratha. Besides this, the collecting class is very poor living always on the verge of starvation. Though the public opinion in the town of Parg 1 is not strong and central, the public held, in May 1920 in a meeting, asked Government to declare famine. It was in March last that the Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Pandit Dass brought the distress of his district to the attention of the Bihar Legislative Council by showing presents of starved people and sample becks and poxerd rice which the afflicted people used as food, and by asking for a total grant of Rs. 3,00,000 for their relief not adequately answering an appeal for the relief of the suffering people by Government in the minute the woman is of the formal relief by free distribution of rice was given by the Pei bazar Committee, and by the election of Raja Badur Singh in Chhota, Police Superintendent of the District, in his private capacity and in the name of Basanta Singh of Calcutta. An Orphanage and a Hospital for the Homeless have also been open, one opened by the Raja Bada in Parg and which are now overflowing. The Services of India Society had deputed L. Saha with some funds for aiding the non-Official Relief Work in the beginning of March last.

GOVERNMENT RELIEF

The Commissioner of Orissa, Division at last visited the affected area in a hurried journey in March last and did not think that the situation was at all serious, as is reported by the Public and the Press, and he mentioned in the Legislative Council that the picture drawn by the Hon'ble Mr. Das of popular distress was overdrawn. As a result of this difference in the two estimates, official and non-official, Sir George Beck, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province visited the affected area on the 24th of April last. Thus had a good effect as regards the relief of prevailing distress, though much has not come out of it as the people expected. Owing to the lack of rice and cooked food is given to about 3,000 persons from six central villages and the Deputy Collector is appointed in special duty for this work. But the quantity of rice does not meet to the people as less than that prescribed in the Famine Code, (40 tons instead of 60 and 80 tons to states and females respectively) and more centres of relief are required to be opened to relieve many more affected villages. Village works are an necessary for the maintenance of life of able-bodied persons as rice does for the evacuation and the famine. The area affected by severities is, roughly speaking, 300 sq miles, the number of villages 1,000 and the population about 9,000 and a half out of a total population of 12,000 in the district. A comparatively large percentage of the population affected requires more relief than elsewhere on the prosperity class of tillers of land and artisans that are not in need of relief to such smaller than at other places.

LOSS OF LIFE

In the last time famine has done its work by taking a heavy toll of human lives. Every village however small, and in these钒ect villages have only 10 to 100 houses (in the estate villages) has lost a few men varying from 3 or 4 to 2 dozen and in my case 75, due to dear absence of food. Lepers, beggars, and wandering members of the population, have fallen on easy prey. Children and old persons have succumbed in numbers and even youth have been seen to die of foodlessness. I have not here mentioned anything about destitution of houses by men and women and also children perhaps due to the wandering. If relief by tenner hand and cold can be long deferred, the loss of human lives would have been much less. I am in a position to say accurately that the total loss has been 8,000 visited 40 villages in my 3 days' tour and enquired in these villages I have been able to gather that about 3,000 persons died of starvation in those and a few other villages about which I got reliable records. On this basis of computation I can roughly guess the total loss of life at 10,000 at the lowest estimate. I had the misfortune to see two starved men dying in my camp at Nirmalpur in my presence and another in a village died, in 2 days hours ago and not removed for examination. My compassion saw a third man dying under similar conditions. Three Members of the Non-official Famine Enquiry Committee of Parg counted as many as three human skulls with several skeletons outside of a village of 60 houses, which had a heavy mortality of as many as 27 since August last. In the village of Surin only 15 miles off from Parg, as many as 60-80 are said to have died since the August flood, and we had the misfortune to meet as many as 28 human skulls in the cremation ground on the day of our visit.

POLICE MODULAR

In case of a possible disaster, some of the preliminary measures of caution and preparation to meet it are the submission of periodical reports by the Police Dept., regarding the following items:

1. Wandering of any kind, starving persons,
2. Any unusual increase of mortality,
3. Cases of starvation or severe want.

[Vide clause 34 of the Bihar Famine Code, 1913.]

In the case of a population of 2,500 persons included in a group of villages, I found total mortality due to all causes during the first four months of the year as 103 per mille, though there had been no epidemic. In this case there is sufficient indication of the existence of a formidable disaster and the need of want of food irrespective of any Police report? Again about half of this number was said to have died by starvation only, as per statements made by Police Officers who record vital statistics. Moreover all persons who have had an impression that they will be held responsible for all deaths by starvation and therefore they show all such doctors as not due to want of food, but to any other disease, fever, cholera or leprosy. As a matter of fact the Famine Code empower them to report cases of want and starvation, and perhaps to save themselves the trouble of reporting they seem to have made a rule, as I observed in the following cases, that they pass all starvation-deaths
as ordinary deaths and thus medical the Government and the police into a false belief of good condition of the very few and indirectly cause deaths of poor unmarked areas by stopping entirely from being taken for their protection.

PEACE CHARITY WASTED

Even at the present moment death due to starvation is yet absent or nonexistent. To prevent any further loss of life, gratuitous relief should be given to at least three times the present number, and in every village instead of a few central villages, and villages public works should be liberally opened to provide work for able bodied persons. But private charity also should come to the assistance. It is a disgraceful sight to see women of 40 or 50 dressed to wring out to their kin or a 12 or 10 dressed on a little more for even withered persimmons to give talk to them, to see the lone of those in order with love declarative their homes, to take care of famine orphans and to ask the people again on her legs, a large amount of money is wasted. In this regard, it is hoped that rich Bungalow landholders and others who have estates in Orissa, Marwar merchants of Calcutta and the various buyers of produce in Stanley will send their rates to East Africa and their plunders, plunder, Punjab. A sum of about 600 or 20,000 or even 70,000 for private charity to assist the practical need of food and fortune and distress.

We trust that Mr. Huskins appeal will receive the response it deserves, Rs. 5000 have already been sent in the proper quarter from the collections in Madhia

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

The following memorandum which was submitted by a joint deputation of the East African Legislature and the Indian Overseas Association on the occasion of the Indian in East Africa's meeting by the undersigned with the right of a friend of India, the Hon. B.S. Poole, Hon. Secretary of the Overseas Association.

INTRODUCTORY

In the year 1920 it might seem a work of supererogation to make a note of the annual association of India with the Eastern Territories of the African Continent. The local administration of the British East African Protectorate and the Majesty's Government should be fully aware of all the facts relating to this association but that they are no longer of importance, as clear from Part I of the Annual Report of the Indian Overseas Association last year by the government of the East African Protectorate. The Association was proposed by the Governor of the Protectorate and was presented to the Indian Government by the other member of the Commission. The Report was signed by him in excommunication with the others members of the Commission. In Chapter 1 a detailed survey of East Africa is given. It is incredible that the population of the Report was uncertain and the actual condition of the territories, yet it is astounding to see that this chapter contains not a single reference to India or her people, and the only statement that can properly be come to by a perusal of this chapter, together with Chapter 7, is that the association of any such reference was deliberate. It will be necessary in a later stage to refer to the allusions mentioned in Chapter 7.

HISTORICAL

Indian trade relations with Zanzibar and the East African Territories is about prehistoric. It is at any rate, around three centuries old, and it is certain that many in the middle of the 11th century, from the time of Old Chunder. British India and the Government of India have taken a very active part in extending British influence in East Africa. It was submitted before the Cotton Commission, in 1919, by the John Kirk, with probably an unquelled knowledge of the Protectorate, that "out of the Indians we (the British) should not be there now. It was entirely through being in possession of the influence of these Indian merchants that we were enabled to build up the influence that eventually resulted in our position." One of the main grounds stated for granting the Royal Charter to the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1880 by Queen Victoria was that it was calculated to be advantageous to the commercial and other interests of the British Indians and that the possession by a British Company of the East Coast line would protect British Indian subjects from being compelled to render and trade under the Government and protection of Alien Powers. In the early days of the conquest and pacification of the Protectorate, Indian soldiers there in very horrible part, and the bravery of Nettal at the outbreak of the Boer War was remembered when, at the beginning of the late World War, the timely help given by Indian in men, women, and children in East Africa saved the country from what was about to be a disastrous conclusion and its completion by the German forces. The earliest transport facilities in the Protectorate were provided by Indian contractors and labour. The main factor in opening up the interior of the country was the construction of the Uganda railway, entirely by Indian labour and subordinate staff, under the most trying conditions and with considerable loss of life. Since then very large numbers of Indian traders, merchants, agriculturists, artisans, and labourers have migrated to the country at the request of the Government and, relying on their real and equal treatment under British rule, have entered into and invested in it very large sums of money in the utmost numbers of substantial and permanent buildings, comprizing several great homes and houses entirely owned by Indians in the chief towns of the Protectorate and also in Uganda. In his book, "Black Africa's Journey" (a journey undertaken by him as Under Secretary of State for the Colonies), the F. H. Winston Churchill, at present the Secretary of State for War, wrote "To the Indian trader, who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go, or in which no white man could such a living, has, more than anyone else, developed the early beginnings of trade, and opened up the first seeker to adventure."
tion of the Protectorate is considerably greater than the European. Its invested capital is far greater, its hold upon the trade and commerce of the Protectorate is four

The Protectorate is, in fact, apart from the native population an Indian and not a European Colony. Indeed, Indian law is, and was as a matter of course, administered in East Africa. So distinguished and distinguished a traveller as Dr F. Chalmers Mitchell, in a dispatch appearing in "The Times" of March 19, 1902, says: "The native trade is almost wholly at the hands of the British, as far as the Indian and the South, of Indians. Indian and Japanese planters are selling British goods are adapted for local European and native requirements.

EUROPEAN AND INDIAN RELATIONS

In spite, however, of their prior claims to consideration as the hands of the authorities, due to their pioneer work in the carrying on of the produce of modern civilization to the barbarous and semi-barbarous peoples of the country, and the vital and valuable trade proceeds there from, and notwithstanding their commercial preponderance and the immensely superior proportion of private British invested in the same, the Indian settlers did not adopt a day of rest in their policy. They did not demand European concessions, nor did they agitate for the imposition of duties upon many European goods as were actually settled or might be allowed to settle in the Protectorate. On the contrary, they were not afraid of competition, and welcomed and were willing to cooperate on the basis of equality with all new comers, whether Indian or European.

Some prominent members of the Indian Community even went out of their way to recommend the country for European settlement as well as to India. In the early days of the British administration in the Protectorate, the relations between Indian Community and the Administra
tion were of a very friendly character. The Foreign Office, which at that time controlled the Administration, fully recognized the valuable and indispensable services rendered by India, and the Indian settler. Shortly after the War, a number of Indian and German settlers from South Africa, desirous of the neighbouring German Territory, migrated to the Protectorate, and eventually settled in the area known as the "Highlands." These settlers brought with them the habits, the some prominent members of the Indian Community even went out of their way to recommend the country for European settlement as well as to India. In the early days of the British administration in the Protectorate, the relations between Indian Community and the Administration were of a very friendly character. The Foreign Office, which at that time controlled the Administration, fully recognized the valuable and indispensable services rendered by India, and the Indian settler. Shortly after the War, a number of Indian and German settlers from South Africa, desirous of the neighbouring German Territory, migrated to the Protectorate, and eventually settled in the area known as the "Highlands." These settlers brought with them the habits, the
INSANITY
(By M. K. Gandhi)

In the course of his discussion of my views on non-cooperation, the Allahabad Leader asked me to state what I meant by wise and temperate action on the part of the Government in dealing with the Khudai Khidmatgar. The U. P. Government have provided me with an excellent illustration of unique and temperate action almost, if not altogether, amounting to insanity. I refer to the appointment from Mysore of Pandit Javaharlal Nehru, the son of the Hon. Uda Pandit Motilal Nehru.

Mr. Javaharlal Nehru's dignified letter to the Superintendent of Police furnishes the public with all the facts in connection with the order served on him. The whole of the Allahabad public could bear witness, if witnesses to the action of an honourable man were necessary, that Mr. Nehru put the question to his mother before entering into marriage with her. He informed her that his mother was marrying with her consent, not for reasons of health. Having received his consent, he received an unequivocal, straightforward and full explanation of the presence of insanity, having the knowledge that the members of the family were with him in Mussoorie. The authority ought to have accepted Mr. Nehru's word and refrained from taking further action. It should be remembered that Mr. Nehru in his letter to the Superintendent of Police, and I have no reason to believe with the Afghan delegation and it was an assurance that we both happened to be in the same hotel. As a matter of fact, their presence there put me out in a certain extent as I was looking forward to taking possession of the room at present occupied by them. I am, of course, interested in the delegation, as every intelligent person must be. But I had not the slightest intention of going out of my way to meet them. We have been here now for the last seventeen days and during this period I have not seen a single member of the delegation even from a distance.

You are yourself aware of the fact as you told me this morning: 'This was not enough for the authorities. They had lost their mental balance. They wanted an assurance that Mr. Javaharlal Nehru would have no communication with the delegation, for we learnt from the same letter: 'But although I have no intention whatsoever of seeing the Afghans or of having any communication with them, I entirely dislike the idea of being myself in the way of an action on the occasion of the Government, even though such action may not prove serious. It is really a question of principle or conscience. You will see clearly, represent my position. And the Government when Mr. Okalan, the Superintendent of Police, represented to him by stating to him the order of an action two days after the receipt of the letter. Mr. Nehru was conscious that the Government should have the full facts before them, and therefore told them in the same letter: 'If the Government chooses to make any order on me, I am not prepared to obey it. It will be a great inconvenience to me to go down suddenly and leave my family by themselves here. The condition of my wife's health requires the most careful attention, and my mother is in a confined state, and it is most difficult to have them removed for my sudden departure will upset my father's mind and cause him much pain of trouble and anxiety. But I suppose individual circumstances cannot be considered in high matters of State.'

In a well-regulated State, individual inconvenience is a matter of State's any other, except when individual welfare demonstrably requires to be assured to corporate welfare. In the instance there was nothing, so far as the public are aware, to warrant the inconvenience of leaving a husband from his family and especially a aged mother from her only son and protector when they have no one else to look after them and are away from home. I tell you this insanity of a very serious type and it can only proceed from a guilty conscience. The Government know that the peace is not free from danger and in breach of the pledges of majority. They know that the Mahometan sentiment has been deeply hurt. They know that the Hindu sympathy is completely with them and they know that the Afghan delegation is also in complete accord with the Indian Mahometan feeling. They are therefore afraid of any Indian.
Mr. Candlers Open Letter
(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Candler has favoured us with an open letter on the question of extending the Indian Constitution to the sixteen provinces of the Union. I can appreciate Mr. Candlers position as I would like him and other Englishmen to appreciate mine and that of hundreds of Indians who feel as I do. Mr. Candlers letter is an attempt to show that Mr. Lloyd George's pledge is not in any way broken by the peace terms. I quite agree with him that Mr. Lloyd George's words ought not to be taken from their context to support the Mahomedan claim. These are Mr. Lloyd George's own words as quoted in the recent viceroy's letter. "Nor are we fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are preponderantly Turkish in race." Mr. Candler seems to read 'which' as if it meant 'if' they whereas I give the pronoun its natural meaning, namely, that the Englishman knew in 1918, that the lands referred to by him were 'predominantly Turkish in race' and if he meant the meaning, I venture to suggest that the pledge has been broken in a most baseless manner, for there is practically nothing left to the Turk of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace.

I have already given my view of the retention of the Sultan in Constantinople. It is a result to the intelligence of men to suggest that the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the home land of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople has been left unimpaired by the terms of peace. This is the other passage from the speech which I presume Mr. Candler wants me to read together with the one already quoted:

"While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the home land of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople, the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalised, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to recognition of some separate national condition." I did that mean entire removal of Turkish influence, extinction of Turkish sovereignty and the introduction of European-Christian influence under the guise of Mandates? Have the Musulmen of Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine been committed, or is the new arrangement being superimposed upon them by Powers conscious of their own brute strength rather than of justice to their own? I for one would nurse by every legitimate means the spirit of independence in the brave Arabs, but I shudder to think what will happen to them under the influence of exploitation of their country by the greedy capitalists protected as they will be by the cynical Powers. If the pledge be to be fulfilled, let those powers have full self-government with suzerainty to be retained with Turkey as has been suggested by the Law of Zanzibar. Let them be in the necessary guardianship.
taken from Turkey about the internal independence of the Arabs. But to remove that suspicion, to deprive the Khilaf of the guardianship of the Holy Places and to render Khilaf a monarchy which no Mahomedan can possibly look upon with equanimity, I am not alone in my interpretation of the pledge. The Right Hon. Mr. M. All calls the post a breach of faith. Mr. Charles Roberts reminds the British public that the Indian Mussulman sentiment regarding the Turkish Treaty was based upon the Prime Minister's pledge regarding Trucan. Constantinople and Turkey. He describes the pledge as binding upon the nation as a whole and its breach in any part as a breach of faith on the part of the British Empire. He demands that there be an unanswerable reply to the charge of breach of faith, which ought to be given and that the Prime Minister may regard his word lightly if he chooses, but he has no right to break a pledge given on behalf of the nation. He concludes that it is incumbent that such pledges should not have been kept in the letter and in the spirit. He adds: I have reason to believe that these views are fully shared by prominent members of the Cabinet.

I wonder if Mr. Candolle, who is going on to-day in England, Mr. Treadwell, writing in the New Age, says: 'No impartial international envoy, into the whole question of the Armenian massacres has been instituted in the ample time which has elapsed since the conclusion of armistice with Turkey. The Turkish Government has asked for such enquiry. But the Armenian organizations and the Armenians protest against the refusal to hear of such a thing, declaring that the Bryce and Leopoldson reports are quite sufficient to condemn the Turks.' In other words the judgment should be given on the case for prosecution alone. The international commission, which has investigated the unfortunate events in Smyrna last year, made a report unfavorable to Greek claims. Therefore, that report has not been published here in England, though in other countries it has long been public property. He then goes on to show how money is being scattered by Armenian and Greek committees in order to popularise their cause. His conclusion is this: 'This comparison of illness ignorance and enemy falsehood is fraught with imminent danger to the British realm and concludes: 'A Government and people which prefer propaganda to fact is the ground of policy and foreign policy at all times self-contained.'

I have reproduced the above extract in order to show that the present British policy has been affected by the course of an unscrupulous nature. Turkey which was a dominion over two million square miles of Asia, Africa and Europe in the 17th century, under the terms of the treaty, says the London Daily News, has dwindled down to little more than 1,000 square miles. It states: 'All European Turkey could now be accommodated comfortably between the Landmark and the Tower Cornhill alone exceeding its total area, and but for the alliance with Germany, Turkey could have been reduced to retaining at least sixty thousand square miles of the Eastern Balkans.' I do not know whether the continuity view is generally shared in it by way of punishment that Turkey is to undergo such shrinkage, or if it because justice demands it. If Turkey had not made the mistake of joining Germany, would the principle of nationality have been any applied to Armenia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Palestine?

Let us now remind those who think with Mr. Candolle that the promised was not made by Mr. Lloyd George to the people of India in anticipation of the supply of recruits continuing in defending our own interests. Mr. Lloyd George as reported to have said:

'The offer of the statement in India was that recruiting went up appreciably from that very moment. They were not all Mahomedans but there were many Mahomedans amongst them. Now we are told that it was an offer to Turkey. But they rejected it, and therefore we were absolutely free. It was not. It is too often forgotten that we are the largest Mahomedan power in the world and that one-fourth of the population of the British Empire is Mahomedan. There are no more loyal adherents to the throne and no more effective and loyal supporters of the Empire in its hour of trial. They gave a solemn pledge and they accepted it. They are disturbed by the prospect of our not abiding by it.'

Who shall interpret that pledge and how? How did the Government of India itself interpret it? Did it or did it not energetically support the claim for the control of the Holy Places of all Islam residing in the Khilaf? Did the Government of India refuse that the whole of Jedunct in Ambil could be taken away in accordance with that pledge from the sphere of influence of the Khilaf, and given over to the Allies as territorial power? Why does the Government of India oppose with the Indians, the inclusion of the term 'all' they should be so much for the pledge? I would like to guard myself against being misunderstood. I stand or fall absolutely by Mr. Lloyd George's declaration. I have actually used the expression 'true religion' in connection with it. It is an important qualification.

Mr. Candolle seems to suggest that my goal is something more than merely assuming justice on the Khilaf if so, he is right. Appointment of justices in undoubtedly the corner stone, and if I found that I was wrong in my conception of justice on that point, I hope I shall have the courage immediately to retract my steps. But by helping the Mahomedans of India at a critical moment in their history I stand to buy them friendship Moreover, if I can rally the Mahomedans with us, I hope to win great Britain from the downward path along which the Prime Minister seems to me to be taking. I hope also to show to India and the Empire at large that given a certain amount of capacity for self-analysis, justice can be secured by peacefulness and just means with out showing arrogance and bitterness between English and Indians. For, whatever may be the temporary effect of my method, I know enough of them to feel certain that they alone are immune from lasting bitterness. They are accustomed with hatred experience in truth.
SAVARKAR BROTHERS
(Ey M K Goursid)

It is My earnest desire at this time that no possible or ease of bitterness between My people and those who are responsible for My Government should be obviated. Let those who press for political progress have broken the law in the past respect it in the future. Let it be evident for whose sake and charge with the main error of peaceable and orderly Government to forget the extraordinary ways which have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among My people and officers to work together for a common purpose. I therefore desire My Foe to raise up My name and on My behalf My Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in my judgment is compatible with the public safety. I desire here to add it on this condition to persons who, for offenses against the State or render any special or emergency legislation, are suffering imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this clemency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits and that all My subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to force the law for such offenses hereafter'—The Royal Proclamation.

The Proclamation from which the above extract has been copied was published in December last. Thanks to the action of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, many of those who were undergoing imprisonment at the time have received the benefit of the Royal clemency. But there are some notable "political offenders" who have not yet been discharged. Amongst these 300 cases of Saverkar brothers. They are political offenders in the same sense as men, for instance, who have been discharged in the Punjab And yet these two brothers have not received their liberty although six months have gone by after the publication of the Proclamation.

Mr Ganesha Damodar Savarkar, the elder of the two, was born in 1885 and received an ordinary education. He took a prominent part in the Swadeshi movement at Nasik in 1909. He was sentenced to transportation for life with confiscation of property under sections 121, 121A, 124A and 133A on the 9th day of June, 1909, and is now serving his sentence in the Andamans. He has therefore had eleven years of imprisonment.

Section 121 is the famous section which was utilized during the Punjab trials and refers to "waging, maintaining, or assisting the maintenance of an unlawful assembly for prevention of property. 121A is a similar section 124A relates to sedition 133A relates to promotion of enmity between classes‘ by words either spoken or written,‘ or otherwise. It is clear therefore that all the offenses charged against the Savarkar (senior) were of a public nature. He had done no violence. He was married, had two daughters who are dead, and his wife died about eighteen months ago.

The other brother was born in 1884, and is better known for his career in London. His sensational attempt to escape the custody of the police and his jumping through a port-hole in a French waterway, are still fresh in the public mind.

He was educated at the Fergusson College, finished off in London and became a barrister. He is the author of the proceedings of the Sepoy Revolt of 1857. He was tried in 1910, and received the same sentence as his brother on 26th Dec. 1910.

He was charged also in 1911 with abetment of murder. No act of violence was proved against him either. He was married, had a son in 1909. His wife is still alive.

Both these brothers have declared their political opinions and both have stated that they do not entertain any revolutionary ideas and that if they were set free they would like to work under the Reforms Act, for they consider that the reforms enable one to work thereunder so as to achieve political responsibility for India. They both state unequivocally that they do not desire independence from the British connection. On the contrary, they feel that India's destiny can be best worked out in association with the British. Nobody has questioned their honour or their honesty, and in my opinion the published expression of their views ought to be taken at its face value. With more, I think, it may be safely stated that the evil of violence has, at the present moment, no following in India. Now the only reason for still further restricting the liberty of the two brothers, can only be 'danger to public safety,' for, the Vicerecy has been charged by His Majesty to exercise the Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest manner which in his judgment is compatible with public safety. I hold therefore that unless there is absolute proof that the discharge of the two brothers who have already suffered long enough terms of imprisonment, who have been considered as sturdy, and who have declared their political opinions, can be proved to be a danger to the State, the Vicerecy is bound to give them their liberty. The obligation to discharge them, on the one condition of public safety being fulfilled, is in the Vicerecy's political capacity just as imperative as it was for the Judges to exercise their judicial capacity to impose on the two brothers the maximum penalty allowed by law. If they are to be kept under detention any longer, a full statement justifying it is due to the public.

This case is no better and no worse than that of Bhagat Ramana who, thanks to the Punjab Government has after a long term of imprisonment received his discharge. Not need his case be distinguished from that of Savarkar brothers in the sense that Bhagat Ramana pleaded absolute innocence. So far as the Government are concerned, all were alike guilty because all were convicted. And the Royal clemency is due not merely to doubtful cases but equally to all cases of offences proved upon the hoi. The conditions are that the offence must be political and the exercise of Royal clemency...
should not, in the opinion of the Viceroy, endanger public safety. There is no question about the brokers being political offenders. And so for the public are aware there is no danger to public safety. In answer to a question in the Viceroy's Council in connection with such cases the reply given was that they were under consideration. But their brother has received from the Bombay Government a reply to the effect that no further memorials regarding them will be received and Mr. Montego has stated in the House of Commons that in the opinion of the Government of India they cannot be released. The case, however, cannot be so easily shelved. The public are entitled to know the precise grounds upon which the liberty of the brothers is being restrained in spite of the Royal Proclamation which to them is as good as a royal charter having the force of law.

A HARD CASE

(1by M K. Gandhi)

I have received the following telegram from the families of Messrs. Bugga and Ratanachaud.

"Bugga and Ratto under orders transfer Andamans. Bugga suffering bowel and piles since ten years. Was operated upon Ratto aged over forty and therefore should not be sent Andamans under Jail Manual Rule 721."

I shall remember that these were the accused on whose behalf appeals were made to the Privy Council to common with others and whose appeals were rejected on technical grounds. The Honble Fiji Civil Settlement Nelson has analysed the case and shown that they are no more guilty than the others who have been discharged. But several were officially sentenced to death and their sentences have been commuted on account of their young age and have not been executed. What is it that distinguishes these two cases from the others? Is it the last of the appeal itself? If they had not appealed or rather a philippic in the Press or put in their case, is that the reason why they were not hanged as the hangmen's noose? If the Law Commission of the Punjab has been showing a generous discretion in releasing many who suffered between April and June last year. Although he had the opportunity, why the dismissal of the appeal, to hang Messrs. Bugga and Ratanachaud. H. E. the Viceroy is in principle true, has commuted the sentence of death to one of transportation. But I venture to submit that if the Royal Proclamation is to be given effect to in the fullest measure, Messrs. Bugga and Ratanachaud are entitled to their liberty. They are no more dangerous to the State than Lala Harkishanlal, Fuddi Ramchudri, Dutta Chandnihat and others of that distinguished company. But for the time being, as the case is for their discharge, I am pleading not for a complete release but for keeping them in the Punjab and if they have been sent away already for bringing them back, if for nothing else, out of consideration for the wives of these poor men. Let not the public think that the rule of the Government of the day are dictated only by fear and expediency act by logic and high principles of justice.

LINGUISTIC REDISTRIBUTION

The first Karnataka Conference is over. It was unique in that the Karnataka-speaking one language disregarded the provincial differences and met in a conference because they spoke one language. Mr. Subbarao Ryadati, the chairman of the Conference, suggested that the day must come when a redistribution of provinces will have to be made as quickly as possible according to the chief languages spoken by the people of India. Indeed it is natural that daily it must appear more and more to be a national necessity. It will not only not constitute a menace to our national unity but the letter will appear to be as possible unavailing only through the people speaking the same languages being grouped together and enabled to reach the highest state they are capable of reaching. No national purpose is to be served to-day by the Congress people being distributed into three provinces, having their own respective governers, nor are the Andhans better served, or do they better serve the nation because of the process of the distribution they have undergone. Are the Urdu-speaking strength to India because they are cut into three parts? It should be remembered that divisions were made by the conquerors in answer what they considered the political necessity of the time, not for the uniformity of the respective races, nor for the higher welfare of India as a whole. But it is said that the English language serves all these provinces and is a great unifying form. The statement is based upon a petty generalisation. A few thousand graduates do not make the nation and cannot unify India even as the few Latin-speaking states of Europe cannot unify Europe, or for that matter the French-speaking French of Europe. A common medium of expression has been found to be the case, and must be a medium spoken by the largest number and easily to be learnt by the rest. Such medium is indubitably Hindustani.

Even the Dravidians pick up Hindustani far more easily than English. Such busy men as business men, it has been now demonstrated during the eighteen months that the Dravidian propaganda has gone on in the presidency of Madras, has been able to learn enough Hindustani to be able to understand and read it. The capacity to speak is a matter of practice. It cannot be otherwise, because any one who runs through the Tamil or the Telugu vocabulary can ascertain himself that both these Dravidian languages have borrowed largely from the parent stock.

The Karnataka Conference, however, has shown that whatever may be the value of academic discussion and opinion on the point, the popular view is emphatically in favour of linguistic redistribution. We freely grant that a popular vote is no test of the soundness of a proposition. But if it is the true that the people demand linguistic redistribution and if there be no more evil in it, will it not be better for all faces to unite in achieving quickly the end that has got to be reached some day or other?
The Kermatco Conferences also emphasized the necessity for developing the vernaculars and making them an optional medium of expression in the provincial legislatures. This proposition necessarily follows linguistic redistribution, and if the electorate is to make a fair choice, it must have a much wider field than the English educated Indians afford. There are thousands of capable, honest, sound and level-headed business men who but for the necessity of having to speak English in legislatures will get themselves elected. As it is, they do not do so simply because they would be barred by the proceedings of the councils without in any way benefitting themselves or the community.

This very reform was passed before the Government of India last year by Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government. Considering the propriety of conducting debates in vernaculars the Government of India did not come to any sound conclusion. Their reasoning was even more unsatisfactory than their conclusion. They in their despatch of March 5, 1919, said—

"The question is by no means free from practical difficulty. Assuming that in future there are three groups in Council, (1) the official members, (2) the non-officials and (3) the representatives of the Indian educated classes, it will practically be only the third of those who will enjoy the advantage of a direct knowledge of both languages, and it is possible, at least that they may be tempted to turn such a position to their advantage in various ways which it would be easy to suggest. It seems to us difficult, however, to provide a formal remedy and we think that the matter must be mainly left for the Governor to deal with."

The natural conclusion to be drawn from the above reasoning is that the material of India is quite ready to demand that the handful of Indians should learn the vernaculars of the provinces they administer rather than that the whole of the elected members should know English well enough to take an intelligent part in the council debates and cope with the able Englishmen whom they have to face. With English as the medium, the Indian members start with heavy handicap. We feel sure that linguistic redistribution and a full revival of the vernaculars and recognition of Hindustani as the national medium, are coming much quicker than most of us imagine.

S AFRICAN COMMISSION

The evidence submitted to the South African Commission on behalf of the Indians of the Cape Province shows that their chief grievance is against the power invested in the Licensing Boards, of refusing licences without assigning any reasons. The power was tested, on most reputable authority, to have been used indiscriminately against Indians. It is hoped the Commission will arrive at a solution which will be acceptable to both the European and Indian communities which have been living on cordial terms on the whole.

The whole agitation centres round the Transvaal where the Anti-Asiatic activity is at its highest.
Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg that Chamber had stood by the Indians as being trailers who served the poorer classes of the community. The Chamber changed their attitude later. The Indian country storekeeper was prevented because he treated his customers well and resented opposition to the Indians who were trade rivals. It had been. White men employed in Indian stores in Durban. Witness advocated an open door to the Indians as a distinct advantage to South Africa. The Indians had the largest percentage in every part of the community.

Mr. Phillips' Evidence

On April 12, in Johannesburg, Mr. J. S. Phillips, of Krugersdorp, Chairman of the S. Africans' League, in his evidence, said that by resolution of the Board of Directors of the Transvaal in 1899 no Asians were permitted to reside in Johannesburg. That resolution had also power of law, and it had never been repealed. Mr. Phillips maintained that the resolutions, for the present position rested with the Union Government by reason of its administration of the law. By reason of administrative weakness there had been a continual invitation to the Asians to disregard the law. Witness said that the terms of the agreement entered into between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi were made known to the Indian community but were deliberately withheld from the Whites. The former maintained that the privilege of representation had the Union Government communicated the terms of the agreement to the Indians, 'as the administrative officer, this would have carried them out. That the person by whom it was exhibited between 1911 and 1915 would not have been. The position of 1911 should prevail, and if it had been respected by Indians, witness would never have been before the Commission. Finally, he had no ink on the Gandhi agreement itself, and Mr. Phillips, then the Indians be, be forced to the Union Government from other reasons to apply for permits. To contravene the Gandhi permit, applications were made for new licences. And so of these applications were from Indians in the rural outside of the municipal area. Mr. Phillips stated that he was representing before the Commission not only the witness but the determination of the people that South Africa should remain a country for White people.

The White people of the Transvaal, continued the witness, do not and cannot trust the Indian community. If Indians were given as much they took a yard— if they were given nothing, they would take a yard. Because of that, said Mr. Phillips, we—by we, I refer to many thousands of Whites now in the Transvaal—say that the Indians have never reached themselves since 1894. They have proved that they do not intend to stop anywhere. They have also proved to us that restrictive legislation will never be effective until it becomes so drastic that there shall be no possibility of a mistake. Mr. Phillips announced that the Union Parliament without intending it, had granted to any Indian the right to live in the Transvaal. He characterized the terms of reference given to the Commission as breach of law given by the Preparatory Minister in October 1914, that the question of Amendment 139 and 121 of Act 36 of 1910 so far as they impose restrictions regarding occupations of proclaimed areas upon Indian resident in the Transvaal.

(c) Amendment of those Sections of Act 36 of 1908 which adversely affect the Indian population of the Transvaal, so as to conform to 35 of 1936 amended as reason numbered in No. 4.

(d) Amendments of various Ordinances to secure reasons being given on points of law and fact on a refusal of a licence.

(e) Repeal of the Restrictive Act 37 of 1914.

That for the purpose of uniformity, accepted Indians be placed on an equal footing with those holding rights to trailer certificates.

In view of the evidence which has been advanced to support a policy of segregation the Indians stated that they were opposed to such a policy which would in effect hand them as men and compel them to live in what would be nothing more than ghettos no matter what they were called.

Much evidence has been held before the Commission in regard to what is styled the unfair competition of the Asians, and on this point the British Indian Association and its members were prepared to recommend an uniform to legislation regulating the principle of maximum profit and wage on an equitable basis for all ranks of labour but when Indian workers had combined to secure the same wages as their European fellow workers they were paid the same wages as the European fellow workers. In regard to allegations of unfair selling, the Indian, it was pointed out, did not dispose of his goods except for a reasonable profit to maintain himself and his dependent without taking any undue advantage of the remaining public. In the stage of production, the Indian purveyor of goods was required to provide and market produced goods at an honest price, the retailer being a boon to the poorer classes in particular in country districts. "Must," asked the witness, "the unfortunate consumer pay for wasteful indulgence and luxuries?"

The position of the Indian, it was urged, is limited by the discrimination under which all others, he claimed, enjoy a residence which is suitable and respectable and avenues of investment are closed to him. His children are denied the right to claim citizenship except as "despised aliens" and he is precluded from finding help by either place of amusement and public entertainments on racial grounds.
INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

(Continued from our last issue.)

After narrating the relations between Europeans and Indians, the memorandum continues—

When the War broke out the Indian Community in East Africa was specially requested and it legally consented to abstain from non-consensual agitation. Their consent was obtained on the understanding that such abstinence was to be reciprocal. Unfortunately, neither the Government, nor the European settlers availed of the agreement. Racism and racial differences of an administrative, as well as of a legislative, character have followed the war, until to-day the attitude is such as to agitate the people of India, who are aware with the utmost anxiety whether the tragic history of the Indian population of South Africa, for which, in a very large amount, they held His Majesty's Government responsible, is to be repeated in East Africa, with far less probability of justification, and where the administration is, as is South Africa, that of a self-governing Dominion enjoying responsible government, but of a Protectorate directly controlled by His Majesty's Government, who must bear the full responsibility for all the consequences of the mistakes and consequences of the present racial policy which they have initiated or permitted.

A reference was made above to Chapter 7 of the Report of the Economic Commission. The Commission appointed by the local Government did not include a single Indian representative, and by way of protest an Indian evidence was tendered, and practically all evidence bearing upon the Indian situation was excluded before the Commission. Yet in that chapter the Commission, without supporting testimony of any kind, delivered an attack upon the commercial methods and the private morality of the Indian Community, of such a character as is impossible for any self-respecting and high-spirited people for an moment to tolerate. These allegations, of a most offensive type, have been made with the very clear object of creating an atmosphere of propaganda against the Indian section of the population.

European and Christian civilization has been deliberately invoked and contrasted with Eastern and non-Christian civilization as the doctrine of the latter and in the alleged interest of the native population, and recommendations have been made that the Protectorate should be treated as a group of French-speaking territories, as a quasi-Dominion, and the power should be handed over to the small minority of white settlers, who were entitled to no consideration in the light of the declarations on the Indian question of the Conventions of Associations of East Africa (the most important non-öidal body of Europeans in the country, which is often known as 'The White Man's Parliament'), that their object was to change the whole character of the country and its population by the subjugation of Indian immigration and the gradual elimination of the Indian population. The Indian Community has felt that such a campaign, undertaken ostensibly as benefit of the native population, by the white settlers, is hypocritical in the extreme. Those who are best acquainted with local conditions and who can read between the lines of the Convention of Associations and the Report of the Economic Commission, are under no illusion as to the utterance of the motives of the European settlers.

The present agitation is strongly reminiscent of similar campaigns conducted at various times in different parts of South Africa preliminary to the introduction of anti-Indian legislation imposing further disabilities upon the resident Indian population. The Indian Community in East Africa has bitterly resented the impositions that have been made against it, and it challenged imperial investigation. It deems this stage to make no exceptions, but it is not content to the opinion of the authorized representatives of the native peoples.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, who was specially deputed by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay to investigate the situation in East Africa recently, made a special appeal to meeting the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice of Uganda, two Ministers of the Native Parliament. This is what Sir Apolo Koywa, Prime Minister, and Mr. Stanley Engoye, the Chief Justice, say in a letter to Mr. Andrews: 'With reference to our meeting with you in our Native Parliament this morning, we beg to confirm our opinion, we expressed on the following two points which were raised disinterestedly:

(a) We do not wish the Indians to remain in our country, we consider that it being here would improve us country, and would do a harm to the country. But, indeed, we have been more probable. We would, of course, the better Indians. (b) We do not want our country to be united to any other Protectorate, for we consider that if that was done would greatly interfere with our Uganda Treaty, 1890, and our customs. We have other reasons bands. Therefore, we would very much less the Protectorate to remain as it is.'

Dr. Cook, the well-known East Africa medical expert, has publicly corroborated the evidence of the native leaders regarding Indian morality. In the light of this disinterested testimony, it is clear that the sole motive for the heinous activities of the European Colonists is colour and race prejudice and trade jealousy. It is significant, too, that the Convention of Associations has deliberately sought to raise the question of religious privilege and to destroy the religious equality for which the British Administration is supposed to stand, as the word 'Christian' does not appear in the original draft of the Convention of Associations. Thereafter, it is, however, no instance of His Majesty's Administration in East Africa to promote specially any form of religious belief or exclusion. The threatening attitude of the European settlers towards the Indian colonists and sympathetic officials alike has filled Indians with alarm lest His Majesty's Government should mistake a discreet and apportioned agitation, based upon crude self-interest, for a reason to demand for changes in the Administration that will if given affect to, completely alter her character, with unmeasured consequences for the old established Indian population. India recognizes fully the fact that there are a number of officials of all ranks in the country who are anxious to administer it sympathetically and impartially. But they are not blind to the hostile activities of the bulk of the European population, which includes a most violent element, which threatens them whenever they show a disposition to fair-minded and just administration. Recent episodes of this character are well known, and it is strongly felt that His Majesty's Government ought to discourage severely the anti-Indian tendencies that are locally prevalent, and which are fraught with unrest insurmountable to the Empire.
Notes.

Vernaculars in Councils—In the conduct of business in the present legislative councils although there exists no hard and fast rule requiring the members to address the assemblies in English, still the practice almost amounting to a rule, has been to keep to English exclusively and we have had the sorry spectacle of members unable to express their thoughts with accuracy in a foreign tongue acquainting themselves but without making an effort to assert their right, or an appeal to the President to be permitted to speak in their own vernacular. That there is neither shame nor humiliation in using one’s own vernacular in the Councils has been shown by men of such ability and learning as the Honble Mr. V. N. Singh and the Honble Mr. B. Narasimha Iyer who, if they had the chance, would prefer to speak in their respective vernaculars. But a corrupt usage has left no choice to them.

The new rules framed for the guidance of the reformed Assembly, however, partially remove this bar and expressly endorse the principle of admitting vernaculars in the council discussions. But the concession granted is so inadequate and stingy that it can hardly meet the exigencies created by the new Act which provides a far greater and more direct representation of rural areas. Naturally a larger proportion of members, not well or at all conversant with the English language, is expected.

The new rules while providing for such members to express their views, however, place them at the disadvantage of not knowing the views of those members who may be declared by the President to be “guest,” or may have the reputation to be “element” in English. For, the rule lays down that “any member who is not fluent in English may address the Council in any recognized vernacular of the province, provided that the President may call on any member to repeat in any language in which he is known to be proficient.” (Ishas ours)

What is wanted is a free option and encouragement to members to use the recognized vernaculars of their provinces so that most of the members could derive most of the benefit of the debates. Only then will our Councils show their fullest usefulness. And that we should be doing this by widening the sphere of our vernaculars as the provinces grow. The President, the ‘chief recognised’ vernacular or vernaculars are understood by ninety-nine and five percent of their respective populations; for instance, Hindi and Urdu in U.P., Hindi in C.P., Punjabi and Urdu in the Punjab, Bengali in Bengal and Telugu in Madras. The few European and Anglo-Indian members of the respective Councils are expected to be conversant with the recognized vernacular or vernaculars of their provinces. Therefore, however, the Bombay Presidency with its Gujarati, Marathi, Konkani and Sindhi-speaking people mostly unfamiliar with each other’s language. Some restrictions may be justified in a Council constituted of such variety. But this again brings us nearer the question of the distribution of our provinces on linguistic lines, which we have already dealt with in our last issue.

Khaddar—The stock of Khaddar of the quality mentioned in our issue of 23rd April, in ever. The Manager, Khaddar Department, who has been receiving orders from several provinces for and near, demands that he requests the purchasers to state in their orders whether they are particular in having fine Khaddar or Khaddar and not to insist on a particular quality. The Manager is not yet ready with a steady stock, and hence the rates quoted in our issue of 23rd April, are out permanent ones.

The orders for sums should not fail to give measure and height of the cape.
YOUNG INDIA.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 2nd June, 1930.

KHILAFAT.

FURTHER QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have been overwhelmed with public entreaties and private advice and even anonymous letters telling me exactly what I should do. Some are impatient that I do not advise immediate and extensive non-co-operation, others tell me what form I am taking the country by throwing it knowingly in a tempest of violence on either side. It is difficult for me to deal with the whole of the criticism, but I would summarise some of the arguments and endeavour to answer them to the best of my ability. These are in addition to those I have already answered—

(1) Turkish claim is immoral or unjust and how can I, a lover of truth and justice, support it?

(2) Even if the claim be just in theory, the Turk is hopelessly incapable, weak and cruel. He does not deserve any assistance.

(3) Even if Turkey deserves all that is claimed for her, why should I lead India in an international struggle?

(4) It is not part of the Indian Mahommedan's business to meddle in this affair. If they rush into any political ambition, it is not, they have failed and they should now sit still. If it is a religious matter with them, it cannot appeal to the Hindu reason. As a matter of fact, many of the Hindus ought not to identify themselves with Mahomedans in their religious quarrel with Christians.

(5) In no case should I advocate non-co-operation which on its extreme means is nothing but a rebellion, no matter how peaceful it may be.

(6) Moreover, my experience of last year must show me that it is beyond the capacity of any single human being to control the forces of violence that are lying dormant in the land.

(7) Non-co-operation is futile because people will never respond in right earnest, and reaction that might afterwards set in will be worse than the state of hopelessness we are now in.

(8) Non-co-operation will bring about cessation of all other activities, even working of the factories, and thus set back the clock of progress.

(9) However pure my motives may be, those of the Mussalmans are obviously revengeful.

I shall now answer the objections in the order in which they are stated.

(1) In my opinion the Turkish claim is not only immoral and unjust, but it is highly equitable, if only because Turkey wants to retain what is her own. And the Mahommedan must manifestly declare that whatever guarantees may be necessary to be taken for the protection of non-Muslim and non-Turkish races, should be taken on us to secure the Christians and the Arabs their self-government under the Turkish administration.

(2) I do not believe the Turk to be weak, incapable or cruel. He is certainly disgraced and probably without good generalship. He has been obliged to fight against heavy odds. The argument of weakness, incapacity and cruelty is often heard quoted in connection with those from whom power is sought to be taken away. About the alleged massacres a proper commission has been asked for, but never granted. And in any case security can be taken against oppression.

(3) I have already stated that if I were not interested in the Indian Mahommedans, I would not interest myself in the welfare of the Turks any more than I am in that of the Boer or the Pole. But I am bound as an Indian to share the sufferings and trials of fellow-Indians. If I deem the Mahommedan to be my brother, it is my duty to help him in his hour of peril to the best of my ability, if his cause commendeth itself to me as just.

(4) The fourth refers to the extent Hindus should join hands with the Mahommedans. It is therefore a matter of feeling and opinion. It is an expedient to suffer for my Mahommedan brother to the utmost in a just case and I should therefore travel with him along the whole road so long as the means employed by him are no more honourable as his end. I cannot regulate the Mahommedan feeling. I must accept his statement that the Khilafat is with him a religious question in the sense that it binds him to reach the goal even at the cost of his own life.

(5) I do not consider non-co-operation to be a rebellion, because it is free from violence, but a larger sense all appeal to Government conscience is a rebellion. In that sense, rebellion is a just cause, as a duty, the extent of opposition being determined by the measure of the injustice shown and felt.

(6) My experience of last year shows that instead of abstractions in some parts of India, the country was entirely under control, that the influence of Satyagraha was profoundly for the good and that where violence did break out there were local causes that directly contributed to it. At the same time I admit that even the violence that took place on the part of the people and the spirit of lynch law that was undoubtedly shown in some parts should have remained under check. I have made ample acknowledgment of the mistake I then made. But the painful experience that I then gained did not in any way shake my belief in Satyagraha or in the possibility that matchless forces being unleashed in India, ample provision is being made that true to avoid the mistakes of the past. But I must refuse to be deterred from a clear course because it may be attended by violence totally unnecessary and capable of extraordinary efforts that are being made to prevent it. At the same time I must make clear that nothing can possibly prevent a Satyagraha from doing his duty because of the frown of the authorities. I would risk, if necessary, a million lives as long as they are voluntary and
Farmer and are innocent, spotless victims. It is the mistakes of the people that matter in a satyagraha campaign. Mistakes, even usually, must be expected from the strong and the powerful, and the moment of victory has come when there is no resort to the sword fury of the power. I believe a voluntary, dignified and quiet submission to the will of the authority that has put itself in the wrong. The secret of success lies therefore in holding every English life and the life of every officer as a matter as sacred as that of our own dear ones. All the wonderful experiences I have gained more during a only 40 years, I have, like the others, been against that life of the present generation as that of life I make bold to say that the moment the Englishman feels that although they are in India as a hopeless minority, their lives are protected against harm not because of the matchless weapons of destruction which are at their disposal, but because Indians refuse to take the lives even of those whom they may consider to be utterly in the wrong. The question will come to the question in the English, nature in its relation to India, and that question will again be the question when all the destructive energy that is to be had in India will begin to rise. I know that this is a far-off vision. That cannot matter to me: it is enough for me to see the light and to act up to it, and it is more than enough when I gain complements in the onward march. I have learned in private conversations with my friends that it is because of my constancy in the present position of non-violence and my having successfully demonstrated its practical utility that I stand in the forces of violence, which are so exhaustively in existence in connection with the Khilafat movement, have remained under complete control.

(7) From a religious standpoint, the seventh objection is hardly worth considering. If people do not respond to the movement of non-co-operation, it would be a pity, but that can be no reason for a reformer not to try. It would be to me a demonstration that the present position of non-violence is not dependent on any outward strength or knowledge, but it is hope born of ignorance and superstition.

(8) If non-co-operation is taken in earnest, it must bring about a cessation of all other activities including the Reform, but I decline to draw the corollary that it will set back the clock of progress. On the contrary, I consider non-co-operation to be such a powerful and pure weapon, that if it is enforced in earnest spirit, it will be like seeking that the Kingdom of God and every other following as a matter of course. People will have then realised their power. They would have learned the value of discipline, self-control, joint action, non-violence, organisation and everything else that goes to make a nation great and good, and not merely great.

But I do not know that I have a right to arrogate greater purity for myself than for our Mussalmans brethren. But I do admit that they do not believe in my doctrines of non-violence to the full extent. For them it is a weapon of the weak, no expedient. They consider non-co-operation without violence to be the only thing open to them in the war of direct action. I know that if some of them could offer successful violence, they would do so. But they are convinced that humanity speaking is an impossibility. For them, therefore, non-co-operation is a matter not merely of duty but also of revenge. Whereas I take up non-co-operation against the Government as I have actually taken up in positive against members of my own family, I entertain a very high regard for the British constitution. I have not only no animosity against Englishmen but I regard them in English character as worthy of my emulation. I count many as my friends. It is against my religion to regard any one as an enemy. I entertain similar sentiments with respect to Mahomedans. I find their cause to be just and pure. Although therefore their view-point is different from mine. I do not hesitate to associate with them and invite them to give me my a chance to trial, for I believe that the use of a pure weapon even from a Mussalman mouth does not fail to produce some good, even as the telling of the truth. If only because for the time being it is the best policy, is at least no worse than the good.
INDIANS IN FIJI.
(By Mr. Mandal H. Dochter.)

Since my arrival here so Fij I have strenuously laboured to have an end put to the system of indentured labour which was slavery in disguise. Eventually the system received its coup de grace on the 2nd of January last, when the remaining indentures were cancelled by the Fij Government, presumably at the cost of the revenues of India.

The cancellation of indentures set all Indian labours on an equal footing and they all began to realize painfully how their lives had economically, morally, socially and politically been influenced by their arrival and stay in Fij under that monstrous system. The incidents of social life formed a sort of cheesecloth to weave the web of national life round them, and their depressed and humbled condition became more pronounced under the strain of 300 and 300 p. c. rise in the prices of the necessaries of life without a rise in their wages. The want of a steady home life of a wife worthy of the name, promises to intercourse and natural children, dirt and squalor and immaturity in general can be genealogically traced to the indentures system.

People who had finished their indentures had been for years in receipt of two shillings-a-day wages for unskilled labour before the War. And they have continued receiving that until a few months ago when a succor was added only for some labourers.

The labourers had approached the Indian Imperial Association of which I am President, to represent their grievances to Government. And my Association wrote to the Government recommending legislation for 5s. minimum wage for labourers expressing our readiness to prove our case. The Government paid no heed to our representations and the Immigration Department had hitherto followed a policy of blue, browbeating and disguised threatening towards those who have been clamouring for better pay. The local newspapers—an only paper-pursued a campaign of malicious misrepresentation against me and my Association at the instigation of a number of colonial-born Indians who are converts to Christianity and whose conduct is influenced by their pastors or shepherds. The Indian people in Fij had felt very much that the Government proceeded me for building an office on Fiji Chief's land with his permission, when any number of Europeans and other Indians who have done similar things have not even been warned. But at the general Indian Conference held on December 25th at the Town Hall, all Indians of Indian settlers in and around Suva, Bua and Nasua, attended in great numbers and with the exception of half-a-dozen Indian Christians and a number of their European patrons, the meeting was a great initial step towards Indian organization and the labourers invited me to two of their entertainments where I was abundantly received. I then left for Levuka and subsequently for Suva, when I heard that some Indian labourers in Suva were on strike. All sorts of rumours were rife and the campaign of most representation by the Suva Press had the desired result of making every white person highly indignant or ill-disposed towards me. Anyhow, the Indian element in Suva district was so important that the B Europeans did not care about going to unpleasant lengths with me, and the District Commissioner who is also the Magistrate, being a Thorough and a good type of Oxford graduate, was sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. In face of some opposition, after some hesitation, he attended and granted me a large and representative gathering of Indians on the last Sunday in January where the Indian Association was formed with rudimentary panchayats to important Indian settlements. Here I was, as expected, unanimously chosen as President of the Association which was now formed, and Mr. R. G. Pilling, District Commissioner, placed the name at our disposal as patron and promised to send our accounts. This is the same gentleman as had given me a message to Mr. C. S. Andrews and to the schools he visited. The establishment of the Moses Press and Daxum—who have been sent from Australia at Mr. Andrews' instance to work educationally (and the lady professionally as nurse also) amongst Indian women and children in Fij-created great help and sympathy from the Englishmen, the like of whom are not so frequently met with (in little Crown Colonies such as this) so near your darsas.

I was hardly on the way to settle in Suva district when a sudden call came from Suva informing me that the Indians strike in Suva had led to the appointment of a commission of enquiry into the cost of living, wages, reasonable means of livelihood etc. before and after the War. A special launch came to Suva to fetch me to Suva. It was not to be expected that the Government would place me on the Commission and the Agent-General of Immigration had succeeded in convincing Indians that I might be more useful as counsel to lead evidence on behalf of the Indian labourers who then chose Mr. S. Chowla, an experienced and patriotic Indian Interpreter, to be on the Commission. I came to Suva and great crowds of Indians poured in to see me offering to help with the evidence. Some of the members of the Indian Imperial Association had been so threatened and treated by their European employers and others, and for their consequent sufferings to strikers had become so unpopular amongst Indians, that they themselves kept out of the labour movements. I also pacified those who had cherished strong feelings against them and I held one meeting at Mussamatu and another at the Cricket ground in Suva on the next day in Nausori. It was wonderful how the strikers were of one mind and what is more, absolutely peaceful, so far, so that the Inspector-General of Constabulary, Col. Golging, telephoned to Inspector, Pate Bews, to motor down from his station to the Indian meeting and convey to me his message of thanks and appreciation of the quiet and orderly way in which the meetings had been conducted. It is worthy of note that the labour
movement was contemporaneously signalled by the formation and support of the Indian Women's Association in Suva, who pressed my wish to be the President. The moral support rendered by the Association during my absence in Fiji and ever since was a powerful factor in the constant demand of men for 5s. wages as a minimum to enable a person to live in decency and comfort under the present high cost of living. When I came to Suva, I appreciated their work but warned people of both sexes in public as well as in private against the use of force to prevent weak-minded persons from returning to work. But some of the women could not bear insults and injuries and assumed a militant attitude towards any Indian Christians or European Special Constables interfering with their meetings or their movements. I must point out here that without the least necessity for doing so the Fiji Government became fancy and called in the end of their military consisting of the Returned soldiers and sailors and the Defence Force men. They determined the Indians by taking away their strike and the military Special Constables and rowdy Europeans established a reign of terror in Suva. The Fiji Government have never displayed any tact in such situations. They did not dismiss those Europeans from their duties of Special Constables against whom the Inspector-General of Constabulary heard authentic and genuine complaints from peaceful Indians. The police then advise them to act under the instructions of half the dozen Indian Christians, and the "Methode of Indian Police" (Vol. the pamphlet of Mr. Mackenzie) began to be taught. These European committed excesses. Prominent Indians were warded for and threatened, abused, ill-treated, assaulted and otherwise presented. The women could not remain quiet under these circumstances. They held meetings privately and the fatal one was the last near the house of Helen Ragan, on whose advice a European special constable walked roughly over the women sitting and used profane language which led to a quarrel and then Indians, who could not hear sight of their wives being treated as a cowardly manner, rushed with the sticks of firewood from a kitchen in the vicinity the police whistled for help, and the European Forces and the Military arrived, and Fijian police came with rifles. A mechanism also was set against them. Women instead of pouring oil on troubled waters, some responsible persons are reported to have foolishly circulated a rumour that there were warrants out to arrest women including my wife, and strong rumours spread through the length and breadth of Suva, Nawa and Navua that she had actually been arrested as the leader of woman. Those who started such tales, whether they be in the Constabulary or outside, whether white or brown, are themselves responsible before God for subsequent riots and bloodshed which took place in several localities. I am openly told by the Mayor of Suva, the Hon. H. M. Scott K. O that I am at the bottom of the whole trouble. But I am not. I was away weeks before the strike started, the immediate cause of which was the order to do work for 9 hours instead of 8 as before, and the contempt spread to other native. I was away at Tailevu when the riots were provoked. After I came back, I went to the Chief Police Station in Suva on appointment to interview women who were under arrest, but I was refused permission to see them on the occasion, and whilst I waited, I was kept out of Inspector Swanburn's office where confidential matters were being reported or advised upon by the Indian Constables and their Pastor, who could have any man or woman locked up, any man's house and premises forcibly entered and searched, any person of the street stopped, any sleeping person or inmate in boarding houses or private houses examined. A Special constable—white man with a blackened heart—used filthy language to me. I did not know whether I should wait for the arrival of the Inspector-General. In the meanwhile, Inspector Swanburn appeared to be annoyed at my perseverance and clearly told me that I was hindering his work. Therefore accompanied him to go out, where at the gate the special constable hit the frame of my glass from left ear, another white man caught hold of my right shoulder and in spite of Inspector Swanburn's warning gave me a blow on the back of my head, which did not hurt me, however The Inspector-General has now advised me to remand practically a prisoner in my own house as he will not have me interfered with by the white ruffians. There are many others in my position to this respect. I must in fairness admit that he has given all the protection whenever I went to go out. But this same officer, either of his secord or under pressure, applied for and obtained special legislation which puts us aside all Rowlett Acts and other repressive legislation in India put together. You cannot leave your locality without a permit to move about, not more than six persons can meet at your residence, not more than four go with you, you can take no eels with you. The Returned soldiers and sailors with rifles and bayonets and machine-guns, and any white man, Fijian or otherwise, can do anything. Moghul rule in India could not have been worse. Women are beaten and tortured to confess and testify against my wife or me, and men and women are exposed to season and suffer their confessions under the searching rays of the sun, and refined water to drink and kept on little or no food.

Men are dead or dying—a great many whose trace a lost—few are lying unattended in the bush—bystanders have passed through the entrial of some, and builders through the bodies of others. The German rule of the whites unmasking under the British flag cannot last much longer. Our cause is now fall and we earnestly believe 'the Gods confound the intelligence of those whom they destroy' which though a translation from some Greek source seems to be the same as Tulimas.

Indians want either to obtain a living wage or proceeds cheap as before, or food and clothing etc. with annual wages or a piece of land to cultivate, or to be shipped back to India, or to be shot down or galled.
ORDER IN COUNCIL

The following is one of the orders referred to in the foregoing—

Made the Twelfth Day of February, 1920, at Government House, Rata. The 13th day of February, 1920
(L.S.)

C. H. RANBOUR, Governor
Present
His Excellency the Governor in Council.

Whereas it is provided by the Public Safety in Times of Civil Commotion Ordinance 1920, that whenever the Governor in Council shall be satisfied that a state of civil commotion which threatens the public safety exists or is likely to arise in the Colony or in any part thereof, he may order under his hand, make Regulations for all or any of the matters set out in section 2 of the Public Safety in Times of Civil Commotion Ordinance and whereas I and my Executive Council are satisfied that such state of civil commotion which threatens the public safety exists in the Colony.

Now I do by and with the advice of my Executive Council make the following Regulations herein contained, that is to say—

ASSEMBLY IN STREET, ETC.

1. No larger number than five persons shall assemble together in any street or road within or without the town of Vavau or any other place whatsoever (except a dwelling house) at any time by day or by night for any purpose whatsoever without the written permission of the Inspector-General of Constabulary, and any such assembly of more than five persons shall be deemed to be an unlawful assembly and will be dealt with accordingly, and any member of the Fiji Defence Force is hereby authorized to disperse any such assembly, using force if necessary.

ASSEMBLY IN DWELLING HOUSE.

2. No larger number than seven persons shall assemble together in any dwelling house within or without the town of Vavau at any time by day or by night for any purpose whatsoever without the written permission of the Inspector-General of Constabulary, and any such assembly of more than seven persons shall be deemed to be an unlawful assembly and will be dealt with accordingly, and any member of the Fiji Constabulary is hereby authorized to enter any dwelling house and disperse any such assembly as aforesaid, using force if necessary.

EXCEPTIONS.

3. The provisions of the above Regulations shall not apply to persons of wholly or partly European descent, or to Fijians, Polynesian, Melanesians, Chinese, or Japanese.

Made by the Governor in Council under section 2 (b) of the Public Safety in Times of Civil Commotion Ordinance 1920, on the 13th day of February, 1920.

OUR MADRAS LETTER.

KILALAPAT

The press and platform controversies over the non-co operation programmes are still in full swing. The Hon. Mr. Servans Shastri has written an article in the Ceylon which urges the distinctness between the Government of India and the Government of Great Britain, and pleads that the former from which it is proposed to withdraw non-co operation has done all it could, a position which Mr. Gaolini has not already rejected. A letter from an English friend, pointing out that the duty of the Government of India in this grave situation did not end with representation and protest, and that it should have resigned if its nearest counsel did not prevail.

The most thought-provoking and valuable part of Mr. Shastri's article is that whereas he claims that 'we Indians are not responsible at all, not even for the action of the Government of India,' and that therefore we are not responsible to any party to the wrong. There are two distinct bonds of responsibility between a people and its government—its universal and unchangeable, depending on the essential nature of the government, the other depending on the law of the Constitution. The latter responsibility is what Mr. Shastri refers to in his article. The former is much more important. Every Government is responsible to the people it governs, and these terms, if they mean anything, are never understood and are prepared to put in practice the principle of non-co-operation. No government, be it the most despotic, can govern an unwilling people if they but proceed to withdraw their active cooperation. The inherent power of the people to effectuate their will does not depend on the law of the Constitution but on the essential inter-dependence of people and government. It follows that if a people knowing that their government is doing wrong continue actively to support that government without removing the wrong by withdrawing their co-operation, they are partakers in the wrong.

Mr. Shastri touches some of the points in the claim of the Indigo Muslims in regard to the Muhsin, but he admits enough to make out that the claim is on the whole a very just one. Similarly, in spite of its injustice and erroneous diagnosis that the insecurity of the present Muslim feeling in India is attributable to Mr. Gaolini's own actions in the matter, a positive but taken up on by Government of India or the Viceroy be admitted that it is a matter of fact the present feeling is intense.

Mr. Shastri does not put forward an argument seriously repeated in certain quarters, which really amounts to an absolute surrender before the brute force of injustice, viz., that because in the Punjab, the authorities inflicted undeserved death and insult on numbers of innocent people, and similar injustice may be perpetrated again, no movement, however justifiable otherwise should be inaugurated, because it may lead to a similar exhibition of force on the part of the authorities.

New India in commenting on the terms of the Treaty suggests an alternative remedy, that the Indian Mussalmans should help to form a confederation of Mussalmeen States, a suggestion which does not spell peace, and which while ignoring the inter-dependence of Hindu and Musalim, India, would seek to turn the letter and not the rejoicings to forebear, unless as his only hope.

While these controversies are going on in the newspapers, any observer of the feeling in the country may see enough to ensure the greatest anxiety. Mussalmeen resentment over the Treaty is much more widespread, and much deeper and stronger than the love of freedom and nationality which burst into violence twelve years ago and continued until it definitely found a hope for a more effective outlet. If no peaceful channel is found for the feelings of a brave and vigorous community, we must be pre-
pared for a long period of violence and repression.

LABOUR.

The Oil Companies Stride is settled.

The strike in the Madras Mills has now been on for a month and still continues. 4000 men are out of work, and so far Mr Joseph has bravely held them from despair and strike. The men were locked out because the women workers who were essential strike work, which again was due to their claiming a woman overseer in place of a man who, they allege, was unfair to them. That the Labour Commissioner, a Government official of the highest rank, especially appointed to protect labourers, settle disputes, and help labour organizations, should be unable to end this situation shows the need for adequate legislation at least to protect female factory labour. If the law will not protect female labour as factories, the only solution is to keep women away from factories, and to find them some alternative work. This would help to reduce the size of the labour force and save the Races from the daily struggle.

CONGRESS PARTY.

The Congress Committee of Madras has resolved to rapidly proceed to convene a special session of the Congress to consider the position of Madras and its constituent organizations into action to prevent the Congress and its constituent organizations from their decision to advance the business of the Madras Committee. The plan of action may be blocked by reason of the opposition to the proposal. The present decision of the Congress of a large number of Moderate leaders to adopt a moderate course of action may be a disadvantage to the Congress, but it may be an advantage to the Indian people to have the Congress in common action, and support of the majority. It would be a regrettable step to convert the Congress and its constituent organizations into action to prevent the Congress and its constituent organizations from their decision to advance the business of the Madras Committee.

HINDUSTANI.

Hindustani work is going on. But there is a lack of co-ordination of the work and there is a lack of system. There is a growing demand throughout the province for competent teachers, but the supply is not adequate. While it is the duty of the South to learn the language of All-India and ultimately to pay for it, it is not in human nature to be expected that at least in the beginning the South will be inclined to pay for the introduction of a language identical with the North. The question of funds for supporting the adequate number of teachers has therefore to be solved by the missionary spirit of the Hindustani-speaking North, for some time to come. The Hindi-Sanskrit Sammelan should consider the pecuniary condition of the services of South Indian Muslims who are unable to command a large salary, and then go before the Indian National Congress and ask for the establishment of the Indian National Congress. The Sammelan should consider the pecuniary condition of the services of South Indian Muslims who are unable to command a large salary, and then go before the Indian National Congress and ask for the establishment of the Indian National Congress. The Sammelan should consider the pecuniary condition of the services of South Indian Muslims who are unable to command a large salary, and then go before the Indian National Congress and ask for the establishment of the Indian National Congress.
DISTRESS IN ORISSA

The following is the second report submitted by Mr. Tusker to the peoples' Famine Relief Committee, Puri:

Baba Laxminarayan Sahu and myself went out early on the 13th instant in villages along the coast of both sides, up to Saptada, 25 miles from Puri, to see famine conditions that existed and returned last evening. Our report is as follows:

2 On the 13th, we stopped for an hour at Beach Navagam, 8 miles from here and examined there. There were no deaths reported due to starvation, but we saw five families that required immediate assistance. We gave small rations (to last for 16 days) to three families to be received from Secretary at Puri and we bought rice from the village for one child, who was too young to walk to Puri. We gave some wound ringapps, and with the aid of bread and sent them to Rao Babbar Singh's compound at Puri and he admitted them. We found a very large number of homes come to grief completely and the number of children to 5, P.S. School goes down from 40 to 16. We then visited Brahmagiri and a village of the same day. At Saptada there was the weekly fair (market) and we distributed Chakla and Malda to those persons wandering about the bazar. In Brahmagiri we found 9 families that required immediate relief, and we brought them rice and a small sum to each family. We also found that there have been two recent starvation deaths one on April 8, and the other on April 27, both in the same family, in addition to what was reported to have taken place 7 months ago. We also found that in the host of Chowkidar Matha Padman, the rate of mortality for the last 13 months was as high as 100 per 10,000, which is nearly three times the usual. The people represented that the rice gali here was built needed now and in the rainy season it would be a great boon. The Doh-Bhak of Puri has got the advance of Rs. 50 to meet emergent cases but he has not spent a cent out of it, though he could have used some money to great advantage.

3 On the 14th at about 8 a.m. we reached Saptada, 25 miles from Puri, having travelled during the night. We made our inquiries there in the afternoon, after seeing the ferry down the creek which takes people to Faridband Bajga's villages. We met about 50 people of the village who fully vindicated their government. We selected 10 families for immediate relief, to whom we gave one small bag of rice each (only that variety being obtainable in that village) and promised to send from Puri Rs. 1 each, as our small amount of cash was exhausted. We were told that a number of deaths had taken place, due to starvation and 14 names were given out of a population of 300 houses or 1800 souls, and some of these were verified from Chowkidar's books, whereas, of course, they were not entered as due to starvation.

4. Saptada and neighboring villages consist mainly of fishermen and have good fishing trade, but they all suffer from want of rice. Their rice supply is entirely from Puri, Dhupgarh, Belang, Tangdi. There was not a single country house to be had for love or money. Rangeen broke rice too, 600 year old and full of worms, being bad at the rate of 4 lakhs per rupee. They offered to have either a gali or that place, at the shikar keepers of the village must be given all facilities for getting rice from Saptada which is in their own market. The Collector may be specially requested to look into the matter, as the majority of the people have no money to buy rice with, but no rice is obtained in any respect.

5 The fact that we met with, in our short tour, 9, 10, and 16 families in Navagam, Brahmagiri and Saptada respectively, which were in need of immediate relief, and we selected only such families as had money quite consumed and showed homes and rice presumably or showed any signs of starvation goes to prove the necessity of Government gratuitous relief as a liberal scale in many villages as this one. Up to now no relief has been started by Government here and the Collector may be requested in start a few relief centers at convenient places or areas to relieve destitute and starving people in their own villages, as per clause of the Famine Relief Code, by paying some of each money.

6 There is no work of any kind going on in this part of the district. Works needed, and a couple of small works in Brahmagiri Thana will provide work for those who wish. A report of lands will be made to show ownership between the Khilfa and the rest. 1, 000 from Gompa in Puri to Saptada may very well reach Triangle and will see the people have fishing and cultivation of fish is done, the report of ownership will be made and such work is being done.

7 We returned last evening, traveling 50 miles in three days.

We also examined thoroughly in a fourth village, German, at 25 miles from Puri, and even there several starvation deaths were reported. We have got a list of 13 names. Immediate relief was given to 12 families there.

If proof were still needed, the foregoing from Mr. Tusker shows the necessity there was for him to go to the scene of distress and render timely help. The response to his call for subscriptions has been prompt and spontaneous as the list published by the Integrated Relief would show. A further installment of Rs. 6,000 has been forwarded to Puri this week bringing the total to Rs. 16,000. Through the Hon'ble Permanent Committee the sum of Rs. 12,000 has been granted without interest to the committee in order to enable it to open deep rice depots for, in times of distress over the whole country to suffer owing to the forcing up of prices by greedy dealers. No subscription however has been publicized or solicited as the one received from the Berhampore High School Prior Board, such kind of charity seems to be the special prerogative of Parsees. This Prior Board is a unique institution patronized by the Parsee Mangares. It is a box in which the teachers, other employees and the school boys contribute whatever and whenever they can. No single subscription however can be less than two annas. The boys are in no way pressed, but they are in every way encouraged to make contributions out of the pocket and other members may receive elaborate rules have been formed for the proper management of that trust and its distribution. It is an example worthy of imitation by every well-meaning school.
DISTRESS IN ORISSA.

Subscriptions continue to come in steadily. More however will be required. We hope to publish next week an abstract of the subscriptions received so far by the treasurer Mr. Thakker in his latest letter says that relief will have to be given until the end of December. At the present moment, 20,000 rupees will be required, and more will be necessary if the number of persons requiring help increases as it likely to. It is announced that a special office will be appointed by the Government to take charge of the relief work.

PROGRESS OF SWADESHI.

Two events of importance happened during the past week in connection with the Swadeshi movement. An important store was opened in Bombay by Mr. Gandhi on the 6th inst for the place where he had opened the Shirdi Swadeshi store. The letter has been taken over by the silk store. The experience of the past year showed that a forward step was necessary if the nature of Swadeshi was to be placed before the public. The stores of last year was intended to cater for those who had taken to some extent. It is extremely to the use of silk yarns, cotton, wool, or silk. Desirable though this was, it did not stimulate production in a direct manner and true Swadeshi is contemplated greater production and less to people's own house. This production at the present moment could only arise from Khaddar or Khadi, i.e., woollen spinning done made out of home-spun yarn. It could not happen until the use of Khaddar became popular and even fashionable. The opening of a store making such Khaddar available was therefore necessary, if the many uses of Khaddar had to be popularised. Messrs. Narahari and Vithaldas Jaising came to the rescue and undertook to open such a store. It is called the Khadi Khandar and will make only for those who want to make use of Khaddar. It will demonstrate the possible uses of Khaddar. Wonderfully good specimens of bleached and dyed Khaddar which could be utilised for making shirts, trousers, every kind of clothing, etc was exhibited. This Store therefore marks a definite step in advance and will not only supply the needs of those who have taken the first pledge but will make it possible to introduce the pure pledge contemplated last year by Mr. Gandhi viz the exclusive use of only home-spun and hand-woven yarn. The new store will contain Khaddar made of mull-spun yarn because it is not yet possible to get an unlimited supply of home-spun yarn and to get weavers who would care to take the extra trouble involved in weaving home-spun yarn. The majority of them have lost the custom they had of using home spun yarn and producing the delicate fabric of old. At the opening ceremony Mr. Gandhi was accompanied by Smt. Sarala Devi Chaudhary who was dressed in her Khaddar and draped a shawl Mr. Gandhi in his speech at the opening ceremony referred to the instance of the Duchess of Sutherland whose indiscreet industry had popularised the use of hand-spun and home-spun Scotch tweed, furnishing a vivid illustration of the possible and lucrative occupation of the hundreds of Scotch women. She was able to show that there was more profit in the rough looking Scotch tweed made by the poor Highlander than in the woven pieces turned out in huge factories. Mr. Gandhi said that he would not be satisfied until India recognised the true art in its home-spun. When it becomes fashionable like the Scotch tweed it would, like the latter, fetch a higher price than the well-made specimen thus making it possible to double the rate he was now paying for home-spun yarns.

The same day Mr. Gandhi travelled to Nadiad with Shrimad Bala Devi Chaudhary and Mr. Raja Gobind chandar of Ahmedabad to open a store. People had assembled from all the neighbouring villages. There were several hundred ladies who pro
The opening ceremony was performed on the 15th instant Mr. Chandi addressing the big audience said that he had great hopes of the Kaira district. He would not be satisfied until the store he was about to open was to become a revolving depot and a distributing centre for all the cloth manufactured in the villages of Kaira. There was no reason why the Managers of the Store should have to go to Bombay for their supply. The speaker knew that the women of Kaira were quite capable of spinning sufficient also for the whole of the Kaira population, and that too during their leisure hours. He hoped that the prospective news of the district would supply their womenfolk with spinning wheels and dress cotton for the purpose of spinning. We sent out yearly about 2 Rs. per head for cloth. If the seven lakh of the population of Kaira produced only Rs. 2 worth of cloth per head they would be putting into their pockets 14 lakhs of rupees per year and the money according to his plan would be distributed amongst the rich few but amongst the poor many. The Swedish movement therefore, among other things constituted an insurance fund. The speaker emphasized the idea that the Swedish movement would go on only if the new stores that were being opened everywhere keep the fundamental fact in view that they should not become competing agencies with other stores but that they should stimulate production and to that end send out volunteers to the homes of the people, distribute cotton and cloth on cash payment basis. That was how the East India Company Agents gained a footing in India. There was all the greater reason why to reestablish our Indian industries, we should apply the same organizing ability and industry and economic talent as the East India Company's Agents. He hoped that the new enterprise would worthily represent the movement which was fraught with such great possibilities for the country.

**Young India.**

_Ahmedabad, Wednesday 16 June 1920._

**POLITICAL FREEMASONRY**

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Freemasonry is a secret brotherhood which has rules and secret and iron rules than by the service of humanity obtained a hold upon some of the best minds. Similarly there seems to be some secret code of conduct governing the official class in India before which the flower of the great British nation fell prostrate and inconspicuously becomes instruments of injustice which as private individuals they would be ashamed of perpetrating. In no other way it is possible for one to understand the majority report of the Hunter Committee, the despatch of the Government of India and the reply thereof of the Secretary to the press. In spite of the energetic protest of a section of the Press to the perusal of the committee, it might happen that on the whole the public were prepared to treat it separately as it contained three Indian members who would fairly be deemed to be independents. The first shock to this confidence was delivered by the refusal of Lord Hunter’s committee to accept any of the recommendations of the Congress Committee that the imprisoned Punjab leaders might be allowed to appear before it to instruct counsel. Any doubt that might have been left in the mind of any person has been dispelled by the report of the majority of that committee. The result has justified the attitude of the Congress Committee. The evidence collected by it shows what Lord Hunter’s committee purposely denied itself.

The minority report stands out as an issue in a desert. The Indian members deserve the congratulations of their countrymen for having dared to do their duty in the face of heavy odds. I wish that they had refused to associate themselves even in a modified manner with the condemnation of the civil disobedience form of Satyagraha. The chief aspect of the Delhi mob on the 30th March can hardly be used for condemning a great spiritual movement which is admittedly and manifestly intended to restrain the violent tendencies of mobs and to replace criminal lawlessness by civil disobedience of authority, when it has forfeited all title to respect. On the 30th March civil disobedience had not even been started. Almost every great popular demonstration has been lathiattacked by the police, and attended by the whole world over by a certain amount of lawlessness. The demonstration of 30th March and 1st April would have been held under any other guise as under that of Satyagraha if I hold that without the advent of the spirit of charity and orderliness, the disobedience would have taken a much more violent form than it did even at Delhi. It was only the wonderfully quick acceptance by the people of the principle of Satyagraha that effectively checked the spread of violence throughout the length and breadth of India. And even to-day it is not the memory of the black barbarity of General Dyer that is keeping the undoubted restraint among the people from breaking forth into violence. The hold that Satyagraha has gained on the people—it may be even against their will—is surging the forces of disorder and violence. But I must not detain the reader on a defence of Satyagrah against unjust attacks. If it has gained a foothold in India, it will survive much fiercer attacks than the one made by the majority of the Hunter Committee and somewhat supported by the minority. Had the majority report been defective only in this direction and serious in every other there would have been nothing but praise for it. After all Satyagrah is a new experiment in political field and a heavy attributing of itself any popular disorder would have been pernicious.

The universally pronounced adverse judgment upon the report and the despatches rests upon far more painful revelations. Look at the most-
Lastly laboured defence of every official act of inhumanity except where condemnation could not be avoided through the impudent admissions made by the actors themselves, look at the special pleading introduced to defend General Dyce even against himself, look at the vain glorification of Sir Michael O'Dwyer although it was his spirit that actuated every act of criminality on the part of the subordinate; look at the deliberate refusal to examine his wild career before the advents of April. But also were open book of which the committee ought to have been judicial notice. Instead of accepting everything the officers had to say, the committee's obvious duty was to test itself to find out the real cause of the disorders. It ought to have gone out of its way to search out the inoffensive of the events. Instead of patently going behind the hard crust of official documents, the committee allowed itself to be guided with criminal licence by mere official evidence. The report and the despatches in its humble opinion constitute an attempt to obscure official blunders, the cautious and half-hearted condemnation pronounced upon General Dyce's massacre and the notorious closing order only deepen the disappointment of the reader as he goes through page after page of thinly disguised official whitewash. I need however, scarcely attempt any elaborate examination of the report or the despatches which have been so closely studied by the whole nation press whether of the moderate or the extremist line. The point to consider is how to break down this crust—be the secrecy ever so impenetrable—conspiracy to uphold official immunity. A scandal of this magnitude cannot be tolerated by the nation if it is to preserve its self-respect and become a free par- taker in the Empire. The All-India Congress Com- mittee has resolved upon convening a special session of the Congress for the purpose of considering among other things, the situation arising from the report. In my opinion this time has arrived when we must cease to rely upon mere petitions to Par- liament for effective action. Parliament will have value, when the nation hasCAPE the power to enforce its will. What power have we have we we? When we are firmly of opinion that grave wrong has been done and when after an appeal to the high authorities we fail to secure redress there must be some power available to us for redressing the wrong. It is true that in the vast majority of cases it is the duty of a subject to submit to wrongs on guardians of the usual procedure so long as they do not affect his vita brevis. But every nation and every individual has the right, and it is their duty to rise against an intolerable wrong. I do not believe in armed risings. They are a remedy worse than the disease sought to be cured. They are a Blake of the spirit of revenge and impassability and anger. The method of violence cannot do good in the long run. Witness the effect of the armed rising of the Allied powers against Germany. Have they not become even like the Germans, as the later have been depicted to us by them? We have a better method. Unlike that of violence it certainly involves the exercise of restraint and patience, but it requires an administration of will. The method is to refuse to be party to the wrong. No tyrant has ever yet succeeded in his purpose without carrying the victim with him, and it may be, as it often is, by force. Most people choose rather to yield to the will of the tyrant than to suffer for the consequences of resistance. Hence does terrorism form part of the stock-in-trade of the tyrant. But we have reason to believe, in India, where terrorism has failed to impose itself upon the British India, has the choice before her now if it is the art of the Punjab Government is an insoluble wrong or the report of Lord Hunter's committee and the two despatches be a greater wrong by reason of their grosser combination of these acts, it is clear that we must refuse to submit to this official violence. Appeal the Parliament by all means if necessary, but if the Parliament fails us and if we are worthy to call ourselves a nation we must refuse to uphold the Government by withdrawing co-operation from it.

THE MAHOMEDAN DECISION.

(R.M. K. Gandhi)

The Khilafat meeting at Allahabad has unanimously reaffirmed the principle of non-co-operation and appointed an executive committee to lay down and enforce a detailed programme. This meeting was preceded by a visit of the Mahomedan leaders to London. The meeting of the All-India Congress Committee has resolved upon convening a special session of the Congress for the purpose of considering among other things, the situation arising from the report. In my opinion this time has arrived when we must cease to rely upon mere petitions to Parliament for effective action. Parliament will have value, when the nation has seized the power to enforce its will. What power have we? When we are firmly of opinion that grave wrong has been done and when after an appeal to the high authorities we fail to secure redress there must be some power available to us for redressing the wrong. It is true that in the vast majority of cases it is the duty of a subject to submit to wrongs on guardians of the usual procedure so long as they do not affect his vita brevis. But every nation and every individual has the right, and it is their duty to rise against an intolerable wrong. I do not believe in armed risings. They are a remedy worse than the disease sought to be cured. They are a Blake of the spirit of revenge and impassability and anger. The method of violence cannot do good in the long run. Witness the effect of the armed rising of the Allied powers against Germany. Have they not become even like the Germans, as the later have been depicted to us by them?
The Madrassas remain true to their declared intention and are able to exercise self-restraint and make sure that the Hindus will "play the game" and point them in the campaign of non-cooperation. I feel equally certain that the Hindus will not assist Mahomedans in promoting or bringing about an armed conflict between the British Government and their allies, and Afghanistin British forces are too well organized to admit of any successful invasion of the Indian frontier. The only way, therefore, the Mahomedans can carry on an effective struggle should be to take up non-cooperation in real earnest. It will not only be completely effective if it is adopted by the people on an extensive scale, but it will also provide full scope for individual conscience. If I cannot hear an injustice done by an individual as a corporation, and if I am directly or indirectly instrumental in upholding that individual as a corporation, I must answer for it before my Maker; but I have done all it is humanly possible for me to do consistently with the moral code that refuses even the wrong-doer, if I cease to support the injustice in the manner described above. In expiating therefore such a grave wrong there should be no haste, there should be no temerity shown. Non-cooperation must be and remain absolutely a voluntary effort; the whole thing then, depends upon Mahomedans themselves. They will have to help themselves, Hindu help will come and the Government, great and mighty though it is, will have to be beyond that irresistible force. No Government can possibly withstand the bloodless opposition of a whole nation.

INDIANS ABROAD

(By C F Andrews)

There is one thing that comes out more and more clearly as experience goes concerning the treatment of Indians abroad. It is that, that can it be in village-aroused women are too frequently helpless to be sent into foreign countries, thousands of natives across the sea, to become the labourers on great estates owned by great companies, and run by partly capitalist lines. I have been to know how Natal and twice to Fij in both countries, thousands of indentured Indian labourers, men and women have been transported and transplanted by immigration. They were recruited by professional recruiters who were paid so much per head for each soldier whom they induced to go out, and the prize for a woman was higher than the prize for men, because a woman was more difficult to obtain. A vast number of these men and women were induced to go out by these professional recruiters by sheer deception. They were not informed anything about the conditions of the life to which they were going, and in very many instances, they were told deceit with about it. Even the Government itself participated in this fraud, because, as for Fiji, for example, Indian labourers were informed that they would get one shilling a twelve annas, a day, but they were not told that they would only get wages for 67 days in the week, nor were they told that the cost of living would be three times greater in Fiji than it is in India itself. Thus, a very respectable village, who had been receiving 6 annas a day in India, and went out deliberately, on the word of the Indian Government, thinking to better his condition, told me himself that his condition was worse instead of better in Fiji, because the 6 shilling in Fiji did not go as far as 6 annas in India.

The economic ignorance and helplessness which there can be tried to India itself with the recruiting and indentures, follows the steps of those I class village all the time they are abroad. In a foreign country, who's customs and habits of life are all different and there are no village laws and sanctions about marriage and other moral sanctions, the life of our Indian villages' people goes to wreck and ruin. The moral decay, which in the Indian villages was of a high order, especially in the purity of the domestic life, breaks down completely, and I have seen some of the most pious people in my life, that most pious of the Indian women, who have gone abroad, and I was heard from their own lips the story of their degradation, told with tears of shame.

It is true that, out of the thousands who thus go out a few manage through cleverness of character to struggle out of the mire. These make a new start and become prosperous—but how few there are who do this? And how many sacrifice the most precious thing in life,—their Dharma, their moral character—while they strive to get money? The majority sink instead of rising: their life becomes worse, not better.

Many years ago, I was an ardent advocate of Indian Emigration. It seemed to me, that it would relieve the congestion of Indian population, and also would bring with it the renovation of the social order, and shake off from Indian life some of the hopeless old customs I felt that the spirit of rebellion was based on, and some knowledge of a greater and wider world. All these, I hoped, might come from Emigration.

By first shock, what I saw in Natal, in 1913-1914, when I was there with Mahatma Gandhi. I can never in my whole life forget one morning at Phoenix, how I was told that a poor Tamil labourer had hanged himself from the plantation, near by, had come to the Ashram for refuge. I went out to see him and help him if I could do so in any way. At the sight of me—an Englishman—he shrieked back just like a humed animal, and was prepared to run away mumbling. The lock of fear on his eyes still remains, in my mind as I picture the scene nine to-day nearly seven years later.

Then Mahatma Gandhi came up and all was changed. The fear went away from his eyes, and he came near and made his obedience. Mahatma Gandhi went up to him and saw the wounds of the lash upon his back. He showed them to me. They were quite recent.
Maha Sena asked Mr. W. W. Pearson to go and watch the case in the Magistrate’s court. This was a charge brought against the Tamil labourer of deserting his work, and the counter-charge against the manager of using violence. The case in the court—so Mr. Pearson told me afterwards—was very treacherous of justice. The complaint against the manager was dismissed, and the Tamil labourer was sent back to work under the same master who had kicked him before. He was legally bound to that master for five years and could not escape.

These things opened my eyes. Further news Mahatma Gandhi explained to me the conditions under which the labourers lived—the forced immorality due to their position—the temptations to drunkenness and gambling openly placed before him, at their very door, and not seldom encouraged when the 5 years of indenture drew to its close, in order to make the labourers pass on and so get them to sign again, for another indenture, for another period of years.

But even then, I said to myself—"it is impossible to improve the system to make the regulation much stricter, to prevent fraudulent and forcible recruiting, to increase the population of women and men on the Estates, to get Indians to emigrate in future, instead of as individuals."

Although I was in that mood and state of mind, when I went out for the first time to Fyzabad.

(To be continued)

"SEED OF RACE"

To the Editor "Young India"

Dear Sir,

I have just received a criticism on my book "Seed of Race" contained in your issue of the 11th February. Your reviewer approves of my standpoint, but, dealing with my statement that Indian culture should also be given a place together with English culture, says that the tone of this and other remarks sounds apologetic, which seems unfortunate and badly counteracts the note which I submitted to the Calcutta University Commission. It is certainly unfortunate that I used language which has apparently ill expressed what I wanted to say. To correct this misunderstanding I now write to the last person to apologise for Indian culture, the fostering of which I have constantly urged, not as a matter of concession or expediency, but of right—the right of every individual soul to fully and freely express itself in accordance with Swadharma. I have done so also because I believe in its beneficent influence on the world at large.

As your reviewer admirably says, Indian culture is no cripple, and when it borrows from elsewhere it must do so in its fullness and strength and not out of a sense of its own impotence or deficiency, by which I understand meagreness. Indian culture should, he says, at once the base, superstructure, and crown of the educational edifice. With the general proposition I agree. But what do we mean by fostering Indian culture? Some merely understand thereby the teaching of what has been thought and done in the past, and then its mere reproduction to-day. I do not understand by this phrase primarily the liberation of the general Indian consciousness from all alien incruscation, and then its enrichment, so that it may become in its turn a living centre of cultural forces to-day. These may or may not be the same as the forms of the past, but whatever they be, they are vitally produced as fresh creations and not merely taken over into the present because they have lingered over, often with strange forms, from the past. These past cultural forms are the useful and indeed indispensable subject of our study—indeed, because they exist and strengthen the Sanghakara which has produced the Arya Dharmar. We steep ourselves in tradition, not merely to automatically reproduce it, but to make ourselves worthy of our forbears, capable of being as vitally creative as they were. But since they laid the foundations much has happened. Other cultures have elsewhere grown up and become known to India. Are we not to study these and appropriate from them what is useful to us? Or are we to build, a cultural hothouse, forcing plants which will not live in the rude movements of the sun of Heaven?Certainly not. We enrich the Sanghakara by every widening of our knowledge therefore English and other cultures should also be studied. As my remarks were addressed to those interested in the furtherance of English studies, I put in the form that Indian culture must also have its place. Those who have not fallen into the path of error have scarcely need of counsel.

It is in this way that the so-called "universal" as opposed to "regional" culture will come about. As each race and men acts according to his own Dharama, that is according to natural law, he and they perfect their form, for Dharma is the Law of Form. In perfecting our forms we approach to others who have perfected theirs. The highly intellectual, moral, and spiritual are everywhere also, and that is as a Russian friend of mine calls it "the International of Culture." It is not to be obtained by neglect of our own Dharama and by taking a bit here and a bit there to make up some combination which is neither "fish, flesh, nor even good red herring." But in practice the following case occurs—the case of those whose intellect, Faculty, general development, and opportunity, without permit of this both extensive and exclusive culture. Take for instance the ordinary Indian peasant—what of him? If it be the fact that education hath in his own and other cultures on not given him, naturally, his own cultural culture must be given the first place. Great care must be taken in dealing with the question of primary education in India, for here the mischief may occur. If we sever the people from their past traditions it is difficult to recall them. Whereas
if they are preserved they can be added to or improved later on. All this is happening increasingly nowadays when the people are getting away from the late Henry James called "a superstitious valuation of Europe." If there are other parts of the world a rehabilitation, as Herbert Spencer feared, it may be that in such ease the True, the Good, and the Beautiful will be upheld by a cultured and aristocratic India which with its roots deep in the past bears exemplary flower in the present. Certainly it is necessary, as your reviewer does, to feel all this passionately. Those who think it necessary to apologize for their Race and its traditions have ceased to belong to the former and to be worthy to carry on the latter. The late George Tyrrell in one of his recently published letters says "I begin to think the only real sin is enmity or not being oneself." But if, we certainly should not apologize for being what we ought to be.

Bath, May 8th, 1939

Yours truly,

(End) John Woolfson

[We are glad Sir John has explained himself as regards his view of the place of Indian culture in the education of Indian youth. We hope he has not misunderstood us. We are not for reproducing old forms without considering whether they are good or bad. Nor do we want a cultural boycott, what we maintain is, how much more important knowledge of English culture may be to the Indians of today it need not form the same gossamer of all Indian education. What we would wish is that the Indian Educational System is fully developed and organised a study of English and other foreign cultures should form part of a postgraduate course. We admit that a knowledge of different cultures will enable us to perfect our own by assimilating the best of the other. Perhaps in the God's world differences will persist, but they must not represent divisions they must be like facets of one beautiful gem. Has not the Lord Said "Nasuyanto Vasthramye Me [1-21 L X]"

OUR MADRAS LETTER

Labour

The situation has not improved since last week. The Madras Mills hand are still holding out. The employers have taken new and raw hands and are trying to keep some of the machines going. A number of important printing presses in Madras are closed on account of labour trouble. One of them is the High Court Press and similar cases are delayed for this reason. All the presses involved are Jackson-owned. Meanwhile the Prinsep Union with members working under more than 200 different employers had its first anniversary on Sunday last with a worker in the chair. There is also a strike in the workshop of a big European firm, which has lasted so far for 15 days. On the top of all this on Tuesday the Indian workers in the Electric Corporation which supplies power for the trains and the lighting of the city, have gone on strike. Reduced power continues to be supplied, however, but it is feared this may not be possible much longer. The oil and petrol men who had resigned after their last strike have gone out again not satisfied with the performance of the promises held out. There is a Labour Commissioner who is an experienced civil servant of whom much was expected. But he is invested with very little power and is really unable to settle disputes where the employers hold out. That he could not compel the Madras Mill owners to employ a lady-oversetter for the hundreds of women-workers who strike only for this single reason is positive proof of his helplessness.

THE CHURCH

South India has not yet realised the meaning of the hand-spinning movement. We have still to see that as long as the weavers have to depend on foreign yarn, be it British or Japanese, there is no emancipation. The taste for thin counts has not yet been overcome. This is due to an insufficient realisation of the national importance of wearing thick cloths in order that foreign yarn may be replaced. People still ask whether hand-spinning will bring adequate wages to the spinner. As long as present conditions continue, hand-spun yarn cannot serve as a wage-earning occupation. Does knitting, painting or sewing bring any wages to the ladies who spend their leisure time in these occupations? The spinning wheel must be installed in every middle class house where an hour or more can be saved by the ladies from domestic work if men can without personal profit spend their leisure time in recreations or in political work, why should not the women be employed in spinning for the nation? If only all who can spare a little leisure time thus turn the spinning wheel the question of yarn would be solved. If we add to this number the poorer class of women who may prefer smaller earnings in their own homes to bigger wages amidst temptations and insults, we can entirely dispense with foreign yarn.

KHALIFAT

New India continues strongly to oppose non-cooperation. The appearance of friends is but a proof of their sincere affection. No one can complain that such opposition is an impediment to a movement. We should be grateful to those who point out any error in our judgment or any lurking weakness that has escaped our attention. There is another kind of opposition which may be depreciated, but still need not cause any anger on our part. If the sincerity or the strength of those who have pledged themselves to non-cooperation is doubted or denied, though this is by no means fair to the men against whom such aspersions are cast, it is but a small facet of the truth which those pledged to undertake warfare and suffering must be prepared to pass through. Such distrust and ridicule should serve automatically to prepare and strengthen us. The best answer to a charge of insincerity or weakness is to show by action that the charge is baseless and further to strengthen oneself by prayer.
Some of those who are opposed to the programme of non-co-operation have, however, adopted a third course which is fraught with mischief. Though they oppose the programme, they are prepared to interpret it for its followers, and they do not want those who are not prepared to do so. For instance, they lay down that no one accepting Mr. Gandhi’s plan should stand for the new council elections, that if they are already in the councils they should resign or keep aloof from them. Some assume that unless a lawyer accepts non-co-operation, he may not be permitted to practice, while they ask others to give up public services. Others again lay down that lawyers are holders of honorary offices and therefore should give up practice at once. Those who accept non-co-operation programmes must, however, be permitted to follow the Central Khilafat Committee’s instructions in preference to the interpretations of those who oppose that programme. If Mr. Gandhi deprecates individual and premature action and wants us to wait till any particular point of time, we should do so in spite of being urged on by others. If the instructions are that non-co-operation does not prevent candidates from standing for council seats, but that they should be prepared to resign them when the time for such action arrives, it is our duty not to be disturbed by the opinions of others.

Before Mr. Gandhi’s message deplored individual and premature action, the resignation by Mr. Yakanb Hama of all his honorary offices was quickly followed by several resignations in the provinces of Municipal Councillors and Honorary Magistrates. The Madara Hamad district conference gave a respectful hearing to Mr. Benac and adopted a resolution of non-co-operation by an overwhelming majority. The Ilo Mr. B. V. Narauma Iyer spoke beautifully at the conference when dealing with this question. The Andhra provincial conference has similarly adopted non-co-operation after hearing able expositions against it. The Malabar conference also adopted it and the Moppilas are organizing.

WHAT SHOULD THE VOTERS DO?

Mr. Gandhi has devoted his second article on the forthcoming elections to the choice of the voters in the columns of Navajeevan. We give below the substance.

Many who had hitherto no concern with council elections will be sharply called upon to vote for the reformed council. The powers that be of electoral members will be found to have increased. This adds to the voters’ responsibility. In all our cities the civilians have been exercising the municipal franchise. And of these elections it cannot be said that the electorate has always acquitted themselves in a wise manner. Elected private relations with the candidates have often weighed more with them than the candidates’ qualifications. It would be well if we set up a better standard for the elections, and legislative councils. Only thus shall we be able to make the best use of the councils. I suggest also that voters should not identify themselves with any party or its quarrels. They should consider candidates’ views and not their party. Their character should weigh more even than their views. A man of character will make himself worthy of any position he is given. Even his mistakes will not much matter. I consider it impossible for a man without character to do higher national service so that if I were a voter among the list I should first select men of character and then I would understand their views. My questions to them would be:

1. Do you approve of the present Swadeshi movement? If so, are you prepared to levy heavy import duties on foreign cloth? Will you favor legislation for disappointing the materials and machinery required to produce Swadeshi articles?

2. Do you hold that all the affairs of a province should be conducted in its own vernacular and that the affairs of the Nation should be conducted in Hindustani—a combination of Hindi and Urdu? If you do, will you endeavor reactively to introduce the use of the vernacular in administration of the respective provinces and the national language in the Imperial administration?

3. Do you hold that present division of the provinces of India was made for administrative and political purposes and that no regard was paid to the people’s wishes? And do you hold that this division has done much harm to the national growth? If you think so will you try to bring out a redistribution on a linguistic basis as early as possible?

4. Do you hold that there is not the remotest likelihood of Indians’ regeneration without Hindu-Muslim unity? And if you think so are you, if a Hindu, willing to help this Muslims in all legitimate ways in their trouble?

A satisfactory answer to these alone will enable the candidate to my vote if I had one. I suggest these questions because I regard them as of great importance. If the voters do not see any serious cause in these questions, they may put others which they consider to be of greater importance for the upliftment of the Nation. It is not the particular questions that matter but the knowing of candidates’ views on national questions. My attempt is to point out that we need an electorate which is impartial, intelligent, and intelligent, it should not interest themselves in national affairs and remain unconcerned with what goes on in their midst and if they elect men with whom they have private relations, or whose aid they need for themselves the state of things can do no good to the country, on the contrary, it will be harmful.

Now it remains to be considered what the voters should do if they do not receive satisfactory answer to their questions or if they cannot find men of character. It is an established custom with regard to elections that electors, if they do not find any candidate to their liking, they need not register their vote. In such a case abstention amounts
to an exercise of once votes. Exception was taken to this procedure, that if good electors refuse to make their choice bad electors would make the worst choice. This is to a certain extent true. But suppose in a certain place all candidates being drawn from the electorate abstain from voting and the candidates manage to secure votes from their kind, can they exercise any influence in the council? No doubt their vote has its numerical value, but their views and speeches cannot influence the council. Moreover an intelligent election has its own effect. The electors having once failed to find a proper candidate will next time take steps to find out a sensible man and elect him, and by so doing they will raise the level of their own place. In a growing nation people are able to understand the national interests and they are expected to purify the political atmosphere they live in and maintain its purity. All enlightened and thoughtful voters will find that occasionally situations must arise when they will have to purposely refuse to register their votes I earnestly hope that on such occasions our electors will have courage to do so. I hope that when they do exercise the vote they will give it to the best man no matter to which party he belongs.

**INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.**

After exposing the black motives underlying the recommendations of the Convention of Associations and the Economic Commission, the memorandum proceeds—

Hearing the reduced to its true meaning and proportions the European opponents, the Indian Community desires to place the following views as record, in the knowledge that they have the support of the Indian people and the sympathy of the Government of India.

**WHAT INDIANS WANT.**

It is no longer possible for the people of India and the Indian settlers in British East Africa to tolerate or recognize anything in the nature of racial discrimination, whether as a matter of "administrative convenience" or by statutory enactment. If the European settlers could not content themselves with equality of treatment with their Indian fellow-subjects, they could not have come or stayed in a country already widely populated by Indians, and in which Indians had preceded them by many generations, and had His Majesty's Government demurred to the Indian population, the circumstances to-day complained of would never have been imposed. The Imperial Government have never justified and cannot possibly justify to the people of India the anti-Indian policy that has been tacitly and visibly adopted for the past thirteen years. The Indian communities in the neighbourhod territories of Zanzibar, Uganda, and Tanganyika have worked with vigilance and considered the growth of anti-Indian feeling in the Protectorates, whose object is clearly challenged. The policy of racial discrimination and suggestions that discrimination of land in townships has already been put into operation in Uganda, where it has been proved to be false. Yet the Zanzibar Commission, which has just reported says of the Indian settlers: "The country owes much to the Indian trader, and we consider a broad policy of information should be adopted towards him. He has shown energy and enterprise, and has assumed in the opening up of the more remote districts. He is also of value as an Agriculturist, and his activities in this direction must be well encouraged."

INDIA is swift from the outset that the evil fate that has befallen her children in South Africa is evident from the anxiety with which the news to the Union of Sir Benjamin Roberts, on behalf of the Government of India, is being watched. It would be disastrous, and it would be regarded as a breach of faith on the part of the British Government, if the history of the South African Indians were repeated in the East Africa Protectorate and the adjacent territories. INDIA is proud of the results of the efforts of her colonists settled for centuries in East Africa, and she cannot possibly feel with equanimity upon a movement calculated to sacrifice finally a most important portion of her foreign trade. It is felt by all classes of the Indian people that, when the temperate parts of the Empire, controlled by self-governing European colonies, are, for all practical purposes, closed to Indian immigration, it would be unacceptable and unpardonable if, as in the case of the East African Protectorate, the same policy of exclusion were adopted. Therefore, Indians deem it essential, in the interest of all the elements of the mixed population of the country, that an absolutely open door, as regards immigration, should be maintained. Immigrants of both European and Indian origin should be equally welcome and given equal opportunities for the development of individual enterprises, and all special privileges should be given to any section of the population.

The political, as well as the municipal franchise, which are at present claimed in Europe, should be equally admissible upon Indians. It is absurd to hold that Indians, who are large numbers, in this own country, in British Guiana, Trinidord, Guyana, and even in the Cape Colony, have been disfranchised, should, when settled in East Africa, where the average is higher, be incapable of exercising the franchise. It is not even suggested that the European community have opposed an extension of the franchise to Indians because they wish, as a colony that has its very existence to Indian interests, commerce, and enterprise, to enjoy a monopoly of political power in the restricted territories of the native inhabitants.

The people of India naturally look to His Majesty's Government to remove all racial checks, laws, and other enactments such, for example, as the exclusion of Indians from the Executive Council, the practical disfranchisement of Indians in Nander, the preferential status of land to Europeans, the encouragement of settlement by European colonists, the sale of the Crown lands by auction at which Indians are forbidden to bid, to the detriment of the interests of the Colony, the power granted to the Governor under the Crown Lands Ordinance (1910), enabling him to rule (as he has invariably done in practice) the transfer of European owned land to Indians, purchased by an Executive sanctioned by a hostile white minority.

(To be continued.)
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Distress in Orissa—Mr. Thakkar has sent in further report of his travels from which we observe that the area of distress is really greater than at first thought. In our last issue the number of those in receipt of relief was given at 500. This is a printer's devil. The number is 5000. Mr. Thakkar now fears that the number will increase. The fact is, there is nobody in Orissa who can give information about the whole district. Communications are neither easy nor rapid. The people are so accustomed by constant famines that they do not know what it is to complain. They take starvation as their normal condition. Till, therefore, a man like Mr. Thakkar goes to such places, and reports, India always naively believing that all is well. We hope that Mr. Thakkar will not only investigate the full areas of distress but will also make his observations so as to discover the permanent causes of the chronic distress and suggest remedies therefor. A cutting from a newspaper sent by him shows that the unfortunate inhabitants of Orissa suffer annually from ravages of flood. The writer suggests that these floods are avoidable because they are due to faulty or weak embankment. He suggests a thorough examination of the matter by expert engineers. This is manifestly a matter for the Government to look into.

A Practical view—A Madras correspondent writes to us—

'The stage in the non-co-operation programme that must cause the greatest anxiety, in the near future, is the replenishment of relieved Orissa. First as regards "normal" services it may safely be presumed that the men employed in these services must quickly take up non-government labour and get the same if not better wages. As regards what is called "supreme" service, a few figures as to the number of posts held by Mussalmans in Government services in the Madras Presidency may be helpful in preventing an exaggerated anxiety in this respect. On 1st April 1919, there were only 63 Mussalmans in these positions; viz ten on salaries above Rs. 200 per month, only 10 on salaries range between Rs. 80 and Rs. 90 per month, only 2 above Rs. 80 per month, 810 between Rs. 60 and Rs. 70 per month, while there were 7000 non-Mussalman drawing salaries from Rs. 20 to Rs. 70 per month. Of this number of Mussalmans in service as many as 642 were in the Police department. While these drawing higher pay may stress for influence, the 7000 Mussalmans drawing salaries below Rs. 40 a month form the substantial part of the problem. It is estimated roughly that the total of salary
drawn by these men to one year amounts to less than 14 lakhs. This may be taken to be the root of a non-violent Musulman strike in Madras for one year, assuming all the men to remain idle.

Our correspondent has demonstrated the absurdity of the anxiety by citing the foregoing figures and facts. As a matter of fact non-co-operation will never be worked in the manner thought by anxiety-mongers. No one will give up his post without seeing the means of maintaining himself, and any figures calculated to Malhunians only must fail to give an adequate idea of what non-co-operation is likely to lead to. We have not the slightest doubt that Hindus will whole-heartedly cooperate with their Muslim brethren. In that respect therefore, the anxiety must be greater in all those who lose their posts must remain idle. At the same time, the anxiety will be lessened, exactly in the proportion that the Hindus go on, because the ability to organise will at least be then doubled and the movement towards a settlement will be accelerated in geometrical progression.

Indians in Burma—Referring to our disapproval of the Indi-Burmese’ demand for separate representation in the Burman legislative council, Mr. Desakchadri, a High Court Judge of Madras, writes to us from Calcutta in defence of the demand. The article has appeared in Y & B Reformers issue of May 30; we regret we could not reproduce it in these columns for want of space.

Mr. Desakchadri has added little to our information, and what little he adds, only confirms our view that the demand is not justified. He tells us that the Indians have got a stake in the country and that the interests of the trading and banking Indian communities ought to be properly safeguarded. He complains that there is a tendency to discriminate in Burman advanced circles to work out the principle of Burma for Burmans. We cannot find anything wrong in this principle, and we repeat that Indians are in Burma only as guests. We quite agree with Mr. Desakchadri when he observes that the creation of a feeling of fellowship and brotherhood between the two races—Indians and Burmans—is the means to remove the existing ill-feeling and its undesirable results. But Mr. Desakchadri thinks that this object cannot be attained unless the Indo-Burmese command a political status in the province commensurate with their strength and importance, and that unless the Indian settlers are assured of a place in the legislative council they are not likely to be treated with consideration by the Burman leaders in the popular regions that will be gradually introduced in the province.

We are of opinion that separate representation for Indians can never be the means of creating a friendly feeling between the Burmans and the Indians. If the Burman leaders believe that there is a conflict of interest between the two communities, it is incumbent on the Indians to go on serving the province and patiently to wait for results. Separate representation which we at times resorted to as a temporary solution, bars, or at least delays the permanent reconciliation. We earnestly urge the Indian settlers to reconsider the whole situation and take a wiser and surer path by withdrawing their unsuitable claim.

Bengalis in Behar—The demand for separate representation by the Behar-Bengalis stands on a different footing from the corresponding demand of the Indians in Burma. The latter are willing and voluntary immigrants whereas the great bulk of the Bengales in Behar are there by reason of the carving out of the province of Behar and Orijia on what is called “administrative convenience.” We have said that the difficulty arising out of conflicting, competitive or divergent interests the two communities in Behar, and in fact in all our provinces which are committed on a false notion of “administrative convenience,” would be greatly minimised if the administrative divisions were readjusted on their natural basis linguistic redistribution. But our Government is not expected to undertake this unless those elected by the present arrangement, in this particular case, the Behar-Bengalis themselves, make incessant demand for such a distribution.

We, however, notice that the Behar Herald, an organ of the Behar-Bengalis, while admitting the simplicity and directness of the forced solution, brings out, in their case, it is more expedient to its tenure than that of communal representation. “It will be confessing our hopeless incompetence in managing our affairs and settling our disputes. We fail,” the Herald goes on to say, “that if we could not tackle successfully such a small matter as this, we could not with any hope approach the world with a declaration of our fitness for self-government.”

We submit that after careful consideration of the whole question we see nothing in the forced solution to warrant such suppositions. Does our competence, our fitness for self-government mean a perpetual indulgence and subordination of the vital interests—compatible with the fullest and freest scope for the advancement of any one community to those of another, merely because the two have been huddled up by an external agency, for its own convenience? Is our neighbourly regard for one another to outweigh all other considerations both from individual and national point of view? It should be consistent with the other considerations. Where it is not, it is not our incompetence or clumsiness but some other source of evil which but needs to be removed. Such a source of evil, in our humble opinion, is the present administrative division of our province.

We, therefore, suggest linguistic redistribution not as an expedient, nor as a mere nominal patch on the wounds caused by some malady but...
as the very antidote of the malady itself. We propose to remove the sources of the evil, the germ of the disease, and do not seek relief in outward remedies that will simply feed the germ and ultimately aggravate the malady.

* * * * * 

The Behar Herald has, however, very feelingly pointed out the actual state of affairs in the province. It complains that the Bengali-speaking population of the province are treated as underlings not only by the Government but also by responsible leaders of public opinion. The same view of the situation is emphasised also in a private letter that we have received from a respectable gentleman of Behar. We are assured by the writer that the Behar-Bengales were driven to resorting to special reservation of seats, only when they found almost all the Behar leaders either adverse to or indifferent about the union of the Behars and the Bengales by removing the feeling of unfriendliness which prevails even among the responsible leaders of Behar.

* * * * *

If all this be true, it is regrettable. But we cannot despair of seeing a sympathetic and co-operative spirit in the leaders whose names the Indian Social Reformer had suggested in this respect. We appeal to the Behar leaders not to continue any longer as unconcerned spectators of communal representation poisoning the political atmosphere of their province. If the Behar leaders do not rise to the occasion of realising the position of Bengales, the Bengal gani nothing by resorting to reservation of seats. A few Bengal members in the Council will not be able to exert themselves against the Behar members, who will be in a large majority and who will bear towards the Bengalics feelings quite the reverse of friendliness.

Young India.

Ahmadabad, Wednesday, 14th June, 1920

THE LAW OF SUFFERING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

No country has ever risen without being purified through the fire of suffering. Mother earth has bled her blood to make all men brother. What comes out of death will only rise out of her agony without fulfilling the eternal law of purification through suffering.

If my enemies are right, evidently India will realise her destiny without travel. For their chief argument is that the events of April 1919 should not be repeated. They fear non-co-operation because it would involve the suffering of many if Hampstead had argued thus he would not have withheld payment of ship-money, nor would Wat Tyler have raised the standard of revolt. English and French historians are replete with instances of men continuing their pursuit of the right irrespective of the amount of suffering involved. The authors did not stop to think whether ignorant people would not have involuntarily to suffer. Why should we expect to write our history differently? Is it possible for us, if we were, to learn from the mistakes of our predecessors to do better, but it is impossible to do away with the law of suffering which is the one indispensable condition of our being. The way to do better is to avoid, if we can, violence from our side and thus quicken the rate of progress and to introduce greater purity in the methods of suffering. We can, if we will, refrain, and we must; then, the walls begin to crumble, we can begin to grow as men, and our neighbours to follow our methods as was done last year by some of us in bringing about Hariyal. Progress is to be measured by the amount of suffering undergone by the sufferer. The purer the suffering, the greater is its progress. Hence did the essence of Jesus suffice to free a suffering world.

In the onward march he did not count the cost of suffering entailed upon his neighbours whether it was undergone by them voluntarily or otherwise. Thus did the sufferings of a Harshachandra suffice to re-establish the kingdom of truth. He must have known that his subjects would suffer involuntarily by his abdication. He did not mind because he could not do otherwise than follow truth.

I have already stated that I do not deplore the measure of Jallianwala Bagh so much as I deplore the murders of Englishmen and destruction of property by ourselves. The truthfulness of Amritsar drew away public attention from the greater though slower truthfulness at Lahore where attempts were made to conciliate the multitudes by slow processes. But before we are higher we shall have to undergo such process many more times till we teach us to take up suffering voluntarily and to find joy in it. I am convinced that the Indians have never deserved the small insults that they were subjected to, they never hurt a single Englishman, they never destroyed any property. But a wilful ruler was determined to crush the spirit of a people just trying to throw off his shaming yoke. And if I am told that all this was due to my preaching Satyagraha, my answer is that I would preach Satyagraha all the more forcibly for that long as I have breath left in me and tell all the people that next time they would answer O'Dwyer's insolence not by opening shops by reason of threats of forcible sales but by allowing the tyrant to do his worst and let him call all their unanswerable souls. Sages of old mortified the flesh so that the spirit within might be set free, so that their trained bodies might be proof against any injury that might be inflicted on them by tyrants seeking to impose their will on them. And if India wishes to revise her ancient wisdom and to avoid the errors of Europe, if India wishes to see the Kingdom of God established on earth instead of that of Salazar...
which has enveloped Europe, then I would urge her sons and daughters not to be deceived by fine
phrases, the terrible solitude that hedges us in, the
fears of suffering that India may have to undergo,
but to see what is happening to-day in
Europe and from it understand that we must go
through the suffering even as Europe has gone
through, but not the process of making others suf-
fere. Germany wanted to dominate Europe and the
Allies wanted to do likewise by subduing Germany.
Europe is no better for Germany's fall. The Allies
have proved themselves to be just as distrustful,
irresolute, greedy and selfish as Germany was or
would have been. Germany would have avoided the
sack-momorai hanging that came with the associated
with the many dealings of the Allies.

The misconception that I deplored last year was
not in connection with the sufferings imposed upon
the people, but about the mistakes made by them
and violence done by them owing to their be
having so insufficiently under-stood the manner of Satyr-
grah. What then is the meaning of non-co-oper-
ation in terms of the Law of Suffering? We must
voluntarily put up with the losses and inconven-
ience that arise from having to withdraw our support
from a Government that is ruling against our will.
Possession of power and riches is a crime under an
any government, poverty in that case is a virtue,
says Thoreau. It may be that in the transition stage
we may make mistakes; there may be avoidable
suffering. These things are preferable to national
enslavement.

We must refuse to wait for the wrong to be
righted till the wrong-doer has been reared to
a sense of his impiety. We must not for fear of
committing mistakes or others having to suffer, com-
tinue the participators in it. But we must combat the wrong
by ceasing to assist the wrong-doer directly or indirectly.

If a father does an injustice it is the duty of his
children to leave the parental roof. If the head
master of a school conducts his institution in an
immoral basis, the pupils must leave the school.
If the chairman of a corporation is corrupt the
members thereof must wash their hands clean of his
corruption by withdrawing from it, even as a
government does a grave injustice to the subject must
withdraw co-operation wholly or partially, sufficient-
ly to wean the ruler from his wickedness. In each
case conceived by me there is an element of suf-
fere whether mental or physical. Without such
suffering it is not possible to attain freedom.

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HINDI IN MADRAS.
(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have the greatest faith in the Dravidians some
today taking up Hindi study seriously. If an eighth
of the industry that they put in in mastering English
were to be devoted to learning Hindi, instead of the
rest of India remaining a sealed book to them,
they will be one with us as never before. I know
that some would say the argument sets both ways.
The Dravidians being in a minority, national
policy suggests that they should learn the com-
mon language of the rest of India than that the
rest should learn Tamil, Telugu, Canarese and Mai-
yalam in order to be able to converse with Dravi-
dian India. It is for that reason that Hind Propa-
ganda work of an immense type has come on
at the Madras Presidency for the past eight
months under the aegis of the Hindi Sahitya Sam-
gham of Allahabad. In response to an appeal by
one to the Agraval Marivid Samanai held in
Bhubaneswar last week, the wealthy Marwaris of
Bhubaneswar and Calcutta present there subscribed
for the spot Rs. 50,000 for five years' Hindi-propaga-
dy in Madras Presidency. They have since more
demonstrated that Hindi work is a specialty of this
densely merchant class of India. This generous
response increases the responsibility of the Samanai
of Allahabad and of those Dravidians who share
with us the belief that Madras must take up
Hindi for the sake of full national expansion. Let
no Dravidian think that learning Hindi is at all
difficult. A little time taken from the recreation hour
daily and in a systematic manner will enable an
average man to learn Hindi in one year. I would
venture to suggest that large Municipalities
ought now introduce Hindi as an optional language
in the municipal schools. I can say from experiences
that Dravidian children take
Hindi in a remarkably easy manner. Little
does any one know that almost all the
Tamils and the Telugus living in South Africa
and in the Eastern Province carry on an intelligent conversation in Hindi.

INDIANS ABROAD
(By Mr. G. F. Andrews)

But even all this experience, which I have
narrated concerning Natal, did not convince me that
I was as the wrong man. I am an Englishman, and
we are a stubborn people to convince, when we have
not got an ideal strongly into our minds.

In Fiji, I started again with the old assumption.
I assumed that Indians could be worked, if only
it was worked differently. That a short period
of six months' training would bring an apprenticeship, such
as every English workman bad had to go through in
my own country. I did not see that, in thus
When I came back to India, after this second visit to Fiji, I thought that my training and education in this matter was finally over. I wrote with all my heart and spoke with all my heart about my experience. The Planters and Sugar Companies in Fiji saw clearly the change which had come to my mind and I received the record of being slandered and abused and threatened.

But even yet, I found, I had a further lesson to learn. I had imagined that in any country, such as Fiji, or Trinidad, or Natal, when once the indenture system was all over and the best indentured labourers had been set free, then would be an almost immediate recovery. The whole Indian community would lift up its head again, and the Indian labourer, finding his new-won freedom, would rapidly regain a position of independence and also a reasonable wage for their labour.

I had not understood, how deep the evil of indenture itself had gone, how it had eaten out the very life and soul of freedom, how extremely difficult it would be for the labourers to recover, even when they were actually set free. I had to go out a second time to South Africa, just as I had been obliged to go a second time to Fiji, and there I discovered for myself, without any one pointing it out to me, the new and most startling fact.

Instead of the Indian labourers in Natal recovering themselves rapidly after the indenture recruiting had been stopped and they themselves had been set free, I found them actually in a worse economic position than they were on my former visit. Reclining into the account the rise in prices of all commodities their wages were actually a less purchasing value in 1910 than they had been in 1903-04. Even their outward condition showed this. They were more miserable, more discontented, more pitifully anxious to be sent back to India.

I found out now, while the average wage of the Kaffir and the Zulu had been increasing, the statistics showed that the average wage of the Indian had been decreasing. Everything pointed to the probability, if not to the certainty, that the Indian labourer would sink below the level of the Zulu and the Kaffir.

My heart went out to these Indian labourers in Natal with intense pain. It was our fault, our fault in India, that they were there at all. We had let this system go on almost unchallenged for nearly forty years and this was the result. And I felt more strongly than I can say it, that, if ours had been the blame, then ours must be the remedy. We must not allow our Indian fellow-countrymen to sink lower and lower below the level of the raw Kaffir who had just come out from the Kraal. We must not allow it. Wherever there was a word on the part of these labourers, who felt themselves making and did not know how to raise, whenever there was a deep longing on their part to go home to India, the motherland, and there to make a new start, we must do our part in fulfilling that wish. On their return to India, we must see that they are not left unprovided and helpless.
And still I had to learn one more lesson, this
from Fiji. I had rejoiced, with intense joy, at
the welcome news that the last indentured labourer
was free,—that, for Indians, Fiji was now a land
of freedom, not of bondage And then, within a
little more than one short month, the news came
over the wires that there had been a strike and
rioting and man shot down and Indian leaders de-
ported. From Mr D. M. Manu'ai's letter it is clear
that there was a concerted attempt to keep down
wages, and that the military had been used to ter-
torize the people into submission Militant capital-
ism here again showed itself, in all its cruelty and op-
pression. Just as in Natal, in 1913, there had been
shooting down of Indians, and the use of military
force to crush the spirit of independence, so now
the same thing had happened in Fiji.

What then, is the final outcome of it all? What
is the moral, which has to be learnt by heart?
Surely it is, 'Never again.'—'Never again,' must
the Indian village men and women be exhorted in
this maxim: 'Never again!' And the words, reported as uttered by Dr.
Mehrae of Nagpur, give the same lesson, in another
form: 'Why,' he said, 'send out Committees of
Enquiry! Send out no more Committees of Enquiry.
Send ships, ships to bring them back.'

(Concluded)

WHY NOT PROHIBITION AT ONCE
IN MADRAS?

(By Mr. E. Rajyagopalachari)

The strongest argument against the prohibition of
intoxicating liquors is the alleged financial difficulty
involved in it. Responsible Indian opinion is not op-
posed to prohibition, either on Mill's ground of freedom
of the individual or on the favourite administrative
ground of impossibility of preventing illicit trade.
Up the transfer of authority in certain departments
of the administration from the Civil to the
people's representatives, it would still become the
latter to discuss a number of arguments which all
of us opposed as long as we had no responsibility
or power of our own. Why then the reformer, however,
is the loss of State revenue. Apart from the clam-
rings of a government to extirpate itself from
a revenue based on vice, whatever the cost of reform
may be, is the increased national prosperity that
may reasonably be expected in the long run from
the increased efficiency of the workmen who are
now victims to the drink habit, what is sought to
be brought out in this article for the attention of
the public is the financial practicability of prohibition
in Madras.

By the abolition of division heads and the trans-
ferral of revenues according to the Reform Scheme,
taking round figures of 1919-20 as a base, Madras
will get over and above these present revenues an
extra net annual receipt of over 276 lakhs. Excluding
Excise revenue, the net increase would be
238 lakhs. The provincial receipt from drink was
in the year 1919-20, 232 lakhs, i. e., less than the
'windfall' increase in receipts brought in by the
constitutional changes to one Lord Mosley's layoutManager. Why should we not and give up the drink
revenue at once? The only argument at the present
of the Government of India for a retracting that
progressively diminishing contribution starting with
24 lakhs in the first year. All shades of opinion
have protested against this contribution and Anglo-
Indian bodies have taken a leading part in the pro-
test. If the protest should not be wholly successful,
but if the Government of India claim is reduced
in the 17% normal contribution as suggested, there
would be a net windfall of 166 lakhs per year,
which would afford scope for the immediate trial
of prohibition in one-half of the province.

Why, then, should not Lord Mosley's 'windfall'
be a windfall for prohibition? There is no rea-
son why a people whose standard of national ex-
penditure is low and who pay taxes leaving a
surplus of this measure, should be forced into drink
to maintain such a surplus.

Let us look at the figures in another way. The
expenditure budgeted in the Madras Government
for 1920-21, is 1183 lakhs, i. e., 300 lakhs more
than the expenditure in 1917-18. The present Gov-
ernment claims to administer the province as well
as it can be administered they do not grant that
the popular Ministers are going to do better. The
official budget for 1920-21 has been prepared in a
new and liberal spirit, which may be taken as
a standard laid down. Yet this leaves a surplus
of 118 lakhs, if we take the windfall into account,
and allow for the full initial Mosley contribution
—an amount permitting prohibition in a substancial
part of the province.

Thus it will be seen that the question is not so
hopeless financially as it is generally thought to be.

(1) If Madras is relieved from the Mosley con-
tribution and the Government of India should have
resources to protective tariffs to make up its debt,
there is scope for total prohibition in Madras.

(2) If the Mosley contribution is reduced materi-
ally, there is full scope for prohibition being intro-
duced in a substantial part of the province.

(3) Even if the Mosley award should stand
as it is, there is scope for prohibition being intro-
duced in a good portion of the province. The only question is,
do we really believe that drink is an evil which
can and ought to be prohibited? Do we really
believe that prohibition if successfully carried out
would improve the moral and physical efficiency of the
population, and thus bring in increased prosperity,
quite in compensation—if not more than that—for
the loss of revenue?

If partial prohibition is to be introduced, i. e.,
as a third or a half of the province, a scheme for
an equitable allocation of budgeted expenditures as
against the sacrifice of the drink revenue among
the various districts in the province with options for
prohibition can without much difficulty be adopted
so that districts prepared to work prohibition
would take up the loss of revenue on themselves
without throwing the burden on other districts.

If the expected and sudden enlargement of
receipts brought about by the constitutional changes,
be not now taken advantage of no oppor-
tunity, as favourable as at present, is ever likely
to arise for the reform hereon discussed. The Excise
revenue is growing at a terrible pace, and it will
hold up more and more firmly in its embrace every
year that we allow to pass. In eight years
the percentage of growth in Excise revenue in
Madras is 70%, while all provincial heads have in-
creased by only 20%.
REVIEW

Commerce and Industries—This is a monthly periodical published at Madras which has set its object the promotion of Indian commerce, industry and material progress. We have gone through a number of volumes from some of its numbers and the development and scope of Indian industries, agriculture, trade and finance and we find them all of much informative and attractive value. The journal is very interesting due to the frequency of the second year of its birth, but the publisher, Mr. G. N. Narasimham, B.S.S., T.A.A. has obviously been working very hard to make the journal more attractive and up-to-date.Believing in the maxim, "right will win," we do not as a rule recommend or advertise anything, but as it believes on to recognise merit, wherever it may be found, we hope the public will come forward to support this enterprise for its own benefit and the benefit of the same the journal represents.

5 AFRICAN COMMISSION

On April 16 Dr. Krause representing through the T.B.I. Association 95 percent of Indians in the Transvaal Province, concluded the Transvaal Indians' case before the Asiatic Commission at Johannesburg. We have given Dr. Krause's evidence in our issue of May 20. We summarise below the evidence that was submitted to the Commission after April 10.

THE DUTCH VIEW

The Commission sat at Pretoria on April 20. Mr. G. Louw, a representative of T.B.I. Association and a pensioner of the Municipalities was opposed to European rights. Local Dutch people had expressed the opinion that the prices of merchandise would increase by 75 percent if the Indian traders were removed.

EVIDENCE AT PRETORIA

The Commission heard evidence at Pretoria on April 23 and 24. Mr. Verwoerd, who claimed to represent the whole of the Transvaal Bantu, stated that the relationship between the Indian traders and the poorer white people was most prejudicial. These white people often said that they were used to buy with the Indians financially that they could not escape. Witnesses also referred to the danger of Mahomedans upon the reapers of the people. Finally it was desired to emphasise that the usual existence of the white farmers was threatened by the Indian menace.

At the sitting on April 23 several poor white witnesses from country districts gave evidence. Their view was that the Indians were beneficial to the poor.

It appeared from the evidence of C.W. Coninx, Immigration Officer, that he had inspected Indian dwellings and barns and had found nothing to complain of in the matter of cleanliness. He believed respectable Indians would soon be equally desired to their countrymen. There were so many examples of Indians that it would be impossible to deal with them in a brief. Witnesses stated that in 102 tracts of Indian males in the Union were 1,854 and 166 females whereas the departures were 1,428 males and 783 females.

LAUDERANCE AT DURBAN

On April 20, Mr. Leslie Sanger in answer to Mr. B. Robertson said that he strongly advocated the Union Government helping the return of Indians to India by the granting of free passage and in other ways. He regarded the Asians as a menace to Natal, irreconcilable as colour for many reasons. The witness explained that in Natal there was a small community, but already a large problem in the Transvaal on whom the Indians were placed in the Transvaal on whom the Asians was considered to be unbearable in some cases, and in many cases permission. In answer to Sir Edmund, the witness stated that there were still six thousand indentured Indians in Natal.

At the sitting on April 27 Mr. J. A. Patkumwa, who holds the position of Protector of Indian Immigrants for eighteen years said in answer to Sir Edmund, "Excite more shipping facilities and let the Indians take their gold back. Then they will go on hundreds. About 25 percent more would return with facilities. At present between 1800 and 1800 return to India yearly."

At the sitting on April 28, Lord-Gen. C. Molyneux, Directors of Shipping, stated that the Asians-owned property in Durban on March 1, 1920, was valued at £2,605,218, and that during the past two years up to the same date, property to the value of £1,398,000 had been transferred from Europeans to Asians. In cross-examination witness stated that the Asiatic was undesirable to trade and he was undesirable because the cultivation of the Europeans that of the Asians would not exist. The Indians should be given free passage and monetary support to return to India. Criminal and indigent Asians should be sent back. The Colonial-born Indians did not belong to South Africa. Both Indian born and Colonial born were equally represented by Sir Edmund Robertson and when the Colonial Indian had any grievance he went to India with it. He did not think compulsory repatriation was feasible and be did not think Indian segregation was possible owing to their vast numbers, but he would segregate the European. He had done what he could to curtail Asiatic licence in Durban, and the Indians knew perfectly well his attitude. He had always been perfectly frank with them.

Some other witnesses also, that appeared before the Commission at Durban, dealt with the question of offering inducements for voluntary repatriation with regard to which the Commission issued an interim report.

INDIANS AND SUGAR INDUSTRY

At the sitting on April 30, Mr. Isaac Henri, advocate of Durban, said that the Indians had played a very important part in the making of Natal and the sugar industry, as well as in the railway development of the coast. The Indian had done much in the way of production.

Colonel Friend Addison, retired sugar planter, said that the Indians was much more regular and reliable than the natives. He had never been able to do more than barely pay expenses until he introduced the Indians.

Mr. W. Doole presented a statement on behalf of the Durban Committee of the South African National Indian Congress. The following proposals were submitted: (1) Standard wages to all labourers, irrespective of race or colour, and subsequent improvement in conditions of life, (2) Regulation of providing for the standard of wages to shop assistants and all other ranks of labour on an equitable basis, (3) Amendment of the licensing laws on the lines of the Transvaal Ordinance, No. 9 of 1913, and providing that because on the spotters of ground set out in that Ordinance, with the following amendments therein, (a) From suffering within, say, the last two years on any criminal charge

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(b) that the words "in the opinion of the Council it be deleted, and the reason why the application is not deemed deserving to be stated by the authority refusing the same.
(3) That there be a right to appeal to the Court of all licensing matters whether the appeal is for a new licence or for a transfer or renewal or removal.
(4) That the laws affecting land and licences be made applicable to the whole of Natal, which includes the Northern Districts of Natal Zululand.

NATAL FARMERS’ DEPUTATION.

The principal evidence given to the Commission on Saturday May 1, was that by a deputation of farmers appointed by the Natal Agricultural Union at a Conference held at Pietermaritzburg on April 28th. The Union represents the general body of Natal farmers. The deputation presented the following resolution embodying the views of the Natal Farmers and unanimously passed:

"This Conference records its considered opinion that the Amato problem presents a serious menace to the Union of South Africa and recommends—

(a) While recognizing that the existing tenure of land by Amatos should not be interfered with, no further appropriation of land by purchase, lease, or other means, by Amatos, should be allowed.
(b) All new licences shall order any circumstances be issued to Amatos.
(c) No transfer of any existing licences to any Amato shall be permitted, but at the expiry of any licences held by an Amato in death of the holder, reasonable compensation for land and stock shall be paid.
(d) That the Government shall legislate on most drastic lines against the holding by any European or other person of a licence on behalf of any Amato.
(e) That in the future date shall be fixed by legislation all Amato licences now held by companies shall expire, and compensation shall be paid to such holders.
(f) The urgency of the matter calls for immediate settlement by legislation."

COLONIAL-BOOM INDIANS.

A deputation of Colonial-born Indians consisting of Messrs. J. M. Freund, A. Christopher, V. C. Father, L. Faraday, and J. Hooper presented to the Commission a statement of their views, Mr Christopher acting as spokesman. The statement emphasized the rights of the Colonial-born Indians to live in the country of their birth, for which many of them had fought in the East and other theatres during the Great War.

DUTCH MAGISTRATE’S EVIDENCE.

At the sitting of the Commission at Durban on May 3, Mr. A. J. S. Martin, President Magistrate of Stanger in the north coast sugar-growing belt, and who had known the Indian intimately for 30 years, told the deputation that there were 496 square miles in extent, with an Indian population of between 19,000 and a white population of about 1,200. He had always found the Indians a law-abiding and hard-working community employed in various industries, but being the mainstay of the sugar and tea industries, they were also engaged as small farmers on farms ranging from 50 to 250 acres.

One farmer, B. B. S. Churchill, who had been repeatedly challenged, leaving an estate worth £100,000, had a farm of 3,000 acres, which was all under cane. The man came to Natal originally as an indentured Indian, and was reinstated another time when he had a farm of 1,000 acres. He also referred to the store keeping by Indians as always willing to help natives or the poorer Europeans with supplies in times of famine, and allowing them large credit. It was true that the Indians charged high prices, but Europeans did the same, and did not show such large credit. To repatriate these people, Mr. Churchill maintained, would be a gross injustice, for they had resided in Natal for years, and had large estates, and to talk of repatriation was monstrous. The solution he offered was to educate the Indians at the expense of the European standard of living, and, in other words, to try to Europeanize them, and thus to make of them more loyal, law-abiding, and useful citizens. About 28,000 acres of land in his district were in the hands of Indians.

INDIAN OPINION'S EDITOR.

Mr. A. J. West, European master printer, of Durban, said that he had been for sixteen years, and up to two years ago, editor and printer of the newspaper called "Indian Opinion." He put before the Commission a long list of suggestions as a solution of the present trouble. The principal ones were, that a restriction should be placed on the ownership of land by Indians, next that, in view of the high cost of living, the Government and municipal bodies should not use an example to others by offering, on lease, all available land to Indians and others for the purpose of cultivation that Indians and other farmers should be assisted by the Agricultural Department to improve the output of the soil by better methods of cultivation, that further under-seats should be offered to benefactors Indians voluntarily to return to India by giving a grant of £10 per head, that the policy of free secondary education (now enjoyed by Europeans) should be extended to Indians, as that Indians should be encouraged to learn skilled trades and earn an appointment on the same terms as Europeans, so that they may demand, and employers be obliged to pay, the same wages as Europeans.

This concluded the sittings at Durban.

EVIDENCE AT PIETERMARITZBURG.

At the Pietermaritzburg sitting on May 4, Lieut. Col. Hawes, representing the Richmond Agricultural Society, stated that the Amato was not a desirable farmer. He considered that segregation to be quite feasible, as there was plenty of land. The rate at which Indians were increasing was such as to give the European classes. Indians were increased at the rate of 15 per 1,000 per annum, the Chinese at the rate of 25 per 1,000, and the Europeans at the rate of 16. He suggested that the Indians be put into segregation areas pending their return to India. There was more room for Indians in India than there was in Natal, and he suggested that a new town be given £100 to return to India and his wife £50. He stated that there was a widespread movement in India to have Europeans repatriated. He did not blame anybody, but there should be a similar movement in South Africa to get the Indians away Australia, Canada, and New Zealand would not have Indians. Then why should Natal?

Mr. S. A. speaking of the Natal legislature affecting Amatos said that the Natal Parliament passed two Bills in 1868 affecting Amato traders, one amending and the other by a majority of two. Both were reversed and dissolved by the Crown, owing, probably, to the disapproval of the Indian Government.

The Commission after its meetings at Durban elected the inquiry. The publication of its report and recommendations, according to the Times of India correspondent, was expected at a very early date.
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Notes.
Striking on the Stomach—Represenm and suppression continue to dominate the official policy in regard to the Khilafat movement in Sind. A novel method has been hit upon by the ingenious officials to punish Khilafat workers just as the ingenious Martial Law administrators in the Punjab used fancy methods to punish the brave and innocent Punjabis and Sikhs. The new method of the Sind Government may appropriately be called, 'Striking on the Stomach.'

Mr. Jan Mohammad Jangoj, Bar-at-Law, and a big Zamindar was informed by the Executive Engineer, Ghosa Canal, that under orders from the Collector of Larkana all his Karake (water-source) from the Government canals are being closed. There was no default in payment of the assessment, so far. The order dates at least 600 was independent of Mr. Jangoj's land at station.

The Commissioner in Sind, Mr. F. P. Caddell, has issued the following notification:

"The pension granted to Mr. Ghulam Nabi Kadir, retired Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector, is by the order of the Government suspended for grave misconduct, namely, for having permitted at a meeting at which objectionable speeches were made."

The sole authority on which the said speeches have been condemned as objectionable and Mr. Ghulam Nabi's pension has been suspended, is said to be the over-convenient C. I. D. No action for sedition, however, seems to have been taken against the speaker. The moral is obvious.

Mauli, Abdul Ghafoor, Smith, a retired Tavildar, Chairman Jaffarabad Municipality and President, local Khilafat Committee is another gentleman marked for persecution. His pension has been suspended by the Government and Mr. Sanyal, the Dy. Commissioner, who has already issued a notice by his authority on non-payment of respectable persons, and been mentioned in these pages, has called upon him to explain his conduct. We hear that in Hyderabad (Sind), Stickup, Sujawal and other places police and revenue authorities are doing things to harass and pervert Khilafat workers. We should like to know how this strange method of the Sind Government, to which we have already referred, in the broadest sense, is that only 11 or 15 attend school. Female education is thus very defective in quantity. It is also defective in quality. Religious teaching and adoption of the vernacular-medium are the most necessary reforms in the existing educational system in general, and in a programme of female education especially. The special need of these reforms can hardly be exaggerated. Speaking on the subject of the future of Islam, the Khilafat leader said that education for girls whose desires for higher culture is of higher importance to India. On the point Dr. Satyav atiya, the Prime Minister, referred to girls' education in his speech to the Harkul Walia by Sir Sayid Shams-ul-Huda, President of the Mohammadani Educational Conference, observed: "Let every Mohammadan girl get her education through the medium at Urdu both scientific and literary, and this will make her burden so much lighter that she will take half the time that was needed to teach the same level of intellectual attainment. With the vast majority of
Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 3rd June 1940.

THE NON-CO-OPERATION COMMITTEE.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

There seems to be a great deal of misunderstanding and misconception about the non-co-operation committee appointed by the Khilafat Committee at Allahabad on the 23rd instant. A friend who was present at the meeting writes to say that the committee was formed for the purpose of giving full effect to non-co-operation and to act in all matters in connection with it as if it was representative of the whole Mussalmen population of India, even as in the matter of making representations to the antagonists. That this was not the committee's scope is the purpose of this writing to show.

As I stated, its object when I invited the formation of the committee, they were to ascertain and enforce the will of the nation on non-co-operation. While it is a representative body with full powers to act, it cannot be said—it is not intended—to represent all the best and the most influential Mussalmen opinion. It does not represent the inbred nobility in Islam. It is not familiar in the committee. It has been purposefully restricted to those who are able to give their whole time and attention to the work of organizing non-co-operation and in the processes of making demands to instructions, other disciplines, and non-violence. It is therefore a committee of workers. It is not expected that the whole of the Mussalmen India will be equally strong in non-co-operation. Some doubt its efficacy, others consider it to be a mistake. But within the limits prescribed by the conditions under which it was set up, that is to say, it will not be able to secure the submission of a larger portion of the Mussalmen population to the will of the committee.

Abu Elgebr, a young man, in his letter to the committee, says: "If the committee is prepared to act like this, the Mussalmen India will have no objection. If the committee is not prepared to act like this, the Mussalmen India will have no objection."

As a matter of fact, the Mussalmen India is not prepared to act like this. The committee has not been formed for the purpose of enacting non-co-operation. It has been formed for the purpose of giving full effect to non-co-operation. It is not expected that the whole of the Mussalmen India will be equally strong in non-co-operation. Some doubt its efficacy, others consider it to be a mistake. But within the limits prescribed by the conditions under which it was set up, that is to say, it will not be able to secure the submission of a larger portion of the Mussalmen population to the will of the committee.
leaders on the committee, as easily answered. The supreme committee can only be purely Mussalmans. My presence too, I consider as an evil and not as a necessary evil because of my qualifications. I have specialized in non-co-operation. I have successfully experimented with it. The resolution about non-co-operation was conceived by me at the conference at Delhi. I am on the committee therefore as a special and not because I am a Hindu. My function is therefore of an activist merely. That I happen to be a staunch Hindu with the conviction that every Hindu should consider it to be his duty to go against the Mussalmans, the full length in non-co-operation, is no pleasure to my advantage to the committee. But that advantage was at its disposal whether I was on it or not.

Whilist I am considering the Hindu connection with the Khilafat movement, even at the risk of repetition, I would like to close up my own position. As I consider the Mussalmans claim to be internally (as distinguished from religiously) just, I propose to go with them to the extent of fullest non-co-operation. And I consider it to be perfectly consistent with my loyalty to the British connection. But I would not go with the Mussalmans in any campaign of violence. I would not help them in promoting, for instance, an invasion of Indus through Afghanistan or otherwise for the purpose of forcing it upon the people. It is, I hold, the duty of every Hindu to resist any invasion of Indus even for the purpose alleged as it is his duty to help the Mussalmans brethren to satisfy their just demands by means of non-co-operation or other form of suffering, no matter how great, so long as it does not involve loss of Hindu liberty or mutilation of violence on any person. And I have thrown myself whole-heartedly into the non-co-operation movement if only because I want to prevent any such armed conflict.

THE DUTY OF THE PUNJABEE

(Hy M. K. Gandhi)

The All-India Leader deserves to be congratulated for publishing the correspondence on Mr. Bosworth Smith who was one of the Judicial Law officers against whom the complaints about personal and continuous ill-treatment were among the interests. It appears from the correspondence that Mr. Bosworth Smith has received precaution instead of dismissal. Sometimes before Judicial Law Mr. Smith appears to have been degraded. He has since been restored, says the Leader correspondent. In his position of a Deputy Commissioner of the second grade from which he was degraded and also been invested with powers under sec. 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code since his arrival, the poor Indian population of the town of Ambala Cantonment has been living under a reign of terror and tyranny. The correspondent adds that "we feel that these words deliberately for conveying precisely what they mean and call a few passages from this illuminating letter to illustrate the meaning of horror and tyranny."
may " In private complaints he never takes the statement of the complainant. It is taken down by the reader when the court is in and got signed by the magistrate the following day. Whether the report received upon such complaint is favourable to the complainant or not favourable to him it is never read by the magistrate, and complaints are dismissed without trial. This is the fate of private complaints. Now as regards police chilum police reports the accused are not allowed to interview untouchable prisoners in police custody. They are not allowed to cross examine prosecution witnesses. Thus the whole prosecution story is put into the mouth of police witnesses. Witnesses for the defence though called are not allowed to be examined by the defence counsel. All evidence is allowed if he picks up courage to say anything in defence. There is a servant who can write down the name of any citizen of the Cantonnement on a sheet of paper and ask him to appear the next day to south. This is a servant if any one does not appear in court who is thus ordered, criminal warrants of arrest are issued against him. 'There is much more of this style in the letter which is worth reproducing, but I have given enough to illustrate the writer's meaning. Let us turn for a while to the officer's record during Martial Law. He is the official who tried people in batches and convicted them after a farcical trial. Witnesses have deposed to his having assembled people, having asked them to give false evidence, having removed women's veils, called them 'hees lathies,' 'she-asses,' and having spat upon them. He was also subjected to harrassment of Shakespearian proportions to induce false prosecution. Mr. Andrews personally investigated complaints against this official and came to the conclusion that the official had behaved worse than Mr. Smith. He gathered the people of Shakespearian and Shakespeare, 'shakespears,' 'shakespears.' His evidence before the Hunter Commission, however, has total disregard for truth and this is the officer who, if the correspondence in question has given correct facts, has been praised. The question however is why, he is so ill in Government service and why he has not been tried for a scandalous and abusive insolent man and woman.

I noticed a desire for the unmasking of General Dyer and Sir Michael D'Arcy. I will not stop to examine whether the course is feasible. I was sorry to find Mr. Shastri joining the cry for the prosecution of General Dyer. If the English people will willingly do so, I would welcome such prosecution as the sign of their strong disapproval of the Jallianwala Bag story, but I would certainly not spend a single farthing in a warrant after the conviction of these men. Surely the public has received sufficient experience of the English mind. Practically the whole English Press has joined the conspiracy to screen these offenders against humanity. I would not be party to make heroes of them by joining the cry for prosecution private or public. If I can only persuade India to resist upon these complete dismissals, I should be satisfied. But more than the dismissal of Sir Michael D'Arcy and General Dyer is necessary the premonitory dismissal, if not a trial, of Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Mr. Sherburn and others mentioned in the Congress Sub-committee's report. Bad as General Dyer is I consider Mr. Smith to be infinitely worse and his crimes to be far more serious than the massacre of Jallianwala Bag. General Dyer nobly believed that it was a sacred duty to terrorize people by shooting them. But Mr. Smith was wastefully cruel, vulgar and debased. If all the notes that have been deposited against him are true, there is not a spark of humanity about him. Unlike General Dyer he lacks the courage to confront what he has done and he struggles when challenged. The milder remants free to indict himself upon people who have done no wrong to him, and who is permitted to disregard the rule he represents for the time being.

What is the Punjub doing? Is it not the clear duty of the Punjub to meet until they have secured the dismissal of Mr. Smith and the like? The Punjub leaders have been discharged to vain if they will not rescue the liberty they have restored, in order to purge the administration of Wazir, Bosworth Smith and Company. I am sure that it they will only begin a determined agitation they will have the whole India by their side. I venture to suggest to them that the best way to qualify for sending General Dyer to the gallows is to perform the career and the more urgent duty of assuring the smallest still commanded by the officials against whom they were assisted in collecting overwhelming evidence.

**SOME PROOFS OF THE UNIVERSALITY OF SATYAGRAHA**

It may be long before the law of love will be recognised in international affairs. The machinations of governments tend to divide and rule the hearts of the people. It is a battle of wits. Yet if only we watch the latest international developments in Europe and Eastern Asia with an eye to essentials, we could have seen how the world is moving steadily to realise that between nation and nation, as between man and man, forms have failed to solve problems, that the economic question of co-operation is far more mighty and conclusive than armistice and treaties. The victories of war have only thrown fresh burdens on the nations that emerged out of the struggle as apparent victors. The food and the industries of the defeated nations are a source of anxiety as much to the victors as to themselves. All the ingenuity of the governments of the Allied nations is directed to how, without demonisation to the glory of the victors, they can make the vanquished people seem equally virtuous, happy, and willing to work to keep the world going.
Endang between the lines of the brief telegram about the American Republican party's international programme, one can see that the Far West is beginning to realize that the ultimate sanction of a league of nations should be, not the various slates of the weight of arms again, but the might of international 'sanction', a non-co-operation of the nations. From this it would be as easy step to the complete realization of the law of love. Till a new energy is harnessed and put on wheels, the sputters of the older energies will treat the world as theoretical, impractical, idealistic, and so on. We may be certain that the steam engineer was laughed at by the horse-dealer, till he saw that even horses could be transported by the steam engines. The electrical engineer was, no doubt, called a fool and a mad man in steam engine circles. Till work was actually done over the wires it may take long to lay the wires for international love, but the sanction of international non-co-operation in preference to continued physical compulsion, as appears to have been conceived by the Republican party of America, is a distinct progress towards the ultimate and real solution.

The most striking news in the conviction is a rumour of contemplated action in regard to the Irish situation. The "Observer" gives currency to the belief that the British Ministry is considering as an alternative to martial law in Ireland, a policy of non-co-operation. The disaffected area of Ireland must be entirely ignored until it comes to its senses. There would be no police, no troops, no trade, no education, no distribution of revenue, no railways. There would be complete administrative boycott. The beauty of Satyagraha, of which non-co-operation is but a chapter, is that it is available to either side in a fight, that it has 쉤체, that it automatically works for the vindication of truth and justice for that side, whichever it may be, that has truth and justice in preponderating measure. It is as powerful and faithful a weapon as the hand of the capitalist or that of the laborer. It is as powerful in the hands of the government, as in that of the people, and will bring victory to the government, if people are misguided or unjust, as it will win the battle for the people if the government be in the wrong. Quick dissemination and defeat are bound to be the fate of balanced up arms and artificial agitations, if the battle is fought with Satyagraha weapons. Suppose the people are with to rule themselves, or are unwilling to sacrifice for a cause, then, no amount of noise will bring them victory in non-co-operation. If the government be a good government, just, on the whole, and necessary for the people, and the grievance be false or unreal or based on misconception or is not of such magnitude as to weigh against the virtues of the government in other vital respects, then non-co-operation has only to be adopted on either side and, without resource or blushing the question will automatically be settled with unerring precision and justice. It may not be generally known but it has long been maintained by Mahatma Gandhi that the Satyagraha weapon of non-co-operation was available to government against the people, as to the people against the government. The action said to be contemplated in regard to the Irish disorders would, if true, be a beautiful illustration of the universality of the principles of Satyagraha.

PUNJAB LETTER
(From our own Correspondent)

The Bahadurgarh Case

The minority report—"I am not speaking of the majority report of the Hunter Committee, which is whitewash pure and simple from beginning to end—and I naturally put on record the opinion about the unsatisfactory character of trial and justice meted by the Martial Law and other Tribunals. In his statement before the Congress Sub-Committee, Mr. Satyanarayana narrated his experience of Martial Law Tribunals, before which he had to appear as counsel both in the so-called Lahore As well as Cypriotes conspiracy cases. "My experience of Martial Law", he said, "has been a revelation to me inasmuch as I found that judges, who in the High Court atmosphere would respect judicial forms and give a conscientiously fair hearing to the accused and their counsel, showed as much prejudice as judges dealing with matters of life and death." 10 such cases, which came on appeal before the Himachal Pradesh District Court in the High Court, gave especial point to the complaint made against the Martial Law and other special Tribunals and Magistrates. The case to which I am referring is known as the Bahadurgarh case, and is one of the many cases in which the authorities tried to fasten all the blame for the disturbance upon the agitation against the Bowdler Act and upon the cessation of business, fast and prayer, held all over the country on the 5th April, 1910 at the instigation of Mahatma Gandhi. The myth was, however, completely demolished in the trial before the High Court, and the judgment of the Honble Mr. Justice Mathias— who as District Judge of Haveli had occasion to visit British justice in cases against the Indian lawyers— in 1907—throws a flood of light on the methods of investigation and trial in them. Martial Law and semi-Martial Law cases. The facts of the case are briefly these—On the 14th April, 1910, it appears that an attempt was made to remove rails on the Peshawar bridge, which is about a mile from the Bahadurgarh station on the Bhatinda-Delhi line. About 400 yards from the bridge is the village of Peshawar and near the railway station are the new and the old Madras of Bahadurgarh. Some two months after the incident, the police investigations began under the guidance of Mr. Bowles, Deputy Superintendint of Police, and after the usual round of sittings and parsons to appease, 15 persons were summoned under section..."
156 of the Railway Act for the offence of possessing rails and sleepers on the Pernala bridge or for aiding or abetting it, or for being members of an unlawful assembly some members of which, in possession of the same object, possessed rails and sleepers on the Pernala bridge with intent alleged. And who are the persons thus charged? Well, many of them were persons, who attended the meetings held in early April, 1919, in Bashadurgarh for protesting against the Rowlatt Act and observed the hartal and the fast. The Chairman of the new Mendi, the Vice-President and the Secretary of the Municipal Committee of Bashadurgarh, the Secretary of the Merchant Association, some station masters, Assistant Station Masters, a lighthouse keeper, as well as a trolleyman, a hammerman (these last two being the continuing accused) were all charged. The case was tried by Mr. S. S. Harran, a retired Sessions Judge, who was one of the members of the Rowlatt Law Commission as well as of the Special Tribunal, and with the exception of a scholar and a two Assent Station Masters, all the remaining were acquitted and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. The case for the defence, which was disbelieved by Mr. Berrie, was that the arms was consigned by the people of the Pernala village, one or two men employed on the railway being also in the conspiracy, and that Karam Singh Zaildar of Bashadurgarh and Nistar Mahomed, Vice-President of the Bashadurgarh Municipal Committee had been gathering these persons present.

Needless to say the defence version was fully accepted by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Martinac and with the exception of the trolleyman and the hammerman, who confessed their crime, all the rest were acquitted. About Nistar Mahomed, the learned Judge found that "he was an applicant for an appointment as a deputy magistrate on the Bashadurgarh Bench and that he was told by the Deputy Commissioner of Bashadurgarh, about two months before the Commission of the offence that his application would be considered if he did any special services." Well, he rendered most valuable and special services indeed, and it will be interesting to see if he still gets the much-sought, honorary magistracy, instead of Mr. Justice Martinac's express regard for the general character of the evidence and the method of investigation and trial, the following extract from the judgment of the learned Judge, which is all the more effective because of its judicial restraint, may be left to tell its own story:

The above review of the evidence for the prosecution (the review occupies less than 84 pages of the judgment) shows that evidence is highly conflicting and that the half of it is very unsatisfactory. Most of the witnesses are of low position and there are several, who are not from the suspect of having been concerned in the offence themselves and may have implicated others in order to save themselves. A very weak point in the case is the fact that the witnesses kept silence for a long time about incidents to which they may have deposed saying when questioned that they knew nothing about the affair and that it was only when Mr. Brown took up the investigation, two months after the occurrence, that they made their statement. The explanations given by some of them that they were afraid of being murdered by the hands of the Mendi, or in case of Jatis of Pernala that they were afraid that the hands ought plunder their village, cannot possibly be believed. The circumstances under which the witnesses made their statement after Mr. Brown had taken up the investigation require some notice. I have already referred to the statement of Har Nama (P.W. 19) that the story first related by him in Court was the one, which the Police had taught him and to the submission of Chapman (P.W. 56) that he made his statement after being told a great many times to tell the truth. With regard to the statements recorded by Magistrates under section 156 Cr. P. C., only two were police officers present when the statements were recorded, but they were allowed by one of the Magistrates at least, viz., Shabahah Muhammad Faruq Ali, to put questions to the witnesses. Thus, Magistrate says that an Inspector of Police was present and used to question the witnesses as to what happened at various places and also questioned Mana Ram as to who were present at the bridge, and he also says that the witnesses used to say something voluntarily and story, and that they were questioned by the Police-Inspector they used to continue their statements. It is impossible to place any confidence in statements made to the police themselves, specially when it is borne in mind that for two full months, the witnesses had withheld all information and had told any one who questioned them that they knew nothing. It may be stated that some of the witnesses have retracted their previous statements, wholly or in part when giving their evidence at the trial. My conclusion after a careful consideration of the whole case is that the evidence against the appellants is of a nature which is quite unreliable."

The above is a fair sample of the methods of investigation and of recording of confessions by Magistrates in the Rowlatt Law and semi-Rowlatt Law cases. Even more serious illegalities were committed in the pure Rowlatt Law cases, but unfortunately the evidence in these cases could not be tested in the calmer atmosphere of the High Court. And yet the case before the trying Magistrate was not decided in a hurry. It occupied more than a month and the accused had the advantage of being defended by an able Advocate, Mr. Satyendra Mukerji of the Allahabad High Court Bar. And if such things as the recording of confessions by the police behind a magisterial cover could be done in the green tree after the accession of Rowlatt Law, what had not been done wonders, done in the day, when the Rowlatt Law was in full swing?

PERCEPTION FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION

The Times recently published the particulars of what is known in the Kotha outbreak of 1872. The facts were that in 1872, some fanatical followers of Guru Rambagh committed some barbarous murders, while others made a raid on Maler Kotha town, simply because it was the capital of a Mohmandem territorial state, where slaughter of kine was presumably permitted without restraint. Mr. Cowan, then Deputy Commissioner of Cabul...
followed the gang up and intercepted them and had them blow up from the gun. Mr. Forseyth, the Commissar, gave an en passant notice to the man for such action and had the remaining Kukas executed after a semblance of trial. The matter excited considerable noises in those days and charged a resolution from the Government of India, to which the course followed by Mr. Cowan was strongly condemned not only as illegal and an unnecessary, but characterized by inducts giving to a complete of barbarity. Both Robert Cowan and Forseyth were removed as a result from the Indian Civil Service in his Indian and home honors, Sir Henry Cotton said that he could recall nothing during his service in India more revolving and shocking than these executions of Kukas and that there were many, who thought as did and still think, that the final orders of the Government of India were by necessity explicable.

It is interesting to recall that like Brigadier-General Dyer, Mr. Cowan also pleaded moral effect as an extenuation, if not justification of the course of action "To stay the execution of the man, already dead to the gun," as he said, "would have the worst effect on the people around us." I do not know what Sir Henry Cotton, if he had been living, would have said on the occasion taken by Government on the infinitely more shocking and revolting action of General Dyer at Jallianwala Bagh. What I propose to call attention to is that although the incident is now fifty years old, and although according to official account, Gurn Ramnath had absolutely no connection with the outbreak of 1872 and had not a matter of fact forewarned the authorities of the fact of some of his followers getting out of control, the Kukas or the Namdhari Sikhs, as they prefer to call themselves have all along been and are still under a ban and surveillance. The succors and the followers of Gurn Ramnath, would it be believed, are still labouring even after the lapse of fifty years under several inhumane restrictions and are deemed the right of free movement and the right of association. There is no instance on record of the Namdharie being concerned in any organised crime during the last 48 years, still in the absence of the O.I.D., the surveillance of the police and other restrictions are upon them. Can they be not removed even after the Proclamation of December last of His Majesty the King-Emperor?

REVIEW

Personal Hygiene—Dr. Sankey's Book on Personal Hygiene published by Messrs. Butterworth and Co., Calcutta, takes special note of the practical needs of modern Indians of health, hygiene, and the evils of modern diseases. The book contains a wealth of valuable information, and is especially recommended to those who wish to improve their health and build up a strong and healthy frame. The author, Dr. Sankey, has spent many years in India, and his knowledge of the country and its people is unrivalled. The book is well illustrated and is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject of hygiene.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

The memorandum was signed by the Chief Secretary of the Indian Government, who expressed the hope that the memorandum would be of assistance to the British Government in its arrangements for the settlement of the question of the rights of Indians in East Africa. The memorandum was signed by the Chief Secretary of the Indian Government, who expressed the hope that the memorandum would be of assistance to the British Government in its arrangements for the settlement of the question of the rights of Indians in East Africa.

The text continues with more details about the situation in East Africa and the measures taken by the Indian Government to address the issues raised in the memorandum.
CONCLUSION

India is to-day entering upon a new path, as a free Nation, on the road to nationhood within the British Empire. The susceptibilities of her people can no longer be ignored, as they have, in the manner of the welfare of her colonists, been only too often in the past. In South Africa the existence of an independent Union Government has been built by the Imperial Government to exceed them for the interests on behalf of the empire and all it serves Indian population. The same considerations do not apply to East Africa, where the Imperial Government is solely responsible for policy and administration, a responsibility which is shared with none according to the mandate of the League of Nations, the British Government will be responsible for the international concerns of the world. But India, too, is an original member of the League of Nations, and is entitled to demand not only that all peoples alike be treated equally in the mandated area, but that the neighboring British Territory equal treatment should be accorded, least evil results of the opposite policy rest adversely upon the peoples the other side of a vague and artificial boundary. In the eyes of the Indian public the sincerity of Great Britain's attitude towards India on Imperial questions will be tested to a great extent by the policies enforced in East Africa.

Indians look upon the British East Africa Protectorate, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Tanganyika as one territory which was for centuries settled and developed by Indians residing under the jurisdiction of the Amanas, and who brought with them large amounts of capital whose investment in the country accounts for its present prosperity. Throughout this vast area there was no European settlement whatsoever until the mushroom growth of the last twenty years. If the Indian population were to leave East Africa tomorrow the entire territory would immediately fall into ruin and decay, and the native population would relapse into barbarism. It is believed in India that, when considered of all the facts, the British people and the British Government will not allow judgment to go by default, but will respond generously to India's claim to the equal treatment of her colonists in East Africa, and the reversal of the present prevailing anti-Indian policy.

(Concluded)

DISTRESS IN ORISSA

The Secretary Peoples' famine Relief Committee, sends us under date 31st May the following list of contributions which we gladly publish. We may hereby remind the public that Mr. Thacker's first estimate of one in ten was one subsequent examination has been found to fall much short of the necessary requirements. We sincerely hope that the contributions which we are being acknowledged in "November 1914" amount to Rs. 36,000, out of which Rs. 30,000 have been sent to the Relief Committee at Cuttack.

Recruited from the President's Famine Enquiry Committee, Puri, up to 10th May, 1920, Rs. 5140-5-0

N. N. Muitam, Esq., Bank of Bengal, Puri, Rs. 50

Through Mahatma Gandhi, Rs. 5000

Prabuddha Sadbhahini, Esq. Bombay, Rs. 121-7-0

Ramas Haridas, Esq., Bombay, Rs. 101

Karankas Venkypadman, Esq., Rs. 250

Lahisabai Ghosh, Esq., Calcutta, Rs. 150

Thakur Ethardar Singh, Bhubaneswar, Rs. 100

Raja Dharma Karkam Belur, Cuttack, Rs. 300

C.D. D. Bombay, Rs. 500

Seth Kamaladas Hargobindas Bombay, Rs. 1000

Hemchandra Kamaladas, Rs. 201

Dhanu Mohan, Rs. 248

Kumar Das Karmadeo, Rs. 50

Gokulchand Hariprasad, Rs. 500

Syed Hafiz Ilyas, Rs. 103

D.D. Norwari, Esq., Rs. 50

Gopal Raghupati, Esq., Rs. 250

Raghuram Purushottam, Rs. 230

Surjyabhadra, Esq., Rs. 250

Hemchandra Hargovind, Esq., Bombay, Rs. 1000

Pranavan Chaitu, Esq., Bhuj, Rs. 1000

Narasimha Addya, Esq., Nenpur, Rs. 75

A Vaita House Holder, Calcutta, Rs. 500

C. Narsingha Choudhury, Esq., Cuttack, Rs. 500

Vakil Elo, Rs. 100

Dny N. Naladwipa, Nenpur, Rs. 60

Mr. R. Rana, Esq., Bombay, Rs. 100

S. R. Rama, Esq., Elo, Rs. 100

L. Harbison, Benares, Vidyadhari, Jallandhar, Rs. 103

Sir, Kishan Chandra Bose, Rs. 50

Mr. A. Maiti, Barrister-at-Law, Murapore, Rs. 100

Chumalal & Co., Rs. 50

Alamestda C. Sona, Rs. 500

Small Contributions, Rs. 4000

Total, Rs. 21541-7-9

Expenditure, Rs. 18691-0-0

Balance, Rs. 2850-12-0

Unpaid Claims in the Bank Rs. 4672-0-0

Cash in the Bank Rs. 4162-2-0

Cash in hand Rs. 615-10-0

Total Rs. 2708-12-0

Your Sincerely,
(Sd) Jagabandhu Sinha,
Treasurer,
Peoples Famine Relief Committee Puri.

Printed by Shankaral C. Bunker at Bava, Jives Muliramdaya, Choty Oi, Rambola Baku, Almeloob and published by Mahadeo H. Desai at the same place.
Notes.

To our Subscribers—Owing to the heavy loss we are annually incurring and the rising cost of paper, we have decided to increase our subscription from the 1st of July. Henceforth the annual subscription will be Rs. 5 instead of Rs. 4, the half yearly Rs. 3, and for single copy As. 2. It is essential that intending subscribers should remit money orders, in advance, for yearly or half-yearly subscriptions or the V. P. system is likely to cause unnecessary inconvenience and delay.

A request and a word of apology—We think we owe a word of sincere apology to our subscribers. They have had to put up with small inconveniences and petty incumbrances in not having received punctually their copies of "Young India" and answers to their letter. Hereafter, however, we hope to be able to attend properly to the correspondence and the despatch.

We have stated above that "Young India" has not been self-supporting, and it cannot do so even with this increase in subscription, unless we are able to secure at least five hundred more subscribers immediately. We therefore request our subscribers and other sympathisers, especially those of Madras to assist us in making up the deficiency.

A Lesson from England—Till March last Greek used to be a compulsory subject for the first examination at the Oxford University. But a statute passed by the Congregation and Convocation has reduced it to the position of an optional subject. This statute has been looked upon with great alarm by not an inconsiderable number of English scholars. They regard the statute as a grave educational evil. Commenting on this Sir Michael Sadler ob-
Our Political Security—It is not difficult to discover in the Secretary of State's despatch issued in connection with the Hunter Committee Report the terms at attempts made to pass over the offence on the part of the Government officials. One of these attempts is easily detected when the despatch passes in almost an apologetic tone to a hinting criticism on some of the mistakes during the martial law period and abruptly goes on to propose arrangements for the future to be incorporated in a martial law manual which the Government of India have at present under consideration. This martial law manual may be an attempt to respond to the general demand for the future security. But we cannot compromise ourselves with any manual that does not fall in with the demands stated in the Congress Sub-committee report. To furnish the statute book with such a manual without removing the Bowllatt Act from it would mean to endeavour to murder a case without removing the poison in the system. If the Bowllatt Act is not repealed, the Government of India's manual cannot satisfy those who are urging the British Parliament to pass a statute to secure the civil rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects, because the civil rights and the Bowllatt Act stand at the same time remain on our statute book. The Bowllatt Act destroys our rights whereas the Declaration of Rights recognizes them in law.

Will the Declaration suffice to secure our liberties? We do realize the importance of the Declaration of Rights, but we are not much accustomed to the Declaration of Rights business. The declaration will be of little avail if we have not the strength to have it well administered. Unless we become as accurate and fearless, no number of rights and liberties bestowed upon us can secure us our liberties. It is not unlikely that progress in legislation may outstrip the administrative order. It required generations for Englishmen to harmonize their legislation and administration in this respect. Their Magna Charta (1215), the Petition of Right (1628), the Grand Remonstrance (1641) and the Bill of Rights (1689) record the continued progress of Englishmen for not less than five centuries. The magnificence of the nature of legislation does not so much lie in what each of them adds to the preceding law, but in each confirming the foregoing law. King after king violated the liberties of his subjects. But with greater determination than the kings, came forward heroes from amongst the people who fought these violations and successfully wrested the writ of Habeas Corpus. We need not require the same long period to achieve freedom of person. But we cannot expect similar fights and sacrifices if we would have the fundamental principles of freedom engraved on our hearts. We emphasize the necessity of such preparation as of greater moment than the Declaration itself.

Reparations Scheme—Just at the time of writing this we have received the "Indian Opinion" containing the unanimous report of the Aesthetic Commission. We hope to deal with the report in our next. It is as follows—

"During the course of our inquiries strong evidence has been told us, which tends to show that there is at present, owing to the shortage of rice and other causes, a considerable number of Indians, who, with their families, were prepared to return to India if opportunity were afforded them. We have also had evidence from an influential gentleman, at present on a visit to the United States, who until recently was Chairman of the Central Employment and Labour Board under the Government of India, that at the present time, owing to industrial development, the labour supply in India is insufficient to meet the demands, and that good wages are being paid. The evidence on these points is confirmed by Sir Benjamin Roberts and Mr. G. L. Corbett, the official representatives of the Indian Government."

"We, therefore, strongly recommend to your Excellency that prompt steps be taken to provide the necessary shipping facilities, and to appoint an official well acquainted with the Indian mind and methods, to act in a sympathetic manner, and to lay before the Indians the advantages of immediately returning to India."

"The main causes have hitherto militated against the return of many Indians, viz., (1) The excessively long time they are kept at the Durban depot awaiting shipment, during which time they spend their available money in subsistence, and are consequently driven to re-entering employment to enable them to provide for their families and themselves, and (2) the fact that they are not allowed to take with them to India their earnings in the shape of gold and their jewellery."

"We, therefore, recommend immediate steps be taken (a) to appoint an official (not connected with the Protests' Department) to organise the return of such Indians as are prepared to go (b) to provide frequent shipping facilities as short intervals (c) to relax the restrictions on the export of gold, so far as necessary, in order to allow returning Indians to take their legitimate earnings and jewellery with them to India, (d) to make provision, where necessary, for enabling returning Indians and their families to reach their homes after arrival in India."

"Evidence was given before the Commission that at a meeting held at Durban during March last of Indians employed by the South African Railways, 80 per cent. of those present expressed their wish to return to India. It is estimated that about 40,000 Indians employed by the South African Railways are prepared to return to India."

With regard to the question of sending Indians to Australia, we consider it extremely unlikely that the proposed measures will result in bringing about the desired condition, seeing that the Indians are in no way likely to wish to leave India. We are of opinion that the measures should be taken by the Government in furtherance of this desire on the part of the Indian community, and that the Indians wishing to return to India, and have a good result. We feel, too, that Indians should be taken of the pressure of Sir Benjamin Roberts and Mr. Corbett, in whom the Indian community have the utmost confidence, and whose influence is consequently great, to obtain their assistance and advice in initiating the scheme, which we have recommended."
THE MUSLIMAN REPRESENTATION.

By M. M. Gandhi

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 30th June, 1920.

Government is never and nowhere entirely or lastly an armed force. It does make an honest attempt to secure the goodwill of the governed. But it does not hesitate to adopt unsavory means to compel the consent of the governed. It has not gone beyond the dishonesty of the best policy idea. It therefore urges you into consenting to its will by awarding titles, medals and ribbons, by giving you employment, by its superior financial ability to open for its employees avenues for enriching themselves and Family when these fail, it resorts to force. That is what Sir Michael O'Dwyer did and that is almost every British administrator will certainly do if he thought it necessary. If then we would not be greedy, if we would not run after titles and medals and honorary posts which do the country no good half the battle is won.

My advice are never tired of telling me that even if the Turkish peace terms are revised it will not be due to non-co-operation. I venture to suggest to them that non-co-operation has a higher purpose than mere revision of the terms. If I cannot have a more, I must at least cease to support a government that becomes party to the usurpation. And if I succeed in pushing non-co-operation to the extreme limit, I do compel the Government to choose between India and the usurpation. I have faith enough in England to know that at that moment England will expel her present paid munition and put in others who will make a clean sweep of the terms in consultation with an awakened India, draft terms that will be honourable to her, to Turkey and acceptable to India.

But I hear my critics say "India has not the strength of purpose and the capacity for the sacrifice to achieve such a noble end. They are partly right. India has not these qualities now, because we have not—shall we not evolve them and infect the nation with them? Is not the attempt worth making? Is any sacrifice too great to gain such a great purpose?"

BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

If the belief that the Turkish peace terms were inspired by the imperialistic ambitions of the Allies required further justification, it has ample been provided by the events and revelations of the past few months. The loss of oil, the greed of conquest, occupation and expansion of territory and of controlling the land and sea routes have proved too strong for the Big Three. Their vision has dimmed. They have not yet taught their traditions, their principles, pledges and promises. It is a mud and painful tragedy of this war. But the asidest and the most painful of all is the revelation that England's satellites who were the lowest in the cry of war for justice, liberty and right have been the first to fall victim to the policy of greed. They have been shown to be the prime movers of it. The exposure made by some of the statesmen and journals of the rival Allies, France and Italy, show that from first to last, the Prime Minister of England
with his little band of Imperialists has advocated the policy of disintegration and exploitation of Turkey. He is reported to be the mover of the plan of driving the Sultan away from Stamboul. His troops mainly occupy its eastern outskirts. The breach of the rich and conquered lands of Turkey to his vassal Greece is attributed to him. The rich mineral fields of Asia Minor are under his mandatory. He is laying his hand on Persia and dreaming of land-routes connecting his little Kingdom with its vast Eastern possessions. If beyond these glaring facts, any more evidence in support of his capacity, it is supplied by one of the Big Three, Signor Nitti, who in an interview to the Associated Press published by the French official organ "Le Temps" and reproduced by the "Manchester Guardian" to its lenses of the treaty, is reported to have said:

"War in Asia Minor would be the result and that for this war — neither one soldier nor one acre would be provided by Italy... You have taken from the Turks their holy city, Adrianople. You have placed their capital under foreign control. You have taken all the provinces and the greater part of their territory. The Italian delegates, chosen by you, will sign a treaty which will be the sanction of the Turkish people or of the Turkish Government."

In "Le Temps" itself asserts that the Italian Government has been consistently following this policy and that they are prepared to abandon the "Concert of Nations" when concerted action would alone make the application of the treaty. This gives a close to the attitude of the Italian Government. The attitude of the Italian people is even stronger as seen from various Italian journals, the "Le Temps" and the "Gazzetta di Italia." The latter warns the people of a new holy war for the peace terms amount to deprecation of the Mussulmans world. The paper declares that the peace terms will result in the complete realization of British hegemony in the Near East both direct and, by means of her vassal Greece, indirect.

It is clear from above that neither the Italian Premier—one of the Big Three nor the Italian people are willing party to the peace terms. They have been weak enough to submit to the terms but they openly dissemble themselves from any responsibility. They have connived the French and British Governments and people. From the telegrams and other despatches received from Mohammad Ali we have learnt that the French attitude, both official and non-official, is more sympathetic towards the Mussulmans than the British. This is also clear from the opinion of a number of prominent French journalists, publishers and statesmen. As to how they view the treaty, the following extract from Mr. Paul Louis' letter to the "La Humanité" will explain.

In the east of Europe British Imperialism is satisfying all its ambitions. It has reduced Turkey to an emirate in the midst of States which will be its vassals or of regions which it will itself govern. It will have the oil of Mesopotamia, and will control, by its indirect hold of Baku, the oil of Baku. It occupies Constantinople. Even better, by putting the Greeks in Adrianople and creating unmentionable provinces upon Vassalage, it prepares the re-establishment of the Byzantine Empire in favour of Halil-bain, and makes of that enslaved Helen the one of its most valuable auxiliaries in the East. It will use it against Turkish nationalism, and eventually against Russia. The shadow of England covers the world.

At the time of French occupation of the Rhine region when France was being charged by the British press and statesmen including Mr. Lloyd George for undertaking annexationist ideas, the French journal "Le Temps" denying the supermonstrosity reported as follows—

With his customary finesse, Mr. Lloyd George will not be understood as in the interest of the Franco-British Alliance it is better that we English, and especially Welsh, races should bear the consequences of Imperialism in our own country, leave alone the "Concert of Nations" as the British race is able. Although the British Empire is growing so rapidly, we do not desire to declare that England is ruled by a powerful group of Imperialists. We do not even suspect that our friends across the Channel invented the strange argument proposed by a French journal in justification of their expansion. Britain now requires less names to connect the various parts of its Empire and that it is not likely to lay hold on Persia, for instance.

What is the lesson that even the most favorably situated person drawn from all this? It is, that the British Imperialism under the leadership of Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Milner, and Mr. Churchill is chiefly, if not wholly responsible for the Turkish peace terms such as they are.

Then again the "Daily Mail" report about France taking the initiative in revision of the treaty strengthens this opinion. The report has been contradicted, but the contradiction is itself a confirmation of the view that France desires a revision here is the contradiction:

It is authoritatively stated in Paris that the "Daily Mail" report is erroneous. While France desires to see every way to facilitate Turkey in order to ensure the carrying out of the terms of the peace treaty, she cannot take the initiative for revision of the treaty before the treaty has signed (Stalina says).

It cannot be said after this that the British Government has been defeated by the Sanremo Council. It is rather the other way. The sacred trust imposed in England by Hampden, Magna Carta, France, Carville and Others, by a nation of 315 million people is being wantonly betrayed by a g侏l of Imperialists which rule her destinies today. The shadow of British Imperialism covers the world. It will be an evil day for England when her great democracy will have wholly surrendered itself to the greed of a few grabbers.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

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OUR MADRAS LETTER.

Untouchability is an evil more or less palming society all over India, but it degrades and threatens the future of society in South India in an intense degree. If our leaders attended the meetings of the Dostami Workers' and other Adi-Dravid organisations, they would realise the gravity of the matter and take up this cause of untouchability as the most urgent of all problems, and not rest until it is solved honourably. Political and Labour efforts have naturally raised the consciousness of freedom and equality in all grades and occupations, but where unused has said a greater burden of national ignominy, the reaction is naturally more violent than in other cases.

Signs are not wanting that the forces of violence which were dormant for some time, are again attempting to get control over this problem of untouchability, and it looks as if, this time they may succeed in their attempts. Politics and elections have furthered the soul for mischief and interested persons are ready to mislead.

A WORD TO THE ADI-DRAVIDA LEADERS.

It may be asked, why is untouchability a remedy? Why should not a degrading evil, like the doctrine of untouchability of any class of human beings, be removed by force if need be? Because of two reasons first, because force is no remedy at all, and secondly, because violence is a remedy worse than the disease, worse to the community sanctifying it than to the people against whom it is used.

It is vain to imagine that there will be any satisfaction if you obtain respect by force. Unless the 'high caste' man recognises the equality of the 'Panahals,' the latter will get no real satisfaction by merely forcing his touch in presence of the former. It is a vain hope of brute force that it can ever attain its object in reality. The inflexible law of nature is that only voluntary surrender can give that complete satisfaction which our skulls. If a man refuses to submit you, you may send your man and by sheer physical force applied to the arm, lead to touch the forehead, but while you get what you desire in form, the substance and the satisfaction will not be there, and you will realise the futility of force at the end of it all, as all the tyrants of the world have no doubt realised. If the Adi-Dravidas get into the interior of a temple by force, they will get the same degree of satisfaction, and no more. Hence force is no remedy.

Again, even if violence were a remedy, it is a remedy worse than the disease. The Adi-Dravidas are a people whose future and whose hope are as much as that of any other community bound up with moral progress and civilisation. If the rights of the community are gained by the use of violence, the elements of violence having gained a foothold, will continue to rule the future of that community. The leaders will be the slaves of the desperate and the rowdies. Those who command the forces of violence will be the real leaders, and those among the community whose strength is in moral and intellectual position must be dependent for ever on the baser elements, and leadership will be a force. If to-day you become controllable by expelling force, you cannot throw off the reign of force in internal matters, at your will, to morrow having established its authority, it will continue to dominate in all your concerns, and guide your future. Hence the remedy, which would place the community under the leadership of violence, would be a permanent internal degradation worse than the present external injustice of untouchability.

If neither the State nor the consciousness of the 'higher castes' nor their forethought will give relief, what remedy is available other than violence? Non-violent disobedience and the readiness to undergo suffering. The opposition of society, the State's protection of vested interests and custom, all will crumble before the incomparable forces of Strygonia. Give a hundred determined and disappointed Panchams, who vowing to abstain from violence, are resolved to suffer and sacrifice themselves for the sake of their community, in order that this untouchability may be forever wiped out, the question will be solved, and the nation saved from obstruction and violence.

10-6-20.

I SHALL NOT STAND FOR ELECTION.

Under the above heading Lala Lajpat Rai writes a thought-provoking article in his Urdu paper, 'Bande Mataram.' Lajpat Rai writes—

At the publication of the 81. C. Scheme of Reforms a hope dawned in my mind. I felt the day was perhaps nearing for my unfortunate country to achieve her long cherished freedom without bloodshed... It pains me to say that this hope has gradually faded away. Whatever little there was has been destroyed by the Hunter Committee report and the Secretary of State's despatch. When the remunara were abroad as to what the report was likely to be, I felt it was difficult for me to stand for election for the new council under the circumstances. This feeling has been strengthened by the report, and I have resolved after much deliberation that I shall not stand for election.

My reasons for this decision are these—

(1) The decision of the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the Hunter Committee's report implies that the entire policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer was right, and except that a few officers here and there exceeded the bounds of propriety individually, there was nothing wrong with the. This means that the grievances of the educated community of the Punjab against Sir Michael O'Dwyer were baseless and mendacious. In my opinion this decision negates the possibility of the participation in the new council by the educated community of the Punjab with any appreciable amount of hope. Sir Michael looked upon the educated section of the Punjab with contempt. He was not only unfavourable to them, but uninterested in it.
please him thought of the educated men of the Punjab as so many 'empty vets.' The rules framed by the Punjab Reform Commission under the Act with the sanction of the Local Government breathe the same spirit, which surely means that though Sir Edward Montagu has, on account of his numerous woesushes, somewhat changed the outward appearance of Government policy, he practically the same old policy still continues without any change.

(2) Those officers who in the martial law regime took a prominent part in disgracing and discrediting the educated community of the Punjab, or still adhering to their thrones, C. H. O'Brien who perpetrated contemptuous caricatures on the plebeians of Gomarasia, Major Besworth Smith who with his staff cased the veil of Indian ladies and addressed them in the most contemptuous terms, etc., are still occupying their offices Mr. Thompson, the chief secretary, is about to come. Similarly other officers who were the right hand men of Sir Michael O'Dwyer have either come to occupy their old offices or are about to do so. These officers will be the official members of the Punjab Council. I have not personal enmity against them, nor have I entered any personal wrong at their hands. But any Indian member going into the Council will be doubly bound to meet these officers. He will have to deal with them every day and it would be improper for him to keep himself silently aloof from them, because the very object of going into the Council is to serve the country, and that comes thereby and to co-operate as far as possible and work harmoniously with Government officials and to oppose them wherever necessary. But the wounds inflicted by martial law on the Punjab are so fresh that I am myself unfit for the task. My heart is utterly broken. I do not want to go into the Council with this wounded heart. Although I have personally sustained no wrong at their hands, my own personal respect does not permit me to cultivate friendship with those who harshly treated my brethren who contemptuously laughed at and tutored them, and who otherwise disgraced them in many ways.

Then new Councils can only prove beneficial to us when those at the Indian and official members work in unity and accord and together solve problems of state by mutual consultation. Yet in the present circumstances of the Punjab there is no prospect of the fruition of this hope. If the Chief and Advisory Councillors correctly represent the views of the Punjab Council (Europeans), then I have no hesitation in saying that the time has come to shut our eyes to facts. Until now they are the rulers and we are the ruled. The Punjab Publicity Committees which are a substitute of the Government also says the same thing. As long as that relation continues it is very difficult for us to work together. They suspect us and we suspect them. In my view therefore I cannot be useful to my country from inside the Council and it is better therefore that I should not go to do it.

——

REVIEW.

Sir Anukooob Mochcharjes, a character study.—(By E. C. Pal, publisher, H. Morhun and Co., Madras.) It is not the first time that Babu Bhein Chandra Pal has assumed the role of a biographer. Mr. Pal is a man

ININDA ABROAD.

The following letter has been addressed by the Secretary of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association to the Secretary, the Government of India, Commerce and Industries Department, Simla——

A meeting of the Mastering Committee of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association took place on the 11th inst. to consider the Indian interests in South Africa, Fiji and East Africa. The Committee has directed me to submit the following for your consideration in these three matters.

1. SOUTH AFRICA.

My Committee has seen Raara's cable referring to an omission report of the Commissaries investigating certain aspects of the Indian question in South Africa. The cable in question states that the inland report advises voluntary repatriation. My Committee is unable to come to any definite conclusion upon this very grave information. I have therefore been directed to ask that the Government of India should ascertain at the earliest possible moment full information respecting the proposed repatriation scheme and publish the information that may be received by the Government in the Indian Press. Meanwhile my Committee desires to state that as a general principle, it is opposed to any scheme of state-repatriation whether compulsory or voluntary. The Government of India must be aware that repatriation is to by no means a new idea in South Africa. It has been often enough considered as a solution by the Anti-Indian party in South Africa and has been officially opposed by the Indian settlers, who have
always held that repatriation will be humiliating and on admission of the weakness of their case. Moreover, my Committee will not be able to undertake itself to any measure of separation that carries with it forfeiture of the right of domicile in South Africa. My Committee therefore trusts that before coming to any final decision on this very important question, the Government will publish all the available information and await full discussion by the Press and representative Indians. My Committee, further, feels that the manner in which things are moving in South Africa, is not at all hopeful, but relies upon the Government of India to protect the full, civil rights of the British Indian settlers in South Africa, not merely from the point of view of abstract justice but as street conscription with the settlement of 1914.

II. EGYPT

Regarding Egypt my Committee has pressed papers in its possession and information supplied to the Press with respect to the recent so-called riot at Faiq, with the greatest apprehension. My Committee, however, reserves to itself the right to revert to this matter when full and official information is available, which it is hoped, the Government of India will publish at the earliest opportunity. Meanwhile one thing seems to stand out clearly, namely, the need for providing transport for those unfortunate Indians who are willing to leave Egypt. My Committee holds that it is the obvious duty of the Government of India to provide early facilities to enable them to return to India, and I hope that you will be able to convey a reassuring assurance regarding this very urgent matter.

III. EAST AFRICA

With regard to East Africa, my Committee hopes to the near future to make a full representation about the status of British Indians in the East African Protectorate. Meanwhile, it may be pointed out that the quarter is in East Africa is one of the most important, total immunity to the occasion in the other parts of His Majesty's Dominions. Whereas the Indian Settlement in those other quarters has followed white immigration and has resulted from the introduction of reintroduced labor, Indians were early settlers in East Africa and have therefore the right of priority in this part of African Continent. Any legal or administrative differentiation that there is to the Indian Settlers, will in itself be unwarranted and will be strongly resisted by Indian public opinion. My Committee looks to the Government of India to hand over the rights of Indian settlers secured, to speedily protect the full status of British Indians in East Africa.

KHILAFAT APPEALS

TO

M. THE VICE-ROY

The following representation has been sent to

M. M. THE VICE-ROY on behalf of the Indian Muslims by many prominent leaders including the Hon. Mr. K. R. Mistry, Mr. Y. K. L. K. Mistry, Abdul Hamid, Mr. Abdul Rehman and Mr. A. M. Rizvi.

We, the undersigned, claim to represent the largest body of East Indian opinion. We have most carefully read the Turkish peace terms, and we consider them to be in direct violation of the religious sentiments of Muslims. They violate the muqaddas imposed upon us and are found the vanguard of all Muslims. We are contrary to the pledges of British Ministers on the strength of which it has been admitted it was possible to draw upon India for Muslim recruits during the war.

We hold that the British Empire which is the greatest Mahometan Power in the world cannot treat the Turkish Empire which represents to the Khilafat, in the same manner that it may treat a defeated enemy. Indeed we earnestly request that certain respects Turkey has been treated worse than the other Powers. We respectfully submit that to the treatment of Turkey the British Government is bound to repose on Indian Mahomedan sentiment as far as it is not more unjust or unreasonable. In our opinion the peace terms up by Indian Muslims is simple. They cannot bear the thought of the temporal power of the Sultan being adversely affected by way of punishment for his having joined Germany under circumstances which need not be examined here. But we have no desire to ask for anything that would interfere with the principle of self-determination. We have no desire to uphold any rule which has been attributed to Turkey. Our delegates in Europe have asked for a re-imbursement of any injury to the Sultana and it is hereby been expressed by Turkish ambassadors in Armenia. We cannot look with indifference to the partition of Turkey and her Empire for the sake of punishment or belittling her.

We would therefore request your Excellency and your Government to ask His Majesty's Ministers to assure a revision of the peace terms and tell them that on failure to do so, your Excellency will make common cause with the people of India. We make this suggestion in your Excellency has repeatedly declared that your Government has consistently and often preserved the interest of Indian Muslims in this matter of vital concern to the vast majority of them. We feel, therefore, that we have a right to ask your Excellency to reassemble the Muslims of the Empire that they will retain your native self-government and powerful advocacy to the prosecution of their claims even to the point of resignation of your high officials, should His Majesty's Ministers fail to ensure the revision of the terms consistently with the pledges and the statement mentioned above. We venture respectfully to suggest that had India been a Dominion enjoying full self-government, his responsible ministers would have, as a matter of course, assigned a prominent seat at such a forum of pledges and repentance of religious opinion as are involved in the peace terms.

If unfortunately your Excellency will not adopt our humble suggestion we shall be obliged as from the first August next to withdraw co-operation from your Government and to seek our own representatives and Hindu brethren to do likewise.

We ask your Excellency not to regard our statement as a threat or in any way as a mark of disrespect. We claim to be loyal subjects of the Crown in any way in India. But if you consider our loyalty to an earthly regime be to our loyalty to Islam. The latter Opinion upon every Mussalman to consider these who are guilty of trying to remove the Khilafat practically as traitors.
In these circumstances, the only course open to you like me is either to despair to ever comprehend 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 would satisfy the wrong done, and thus restore confidence. I have not lost faith in such superiority and I am not without hope that some day or other justice will yet be rendered if we allow the requisite capacity for suffering. Indeed, I see no alternative to that result that is helpful. Not those who are ready to help themselves; I do not believe that it is of the power. It gives rise means to the strong to maintain their strength and develop it. The weak under it do go to the wall.

It is, then, because I believe in the British constitution that I have advised my Mussalman friends to withdraw their support from Your Excellency’s Government, and the Hindus to join them, should the peace terms be revised in accordance with the solemn pledges of Ministers and the Muslim sentiments.

Three causes were open to the Mussalmans in order to mark their emphatic disapproval of the other measures to which His Majesty’s Ministers have become parties, if they have not actually been the prime perpetrators of it. They are:

1. To register the grievances.
2. To advance immigration on a wholesale scale.
3. Not to be party to the misfortune by assent to co-operate with the Government.

Your Excellency must be aware that there was a time when the highest, though the most thoughtless, among the Mussalmans favoured violence, and the “Hijra” (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 induce them from violence on moral grounds, but purely on utilitarian grounds. The result, for the time being at any rate, has never been to stop violence. The School of “Hijra” has received a check, if it has not stopped its activity entirely. I hold that no repression would have prevented a violent eruption, if the people had not been present to them a form of violent action including considerable sacrifice and suffering always that such a 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 wrong.

At the same time I admit that non-co-operation practised by the mass of people is attended with grave risks. But in a country which has overthrown the Mussalmans of India, on step that is unaided with wide risks can possibly bring about the desired change. Not to say some success will be to merit and greater risks if not virtual civil disobedience of Law and Order. But there is yet an escape from non-co-operation. The Mussalman representatives have requested Your Excellency to lead the agitation yourself, as did your distinguished predecessor at the time of the South Africu trouble. But if you cannot see your way to do so, and non-co-operation becomes a sure necessity, I hope that your Excellency will give those who have accepted my advice and myself the credit for being engaged by nothing less than a store sense of duty.

Laburaz Rani,

I have the honor to remain, Gandhi, Bankly, Your Excellency’s faithful servant,
22d June 1930.

(Sgd.) M. K. GANDHI.
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Notes

Pure Civil Disobedience—All the readers of Young India may not know that Ahmedshah came under a heavy fine for the thousands of the April of last year. The fine was collected from the residents of Ahmedabad, but none were exempted at the discretion of the collector. Among those who were called upon to pay the fine were income-tax payers. They had to pay a third of the tax paid by them. Mr. V. J Patel, a noted barrister, and Mr. Kanaga, a leading medical practitioner, were among those who were unable to pay. They had admitted that the authorities were able to correct the disturbance. No credit was taken by any of them. They were Sathyagrahis but they had been engaged in the unclean activities of some members of their party. The authorities would not exempt them. It was a difficult thing for them to use discretion in individual cases. It was equally difficult for these brave gentlemen to pay any fine when they were not to blame at all. They did not wish to embarrass the authorities and yet they were anxious to preserve their self-respect. They carried on no agitation but merely notified their inability to pay the fine in the circumstances at hand. Therefore an attachment was issued.

Dr. Kaunga was a very busy practitioner and his box was always full. The watchful attacking official attached his cash box and extracted enough money to discharge the writ of execution. A lawyer's business cannot be conducted on those lines. Mr. Patel appealed to his box. He wanted to make good his word and advertised for sale and daily sold. But these Sathyagrahis then completely saved their consequences.

Worse was to follow the folly of allowing the writ of attachment and paying for the collection of fine. Multiply such instances and imagine the consequences to the authorities of executing thousands of writs. Wives are possible when they are confined to a few recalcitrants. They are troublesome when they have to be executed against many high-hearted persons who have done no wrong and who refuse payment to vindicate a principle. They may not attract much notice when isolated individuals resort to this method of protest. But cases have been a curious method of multiplying themselves. They bear publicity and the sufferer instead of surrendering receive congratulations. Men like Thoreau brought about the abolition of slavery by their personal examples. Says Thoreau: "I know this well; that if one thousand, if one hundred, if ten men in whom I could trust, if ten honest men only—say, if one honest man, in the state of Massachusetts causing to hold slaves were actually to withdraw from this partnership and be locked up in the country jail thereto, it would be the abolition of slavery in America. For it matters not how small the beginning may seem to be, what is once well done is done for ever" Again he says, "I have contemplated the imprisonment of the offender rather than wrong of his goods; though both will serve the same purpose, because they who assert the parent right and consequently are most dangerous to a corrupt State, commonwealth have not spent much time in accumulating property.

We therefore congratulate Mr. Patel and Dr. Kanaga on the excellent example set by them in an exquisitely spirit and in an excellent cause.
Repatriation—Elsewhere is published Mr. Goswami’s view on repatriation. Things in themselves insufficient often become objectionable because of the source from which they come. Voluntary return of Indian Indians who have not enough to feed themselves with is not only not a bad thing but it would ordinarily be welcomed. But because the scheme is recommended by the African Commission it is naturally looked upon with the greatest suspicion. There are many over the river is exactly applicable in this case; and which we were not aware of. The substance of the proposal that the usual restriction about the carrying of gold and gold cointers may be relaxed regarding such returning emigrants. We think however that there is no cause for such hyper-sentimentalism. If the scheme does not carry with it foresight of domestic, we need not cavil at it. It has been generally recommended by Mr. West and Mr. Andrews. It has been supported by the African Commission and has been supported by the South African Commission.

Distress in Greece—According to the report received from the President of the Puri Famine Relief Committee, there are several centres distributing relief, namely, Ekeimegi, Ambani, and Nungura. Up to the end of May, the committee had distributed 170,000 pounds of rice through the agency among 150,000 recipients. They also gave away 700 pairs of shoes. Mr. Anandakumar Thakker, now returned to his duties after having attended the annual function of the Santals, and he writes under date of 31st ultimo from this letter we make the following extract:

The distress is still on the increase. Those who received relief from the Government numbered 7,800, and the figures have now reached 14,000. The People’s Committee has relieved 5,000 whereas today we are feeding nearly 14,000. We shall appear that those who have been contributing to this need are usually able to sustain their contributions. The response hitherto received has been unhesitatingly as generous as it has been spontaneous.

THE TURKISH PEACE

To the Editor of “Young India.”

Sir,

I have been asked by many to give my final opinion on the Turkish peace terms. I cannot express it better than in the concluding words of Mr. Syed Husain’s article in “La Republique Francaise”:

“This treaty will fall by the weight of its two repugnant features, but it is necessary that it should also be formally repudiated by all decent-minded and right-thinking people irrespective of race or religion, interested in the welfare of humanity and the future peace of the world.”

As a Christian and an Englishman I repudiate it with all my heart and soul.

Yours faithfully,

C. E. Andrews.

Shamshikar.

CRITICISM OF THE MUSLIM MANIFESTO

(By M. K. Ghosh)

The Khilafat representation addressed to the Viceroy and my letter on the same subject have been severely criticized by the Anglo-Indian press. The Times of India, which generally adopts an impartial attitude, has taken strong exception to certain statements made in the Muslim Manifesto and has devoted a paragraph of its article to an adverse criticism of my suggestion that the Khilafat should resign if the peace terms are not revised.

The Times of India extorts the submission that the British Empire may not treat Turkey like a defeated enemy. The signatures have, I think, supplied the best of reasons. They say: “We respectfully submit that to the treatment of Turkey by the British Government is based to respect Indian Muslim sentiment so far as it is neither wrong nor unreasonable.” If the seven errors Moslemans are partners in the Empire, I submit that their wish must be held to be all sufficient for refraining from punishing them. It is beside the point to quote what Turkey did during the war. It has suffered for it. The Times implies that Poland, Turkey has been treated worse than the other Powers. I thought that the fact was self-evident. Neither Germany nor Austria and Hungary has been treated in the same way that Turkey has been. The whole of the Empire has been reduced to the retention of a portion of its capital, as it were, to mock the Sultan and that too has been done under terms so humiliating that no self-respecting person, much less a reigning sovereign can possibly accept.

The Times has endeavoured to make capital out of the fact that the representation does not examine the reason for Turkey not joining the Allies. Well, there was no mystery about it. The fact of Russian being one of the Allies was enough to turn Turkey against joining them. With Russia knocking at the gates at the time of the war it was not an easy matter for Turkey to join the Allies, but Turkey had cause to suspect Great Britain herself. She knew that England had done no friendly turn to her during the Balkan War. She was hardly well served at the time of the war with Italy. It was still a bad choice. With the Musalmans of India awakened and ready to support her, her statement might have raised upon Britain not being allowed to damage Turkey if she had remained with the Allies. But that is all water under the bridge. Turkey made a bad choice and she was punished for it. To commemorate her now is to ignore the Indian Muslman sentiment. Britain may not do it and retain the loyalty of the awakened Musalmans of India.
For "The Times" to say that the peace terms strictly follow the principle of self-determination is to throw dust in the eyes of its readers. Is it the principle of self-determination that has caused the creation of Adrianoepolis and Thessalonica? By what principle of self-determination has Smyrna been handed to Greece? Have the inhabitants of Thessalonica and Smyrna asked for Greek tutelage?

I decline to believe that the Arabs like the disposition that has been made of them. Who is the King of Hedjaz and who is Emir Feisal? Have the Arabs elected these kings and caliphs? Do the Arabs like the Mandate being taken by England? By the time the whole thing is finished, the very name self-determination will stink in our nostrils. Already signs are not wanting to show that the Arabs, the Persians and the Smyrniotes are resisting their disposal. They may not like Turkish rule but they like the present arrangement less. They could have made their own honourable terms with Turkey if they had the chance. But these self-determining people will now be held down by the "mustache" might of the allied British forces. Britain had the straight course open to her of keeping the Turkish Empire intact and taking sufficient guarantees for good government. But her Prime Minister chose the crooked course of secret treaties, duplicity and hypocritical subtleties.

There is still a way out. Let her treat India as a real partner. Let her call the true representatives of the Mussalmans. Let them go to Arabia and the other parts of the Turkish Empire and let her devise a scheme in concert with them—a scheme that would not humiliate Turkey, that would satisfy the just Muslim sentiment and that will secure honest self-determination for the races composing that Empire. If it was Canada, Australia or South Africa that had to be pleased, Mr. Lloyd George would not have dared to ignore them. They have the power to ascend. India has not. Let him no more insult India by calling her a partner of her feeling count for naught. I invite The Times of India to reconsider its position and join an honourable agitation in which a high-souled people are seeking nothing but justice.

I do with all deference still suggest that the least that Lord Chelmsford can do is to resign if the sacred feelings of India's sons are not to be insulted and respected by the Ministers. The Times is over-taxing the patience when it suggests that as a constitutional Viceroy it is not open to Lord Chelmsford to go against the decisions of His Majesty's Ministers. It is certainly not open to a Viceroy to retain office and oppose ministerial decisions. But the constitution does allow a Viceroy to resign his high office when he is called upon to carry out decisions that are immoral. As the peace terms are or like these terms are calculated to stir to their very depths the feelings of those whose affairs he is administering for the time being.
people were intensely dissatisfied with the sale or the blunders of the munitions in the sense we are, they would boycott the visit without the slightest hesitation. The munitions want to make political capital out of the proposed visit. It is our duty to refuse to let them do so.

Mr. Bapista says and I agree that we are in mourning. We therefore hopes that the Franks would not go but if so, Mr. Bapista says, we should give them a welcome in spite of the mourning. I want the Franks to come and therefore I would try to remove the cause of mourning and not take it as a settled fact. I would tell the munitions that as we want to give the Franks an enthusiastic welcome, they should remove the Khilafat and the Punjab grievance. I should further tell them that if they did not so do and still permitted in sending the Franks to India, they should be responsible for placing the people in the awkward position of having to boycott the visit or the reception.

SWADESHI IN THE PUNJAB.

(H. M. K. Goversi)

The Joint Secretaries of the Bharat Sati Maha Mandal, Punjab Branch, send a report of the Swadeshi activities of Shrimati Saraladevi Ghosh, who overcame her return to Lahore from Bombay Miss Boy and Mrs. Kashanel, the Secretaries, state that meetings were held respectively on 23rd, 24th and 25th June at these different places in Lahore. All the meetings were attended by hundreds of women who were deeply interested in what Shrimati Saraladevi had to say. The burden of her discourse was India’s deep poverty. She traced the causes and proved that our poverty was primarily due to the abandonment of Swadeshi by the people. The remedy therefore lay in reverting to Swadeshi.

Saraladevi herself writes to say that her Khadisari impressed her audiences more than her speeches, and her songs came next, her speeches last. The good ladies of Lahore flocked around her and felt her warmth but beautifully white Sun and admired it. Some took pity on her that it was only the other day she was driven in the street, but she never dreamed herself in hand-woven Swadeshi Khadisari. Saraladevi wanted an pity and returned that there was foreign sources lay heavier on their shoulders with the weight of their helpless dependance on foreign manufacturers whereas her sources Khadisari lay light as a feather on her body with the joy of the knowledge that she was free because she wore garments from the manufacture of which her sisters and her brothers had laboured. This statement so pleased her audience that most of the women present resolved to discard foreign clothes. Saraladevi has now been charged by these ladies to open a shop where they could buy Swadeshi goods. She has more addressed more audiences. She spoke at the District Conferences at Sialkot and to a meeting exclusively devoted to ladies numbering over one thousand. I hope that the press of Punjab will help Saraladevi in her self-imposed mission. They may be her talents and her willingness in founding Swadeshi Sabha and urging Swadeshi propaganda on a sound basis. Both men and money are needed to make the work a success.

Swadeshi is more than reforms. There is much waste over reforms. There is none in Swadeshi. Every yard of yarn spun is so much labour well spent and so much wealth added to the national treasure. Every drop counts. Swadeshi spells first production and then distribution. Distribution without production means the raising of prices without any corresponding benefit. For to-day demand exceeds the supply. If we will not manufacture more cloth, more foreign imports must continue a painful and sinful necessity.

Punjab has a great opportunity. Punjab grows up woolen cotton. The art of spinning has not yet dried out. Almost every Punjab woman knows it. This form of knowledge of the Khesu of old has thousands of weavers. Only the leaders need to have faith in their women and themselves. When Saraladevi wrote to me that she might want goods from Bombay, I told her that the Punjab has all the land and all the labour and the material necessary for producing her own cloth. She has brave merchants. She has more than enough capital. She has brains. Is she the will? She can organise her own Swadeshi in less than a year, if the leaders will work at this great cause. It is playing with Swadeshi for the Punjab to have to import cloth from Bombay.

The Punjab has to fight itself by putting her Swadeshi on a proper basis and by aiding herself of her own. The Smith and Company. She will then be both economically and politically sound. Geographically she stands at the top. She leads the way in the older times. Will the spirit do so? Has men are worth to look at. Have they virility enough to secure without a moment’s delay purity of administration? Have not strained from Swadeshi for politics. My Swadeshi spirit makes of me impatient of garments that demand India of her wealth and equally impatient of the Smith, the O’Brann, the Smith and the Meike who degrade her of her self respect and innocently touch women’s vats with their sticks, chain innocent and if they were beasts, or shoot them from armoured cars or otherwise force people into subjection.

MADNESS IN JUNAGADH.

(By H. M. K. Goversi)

Junagadh is a Meena State in Kathiawar so named for the having of a once the land of brave Khatis. It possesses a well-regulated college called after its founder the late Vagkar Bhulundo. The college had attracted good many Smith scholars mostly Mehmedes. This college has the unique distinction of giving free tuition. Suddenly the
new Nawab a few days ago issued an order expelling all non-Keliahwadi students within twenty-four hours. The poor bewildered students were forcibly entrained the same day and packed away to Sindh. No one knows the crimes committed by the students. Rumour has it that the Khilafat agitation is at the back of this order. The Hindu students have been thrown in to cover the crimes of the dead.

Personally, I welcome this expulsion. The baseless charges of 1920 would show the people the true nature of the entity hostile forces arrayed against the Khilafat agitation. These States are themselves subjects of the Imperial State and therefore when the latter acts violently, the people are not worse off than the subjects who possess no sovereign powers. Having such a base—both power and riches—they become willing and anxious to acquit, and the madness of the injustice of the Imperial State is better reflected in the acts of Native States than in its own direct acts. The subjects of Native States and those who live under their temporary protection therefore often become double sufferers. But I do not wish to diagnose the condition of Native States under British supremacy.

My purpose is to show an easy way out of the impasse. The Principal of the College is reported to have resigned by way of protest against the extraordinary order. He deserves the warmest congratulations of those who wish to see justice and purity in the Empire. But have not the Keliahwadi students a duty by the State and their comrades? In my opinion, they should leave the college as a body after lodging a respectful protest. They will buy their free education at too dear a price if they have not the manhood to show their sympathy to their fellow-students by leaving the college. The Nawab Sahib may not still come to his senses. That is a matter of no concern to them. They will have done their duty by withdrawing from the college.

To the expelled students, I would say: Do not lose heart. You will not be allowed to be readmitted to a college whose owner has so insulted you. You may even return the little compensation money and the travelling expenses the Nawab Sahib has given you. Accepting any such compensation would be compromising with the wrong you can get all the education you need in Sindh itself, without having to go to any college. There is too much rivalry about the education received in our schools and colleges. We must learn to be men before we learn to read and write. Nature has an endowed man with the ability to overcome all difficulties in the way of their progress in the literary or otherwise.

A CHRISTMAS DAY IN CENTRAL AFRICA

(With acknowledgments to the Modern Review.)

The following article is the substance of a lecture which was delivered at Nairobi, on December 25th, 1910, after a visit to Uganda. I have omitted the opening sentences which were only of local interest.

The disturbances under which the natives suffer, when they go abroad, are so heavy, that it becomes natural and instinctive to turn first of all to the political sphere, in order to obtain some redress, however slight and inadequate. But though I have felt, as you yourselves have done, this strong drawing towards political action, yet more and more I have felt dissatisfied with politics alone. Personally, I have discovered that I could not do my best work in that field, and I have always shrunk back from it. For the purely political aims, while they have no importance which I could not withstand, have at the same time this taint of that sense of guilt which they are apt to deal with outward affairs, rather than with inward causes. Too often, they attempt to mitigate some painful symptom of the disease, without probing down to the root of the evil itself.

But the religious life of men, if truly lived goes deeper. It seeks to discover, not the present needs, but the ultimate facts of human existence. Its one supreme aim is to discover in the soul of man those essential actions, on which all political construction, if it is to be strong, must be based.

Today is the first Sunday after Christmas. It comes between Christmas and the New Year. It is a solemn time of the year to us who are Christians, and you will pardon me if my words take a deeper tone than such a season. This last Christmas day, which I have just spent on the borders of Lake Nyasa, has left a deep impression on my mind. It was passed under peculiar circumstances, and it has given me a message which I feel I may hand on to you. I shall have to explain a good deal first, which relates to my own life, and then, I think, I shall be able to make the message perfectly plain.

Many of you have been taught at some time or other, in the course of your school days, how in our home-life in England, we are accustomed to meet together in families each Christmas season. It was at those times, when I was young, that it used to be my great delight to sit by my mother's side while my sisters and I were told the Christmas stories of our Bible. My brothers and sisters would sit with me in a circle. She would tell us, how Carrot was once a baby in his mother Mary's arms and how the poor mother when the time of her delivery came, had nowhere to lay her head, she had to give birth to her child in the manger of a stable where the cattle were feeding. The people of the stable were so busy with their own affairs that they could not make room for her in the manger. So Carrot was born in a stable and this was intended to be a sign to us in all ages, that God loves the poor and neglected people of the earth, and does not take any at the mercy of them.

OUR MADRAS AGENTS.

Messrs. S. Gangas & Co. (3 Nallur Street, Triplican, Madras) are our authorized Agents for Madras.
My mother was fond of telling us how the cattle came up to Mary, as she lay there on her back, and how they gazed at her, as though they wished to tell her that they understood her pain. We, children, could picture to ourselves from the illustrations we had seen in our storybooks, the cattle in the stable watching over the mother and her baby child—perhaps some camel, with its long neck bending down towards the manger, or the cow, which had borne its heavy burden all day, or the ox, with its big, soft, wondering eyes, we used to think of all these animals looking up, and our mother used to warn us, that we must never do harm to the humble beasts, who served mankind so faithfully. For when worldly, money-seeking men were unwilling to make room for Christ, the humble beasts of the field had drawn near to welcome Him in love.

But perhaps the picture which we used to like best of all was her own vivid description of the shepherds, as they watched their flocks on that Christmas night under the stars in the cold wintry fields. We listened silently while our mother repeated to us the words of the Bible:

There were shepherds abiding in the fields, keeping watch over their flocks by night.

And lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them, and they were sore afraid.

And the angel said unto them, 'Fear not, for behold, I bring you tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.

'For unto you is born this day in the City of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.'

And this shall be a sign unto you: Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger.

And suddenly there was, with the angel, a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God and saying:

'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men.'

We had children, used to learn those words by heart, and she would ask us to repeat them to her without a mistake after she had read them to us. Then she would go on to explain to us, that although there were many seasons going on in the world every day, yet at Christmas time, at least, there should be peace and goodwill in all hearts towards all mankind. She told us, if we ourselves had any bitterness at that season, we should cease to cherish it.

The snow would be falling outside in the street, while our mother spoke to us, and in the distance we could hear the church bells faintly sounding with almost human voices. They seemed to be repeating the Christmas message of peace and goodwill. A warmth of love would come into our young hearts as we listened to our mother's words.

As I grew older, my mother explained to me more fully that, when I become a man, whatever happened to me in the outside world, I must never in my utmost heart bear ill-will towards any human being, because we were all like children of one Heavenly Father, who loved us equally and impartially. For Christ had taught us, saying:

"One is your Father in heaven and all ye are brethren."

She told me that just as there ought to be no bitterness between brothers and sisters in one family, so there ought to be no bitterness, leading to war and bloodshed, in the larger family of mankind. Each one of us ought to do everything that was in our power to prevent war, by rolling our owninar lives and subduing our lower passions of malice and revenge. Thus we could each help to bring to pass the fulfillment of that message which the angels sang at the birth of Christ:

Peace on earth, good will towards men.

Each Christmas Day, since then, I have tried to remember her teaching and her wish. I can feel witness to the fact that, the longer I have lived and the more I have grown, the more I have realized the fundamental truth of the instruction which my mother gave me and its practical value. It has seemed to me more and more, as an ultimate remedy for war, than any other, however great, of man's political devising whether they be Hague Conferences or Leagues of Nations, for it touches the heart of men and keeps it pure from that which is the root cause of war and strife.

This year, my Christmas Day began under conditions which made it somewhat hard to find the quiet hours I needed for thought and meditation. For I had been obliged by illness, owing to an unfounded delay in the Hospital, while in Uganda, to cross the Lake Victoria Nyasa by the weekly steamer that was due to arrive on the East African side of the Lake on Christmas morning. There was all the bustle and noise and confusion that was inevitable when a steamer is nearing port.

If I may confess it to you, I had a sense of depression and loneliness all through the opening hours of this last Christmas Day. I pictured to myself my own brothers and sisters meeting together and keeping their Christmas together at home, and I felt a sadness that I could not be with them. The memory of those earlier Christmas seasons, when my mother was with us, came back to me, making my heart ache with the sense of being far away from those I love.

But a little before noon, the great ship was moored close up to the wharf I was taken by Indian friends among the Indian population, and at the end of the town we waited the railway quarters where the poorer Indian families live, who work in the railway yards. There was evidently much enforcing there visible in the faces of the mothers and the children, and I was told that the place was very material and unhealthy. I saw the Indian mothers with their little children, and the vision flashed upon me with a sudden illumination of joy that this was my true home and these were my true brothers and sisters, with whom I was
to spend my Christmas. And, almost at the same moment, the words from Christmastide brought to my memory a new and wonderful fullness of meaning and power.

Here is Thy footstool, and there rest Thy feet, where two of the poorest, and loudest, and last.

I need hardly tell you how, when these thoughts came through my mind, all the previous depression and loneliness vanished, to make place for a great peace filled my heart. After the initial joy, I felt the darkness. I would not have been able to show the world the beauty among in the darkness, I would have been able to do so. The beauty of the Christmas song on the borders of the Lake.

And so, in the end, the last Christmas Day, which has just passed by, became one of the happiest in my life. In the Indian community, when evening came, I looked down to the station to bid me farewell and my heart was very full. The Indian women and the children from the railway station walked there, and I was able to walk at the head of them, and with them, to express the happiness of the occasion. A great happiness had been given to me that day and it will remain with me in years to come.

If this simple narrative of what happened has at all expressed its meaning, you will have guessed that the message which, above all others, I wish to leave with you is contained in the closing words of the Christmas song itself—

Peace on earth, goodwill towards men.

It is not easy to say that song here in East and Central Africa, where racial hatreds abound, and yet I leave it with you, I know full well the trials and tribulations, which you are to suffer at the hands of those who are able to use with impunity the prestige and power of a ruling race. Add yet I would all the more entreat you to give heed to the words—

Peace on earth, goodwill towards men.

I am not asking you to hastily tolerate injustice, or to be weakly submissive in the face of wrong, but I am not asking you to refuse from indignation that is both righteous and just. If I wish you to be brave, to resist injustice, and to claim that which is right. But I would have you, all the while, maintain reverence, and unselfish goodwill in your hearts, remembering the words—

Peace on earth, goodwill towards men.

I have heard the story of an old white-hair Frenchman, on the time of the revolution, who maintained an almost Christ-like tenderness and forbearance in the midst of continual and wrong. When asked how he was able to keep such control over his lower nature, he replied, "By remembering that I was born a gentleman."

There is a noble backslight of moral greatness, which every son of India possesses by inheritance, for it is in India that these traits of universal goodwill were first proclaimed. It is to this very birthright of moral truth that I am calling you. Believe me, it is no cowardly policy to which I invite you, but an adventure of faith and endure age

which requires the bravest among the brave to be our companions. It means a victory, not over another, but in one's own inner spirit, a victory of the good over the evil in oneself. It means a determination, come what will, so to rule within, that no evil passion shall arise. It means to win complete mastery in the centre of the heart—

The mystery of love,

I must, the Buddha, from his seat near Benares, preached to all mankind this truth when he said,—

Overcome anger with kindness,

Overcome hatred with love.

But Nama proclaimed in the Punjab the same sovereign message in these words,—

Puru, and he who speaks them on the face,

Sleep and love his feet,

So enter thou the joy of the Lord.

The New Testament is full of kindred utterances; it is the very spirit of Christ and of the Gospel. Thus the great saints and sages of all generations of mankind, those who have been called the friends of God, have spoken with one voice. No other truth of humanity has had such full and noble voices born to it in every age. We are the heirs of these great records of the past. Let us not prove false to our inheritance.

Therefore, in the face of all that is hostile to you in East Africa, my message the Christmas tide is both simple and direct. Do not return hatred for hatred, evil for evil, insolence for insolence, but keep your own hearts pure and sweet and clean. Beyond and above all these lower racial passions of the present hour, the truth of humanity abides,

One is your Father, on his knees, and all ye are brethren.

G. T. Andrews

HOW AND WHEN TO ACT

DETAILS OF THE PLAN STAGE.

The following is a statement issued by the Non-cooperation Committee for public information and guidance:

Many questions have been asked of the non-cooperation Committee as to its expectation and the method to be adopted for bringing our non-cooperation movement about the necessary steps. The Committee wish it to be understood that whilst they expect every one to respond to these recommendations till the full, they are desirous of carrying the weakest members also with them. The Committee wish to entice the less sympathetic, if not the active co-operation, of the whole of the country in the method of non-cooperation.

Those, therefore, who cannot undertake physical work will help by contributing funds or labour to the movement.

Should non-cooperation become necessary, the Committee has decided upon the following as part of the first stage:

(1) Surrender of all titles of honour and honorary offices,
against the grant of a free passage. If the scheme is benevolently intended to relieve the present distress the Indian Government will simply ensure the return of those who are unable to support themselves to South Africa without begging for the fornication of others. To insist upon the loss of valuable rights would be to take a severe advantage of the dearth caused by the departure of some of our countrymen in South Africa."

MR. GANDHI'S MESSAGE.
Mr. Gandhi has sent the following cablegram to Mr. Mahomed Ali, London—

"Respectful but firm: Muslim representatives unconditionally and unanimously protest against non-co-operation from the 1st August. Peace Terms are not revised or if the Viceroy does not hear Khilafat agitation now in His Excellency's hands. I have sent my own separate representation explaining my connection with the movement and associating myself entirely with it. In my opinion the vast majority of Muslim Hindoo masses are behind great and just agitation for respect of Muslim religious sentiment and for ensuring all kinds of national pledges. You may be sure of everything possible being done on this side. I have no doubt that in this great cause God will help us and we will help ourselves."

NON-CO-OPERATION.
MR. GANDHI'S STATEMENT.
Mr. Gandhi writes to the press—

"Needless to say that I am entirely agreed with Lala Lajpat Rai on the question of the boycott of the referred councils. But I have very strongly objected of a co-operation and am in full agreement with him. I have received a similar suggestion from the Punjab. Lala Lajpat Rai's suggestion is doubly wrong. I have seen the suggestion made in more quarters than one that co-operation on the reforms should commence after the passing of the new councils. I cannot help saying that it is a mistake to go through the election labour and the expense of it when we clearly do not wish to take part in the proceedings of these Legislative Councils. Moreover, a great deal of educative work has to be done among the people. And if I could I would not have the least attention of the country scattered away in electioneering. The populace will not understand the beauty of co-operation if we seek election and then resign. But it would be the same for the election if the electorate are not to elect anybody and autonomously to tell whenever may occur such an outrage as he would not represent them if he so sought election. As long as the Punjab and Khilafat questions are not satisfactorily settled, I hope, however, that Lala Lajpat Rai does not mean to join with the boycott of the referred councils. We must take it for granted that every one of the four stages of non-co-operation if we are to be regarded as self respecting action. The view is clear. Both the Khilafat terms and the Punjab affairs shew that Indian opinion wants something for all the evils of the Empire. It is a humbling position, but we shall make each of the reforms if we quietly swallow the humiliation. In my humble opinion therefore the first condition of real progress is the removal of these difficulties in our path. And unless some better course of action is devised much will come of our co-operation to meet the field."

Printed by Shankarshri & Company at New Jeevan Madrasah, Chor Gali, Pukara Bazaar, Ahmedabad and published by Malabharal Dipa at the same place.
A Vile Attack—Although everything that Mr. Andrews ever said about the condition of the Indians in Fiji has been proved up to the hilt and although almost everyone of his recommendations has been accepted, the reader is aware that he was abused by the interested English Press of Fiji in a most despicable manner. Similarly now the English Press in East Africa is attacking Mr. Andrews for having dared to advocate the cause of the Indians in East Africa and for having exposed the base of the so-called Bournville Commission. Mr. Andrews has been accused by that Press of having been actuated by motives of self-interest and money making. The writer cannot think that any Englishman is capable of doing anything without interest and pecuniary motives. They refuse to believe, for Indians of East Africa have proclaimed from the housetops that Mr. Andrews was a poor man devoted to the service of humanity, that Mr. Andrews makes no money out of his self-imposed mission of God's service and that he does it even at the cost of his health. Happily for India and humanity in general, Mr. Andrews remains unaffected by these attacks and the more he is attacked the more resolute he becomes to those whom he loves and serves. The attacks emphasize the truth of Mr. Andrews statements.

Fiji Indians—The Hon'ble Pandit Mahatma recently received a cablegram from Suva (Fiji) advising him that about twelve hundred Indians including labourers were returning to India. The ship (Ganges by name) arrived at Calcutta on the beginning of July. Mr. Harilal Gandhi was deputed to receive the men, which he did. One of these men has arrived in Bombay and seen Mr. Gandhi. The man was in Fiji for an unbroken period of fourteen years. He says that the men were able to return not without difficulty, and that they were eager to return to India that many of them have sold their belongings at any price and come away. He said to Mr. Gandhi that the so-called riots were due to the fact that the labourers of the Indians, and that Mr. and Mrs. Harilal Dorow were deported without any reason whatsoever.

There is no doubt that the returned immigrants will spread all kinds of stories believed by them to be true. It is the duty of the Government to publish the full facts regarding the Fiji tragedy which was declared on a second edition of American...
Indians in East Africa—The first act of General Sir E. Northey on his return to East Africa is to announce that an Order-in-Council has been signed annexing British East Africa under the name of the Ruaha Colony, that a loan of five million pounds being floated and finally that no decision has been reached regarding the Indian problem. While this announcement partially removes our fears about any arbitrary decision having been reached by the Imperial Government, it gives us no clue as to what administrative changes are contemplated in connection with the Protectorate and raising the loan. Should any change in the administrative machinery be contemplated—as we know it—the question of the rights and the status of Indians in the Colony naturally prop up.

As everybody knows, the Indian being the pioneer settler in the Colony享受s, if no privilege, at least equality of status with the European settler. He therefore very justly demands equal extension of electoral and municipal franchises, equal representation on the Council and Municipalities, removal of racial and other disabilities against him with regard to the acquisition and ownership of land and the unnecessary annoying restrictions on Indian immigration and finally the admission of Indians to all public services on equal terms.

The Indian deputation headed by Mr. Charles Roberts laid down three claims before the Colonial Secretary, Lord Milner, and pressed him for a declaration that equality of rights and citizenship should be the guiding principle that should guide the conduct of Imperial affairs. His Lordship was also appalled by the feeling of Indians and their determination not to recognize the laws nor pay the taxes in the country unless then just and unimpeachable demands for equality of rights with the Whites in the land were granted. But his reply was far from satisfactory. While stating that the Governor of East Africa had been instructed on to the policy to be followed—by the bye the Governor's latest announcement mentioned above is that no decision has yet arrived at—Lord Milner commented and upheld the principle of interests to that of equality of rights. Mr. Roberts asked whether the Secretary for the Colonies was prepared to say that no policy based on racial lines and trade jealousies would be adopted. Lord Milner's reply was that while he would not be actuated by either, he would be an impartial judge between the conflicts of interests that are here involved. It is thus clear that it is the safe guarding of interests and not the equality of citizenship that distinguishes the policy of the Colonial Office. We shall want to see further developments. In the meantime no stone should be left unturned both here and in East Africa in asserting our demands.

Is Non-co-operation Sanctioned—Mr. V. P. Madhavrao is reported to have said that non-co-operation was impracticable because it was voluntary and, therefore, could be resisted only by unrighteous men. But non-co-operation cannot be dismissed quite so lightly. The ordinary method of condemning a thing is to give it a bad name. Mr. V. P. Madhavrao has designated a noble method of condemnation. He is a very ordinary thing a sacred name in order to pronounce its condemnation upon it. San Fancis are reportning to non-co-operation in a most acute form and it would be like what was being preached in India if there was no violence to it. But nobody considers them to be sacred. General Bichulabid to co-operate with Lord Milner after the Pass War unless the Bank were granted full self-government and all stages as Lord Milner had intended but all at once. He produced such a translation which upon public opinion that the Bank got more than they wanted. General Saints was one of the non-co-operators. There was no violence connected with General Bichulab's non-co-operation. But he was not by any means a worthless man. And we know by this time that General Saints, the right hand man, is a minister of the Union Cabinet. The fact is that we want self-government we want justice done in the Punjab and the Mahatma question, without our having to suffer any inconvenience or loss. We submit that it is an important fact we are attempting. Very there is no remissness of sin without the shedding of (one's) blood.

Women to the Rescue—The meeting of the women of Bombay presided over by Mrs. Jamil Jhamsu Petri was exceedingly well attended. Most of the matron families were represented at the meeting. It was comprised of all the classes. It was rightly claimed by Mr. Bostani that the women had contributed largely to the abolition of the indenture system in Fiji. And she hoped that the opinions of such cultured women on the Punjab affairs would carry equal weight. The resolution passed at the meeting was certainly comprehensive enough. Nadir Pasha gave a graphic description of the story of the Punjab and Mr. Gandhi laid stress on the necessity of women preparing themselves for sacrifice. They were not to buy their case, comfort and comparative safety at the cost of their less fortunate sisters. It was a good thing for them to have met that afternoon but it was not easy for them to make up their minds to insist on justice being done. They need not consider themselves to be apartr (vices). That was sort of the body and not of the soul. A body and body with her soul awakened could stand undaunted before sorest English officers on most tall. But that would only happen when the women of India redeveloped the sacreling spirit of Sita. May we hope that the women all over India will organize similar meetings and demand justice for the Punjab.
COUNCILS BOYCOTT.

Pundit Ramchand Bihi Chaudhury has ranged himself against Late Lala Lajpatrai in the matter of the proposed boycott of the Councils. Madras is divided, most of the nationalist leaders seem determined to boycott the Councils. The Madras has pronounced against it in a well reasoned article. The reason for disapproval of boycott are mainly two (1) If the nationalists refrain the moderates will get all the seats (2) Since through the legislative councils we have made some progress we are likely to make greater progress by reason of larger powers having been granted to popular representatives.

Now the first reason hardly does credit to a great popular party. If it is useful to enter the Councils why should nationalists be jealous of the moderates entering the Councils. Must they participate in the harm because moderates will not refrain? Or, is it intended that the harm can be avoided only if all join the boycott? If the fact is the contention it betrays ignorance of the principles of boycott. We boycott as a protest because we do not like it or because we do not wish to cooperate with its conductors. In the matter of the Councils the latter is the leading reason. And I submit that in a sense we cooperate by joining even though the object is obstruction. Most institutions, and a British legislative council most of all, thrive upon obstruction. The disciplined obstruction of the Irish members failed practically no impression upon the House of Commons. The Irishmen have got the Home Rule they wanted. The Madras argue that obstruction would be senseless and aggravate non-co-operation. I venture to deny it. In my opinion it shows want of faith in yourself. If in your doctrine you doubt and you preach you do not believe that either the English or the moderate leaders can possibly contemplate with equanimity a nationalist boycott of the Councils. We are now face to face with the reality. Will a single moderate leader care to enter any council if more than half his electors disapproved of his offering himself as a candidate at all? I hold that it would be unconstitutional for him to do so, because he will not represent his constituency. Boycott contemnated by his precept is a most active discipline and wasteful propaganda and it is based on the assumption that the electors themselves will prefer complete to an incomplete boycott in the form of obstruction. It is in answer to the people themselves do not want a complete boycott it would be the duty of these leaders to educate the electorate to appreciate the superiority of boycott over obstruction. To enter the councils is to submit to the vote the majority, to co-operate if then we want to stop the machinery of Government, as we want to, until we get justice in the Kunfut and the Punjub matters, we must put our whole weight against the Government and refuse to accept the vote of the majority in the council, because it will neither represent the wish of the country nor our own which is more to the point on a matter of principle. A man who refuses to serve is better than one who serves under protest. Service under protest shows that the situation is not intolerable. I contend that the situation created by the Government has become intolerable and therefore the only course left open to a self-respecting person is non-co-operation. A complete abdication. General Bokes refused to enter Lord Minto's council because he utterly disapproved of the principle that governed Lord Minto in dealing with the Home. And General Bokes successful because he had practically the whole of the House behind him. Politically considered, success depends upon the country accepting the boycott movement. If only reasonably considered success is there for the individual as soon as he has noted the principle he holds and his action has ensured national success because he has laid the foundation by showing the right way to it.

The other argument is that we shall succeed by entering the new Councils because we have after all not done quite so badly in having entered less popular bodies before. The answer to this objection is that the divisions had not then been reached, we had not lost confidence in British honesty and justice or we had not confidence in ourselves that to carry boycott to the successful end or we had not thought of the method in the way we are doing to-day. Probably all the three reasons operate to-day. After all, manners and methods change with the times. We must grow with our years. What was good enough food for our babyhood cannot be good enough for mankind.

THE LAW OF MAJORITIES.

Mr. Besant having read a report of my speech at the Punjab Meeting organised by the Home Rule League and the National Union, Bombay, having therein said that I had moved a resolution asking for the prosecution of General Dyer and the impeachment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer made how I would move a resolution whose terms I had not approved. Mr. Shastri has also felt uneasy about the same act. I have not seen any report of my speech. I am unable to say therefore whether I am correctly reported. My speech was in Gujarati and may have suffered at the hands of the translating reporter. I shall endeavour to explain my own position independently of the reports of my speech. And I do so gladly because I recognize that the principles stated by the two great leaders are very important.
I have often been charged with having an unyielding nature. I have been told that I would not bow to the decision of the majority. I have been accused of being autocratic. Now on the occasion of the Punjab Meeting, I was pressed to move a resolution which did not commend itself to me. I undertook to do so reserving to myself the right to express emphatic opinion on the contrary. And I did so. I have never been able to subscribe to the charge of autocracy or unreason. On the contrary I pride myself on my yielding nature in non-vital matters. I doubt autocracy. Valuing my freedom and independence I equally cherish them for others. I have no desire to carry a single soul with me, if I cannot appeal to his or her reason. My unconventionality I carry to the point of rejecting the divinity of the oldest Shaheens if they cannot convince my reason. But I have found by experience that if I wish to live in society and still retain my independence I must limit the points of utter independence to matters of first rate importance. In all other matters which do not involve a departure from one's personal religion or moral code, one must yield to the majority. In the case in question I had an opportunity of illustrating my position. My so-called unyielding nature the country had abundantly illustrated. It was happy to find a great occasion where I could safely yield. I believe still that the country is wrong in asking for General Dyce's prosecution and Sir Michael O'Dwyre's impeachment. That is purely the business of the British. My purpose is to secure the removal of the wrong deeds from any office under the Crown. Nothing I have seen since has altered my view. And I pressed it before the very meeting at which I moved the resolution in question. Yet I moved it because there is nothing immoral in asking for General Dyce's prosecution. The country has the right to demand it. The Congress Sub-committee has advised that waiver of that right can only do good to India. I thought therefore that I had made my position quite clear, namely that I still opposed the idea of prosecution and yet I had no objection in moving the resolution that involved prosecution because it was not bad or harmful per se.

I admit however that during the crisis we are passing through, my moving the resolution was a dangerous experiment. For whilst we are evolving new codes of public conduct and trying to institute influence or lead the masses, it is not safe to do anything that is likely to confirm the mass mind or to appear to be trucking to the multitude. I believe that at the present moment it is better to be dubbed autocratic and unreason than even to appear to be influenced by the multitude for the sake of its approval. Those who claim to lead the masses must restlessly refuse to be led by them, if we want to avoid mob law and doing ordered progress for the country. I believe that mere protection of mass opinion and surrender to the mass opinion is not only not enough but in matters of vital importance, leaders must act contrary to the mass of opinion if it does not commend itself to their reason.

GENERAL DYCE.

(S. M. K. Gandhi)

The Army Council has found General Dyce guilty of error of judgment and advised that he should not receive any office under the Crown. Mr. Montagu has been unpalatable in his criticism of General Dyce's conduct. And yet somehow or other I cannot help feeling that General Dyce is by no means the worst offender. His brutality is unassailable. His subject and undesirer-like cowardice is apparent in every lab of his amazing defence before the Army Council. He has called an armed crowd of men and children—mostly holiday-makers—a rebel army. He behoves himself to be the master of the Punjab in that he was able to shout down like rabble men who were pressed to an insurrection. Such a man is unworthy of being considered a soldier. There was no bravery in his action. He ran no risk. He shot without the slightest opposition and without warning. This is not an error of judgment. It is paralysis of it in the face of fancied danger. It is proof of criminal incapacity and heartlessness. But the fury that has been spent upon General Dyce is, I am sure, largely misdirected. No doubt the shooting was ' frightful', the loss of innocent life deplorable. But the slow torture, degradation and annihilation that followed was much worse, more calculated, meekless and compelling, and the actors who performed the deeds deserve greater condemnation than General Dyce for the Jullundur Singh massacre. The latter merely destroyed a few bodies but the others tried to kill the soul of a nation. Who over talks of Col. Frank Johnson who was for far the worst offender? He terrorism guiltless Lahore, and by his murderous orders set the tone to the whole of the Lahore Law officers. But what I am concerned with is not even Col. Johnson. The first business of the people of the Punjab and of India is to rid the service of Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bowrington Scott, Rai Shanti Ram and Mr. Malik Khan. They are still retained in the service. Their guilt is as much proved as that of General Dyce. We shall have failed as a duty if the condemnation pronounced upon General Dyce produces a sense of satisfaction and the obvious duty of purging the administration in the Punjab is neglected. That task will not be performed by platform rhetoric or resolutions merely. Storm action is required on our part if we are to make any headway with ourselves and make any impression upon the officials that they are not to consider themselves as masters of the people but as their judges and servants who cannot hold office if they misbehave themselves and prove unworthy of the trust reposed in them.
A SUPERINTENDENT'S ORDER

Mr. Gandin writes to the press—

The Hon'ble Parsec Medan Mohan Malaviya Lai handed in an order signed by Mr. R. A. Huxley, the Superintendent of Police, Gujranwala (Punjab) to the Press. The order is dated the 9th June 1919. It may be recalled that Superintendent Huxley was the person who directed the firing when one of the Railway bridges was set on fire to by a Gujranwalsae second on the 14th April 1919. Here is the order in question:

ORDER

To the Sub-Inspector of Police,

Gujranwala, the 9th June 1919

It is now practically certain that Martial Law will be taken off in this district, from these towns upon which it is still in force in a few days. The result of this will be that only these cases which are under the terms of removal of Martial Law under the acts of the district before the Martial Law Proceedings will be allowed to continue to be tried under Martial Law.

All other cases whether under investigation or under trial before the Summary Court will still be dropped and can then only be tried under the ordinary law. This will mean greatly prolonging these cases under the martial law cases will proceed slowly in court, and there will be no appeal to the High Court. In fact, it is necessary to take this to the Summary Court, and all cases which are under investigation which have been completed rapidly will be completed as quickly as possible by the Summary Court, and all cases will appeal to the High Court.

Great efforts must now be made to complete all pending cases at once. I am asked to see that all cases are published on the Summary Court and that every officer must be ready to send up the cases of the Summary Court.

Proper attention has not as far as can be seen been paid to securing the arrest of two persons. This must now be done. Can officers want to see what is the best way of bringing these persons to justice? It is not necessary to send a report to the police stations for their arrest.

I need not impress upon my officers the great necessity of completing these cases at once and of getting a sufficient number of persons to be tried in these cases. It is not advisable to send a report to the police stations for their arrest.
the investigating staff here should suffer in comparison with those who have investigated in Ranched America. But should the numbers sent up for trial continue as small all concerned will undoubtedly lose revenue and respect they are in some quarters产值 to.

5-6-1919
(Sd) F. A. Heron,
Superintendent of Police,
Gurunagar.

Snores of witnesses in the district gave evidence before the Congress Sub-Committee that during the last days of March, butchering after batches of prisoners were burned to the Summary courts so-called. The proceedings were late at night and without even examining defense witnesses condemned absolutely innocent men to varying terms of imprisonment. One of the officers who thus conducted trials was C.S. O'Brien, and the other was Mr. Bowser Smith. The order reproduced above adds emphasis to the evidence recorded by the Congress Committee and throws a lurid light on the way in which proceedings took place. It was in this summary and hasty manner that men who were absolutely innocent of any crime were burned and imprisoned at Adilgai, Ramanagar and other places, and still those officials retain their offices and the power of doing evil.

OUR MADRAS LETTER

"What are you in the Police Force?" 'I am a First Grade constable.' "So, you have been some years in service. What is your pay?" 'I get Rs. 260 a month.' 'Famous allowance!' 'All included.' "Are you provided with free quarters?" 'Some of us are, but I am not. I pay a house rent of Rs. 5, but Government gives Rs. 2, and I pay the difference.' "Your uniform is smart, you are given that free, I suppose." 'Yes, but I have to pay the dhooby. We pay heavily to look smart and avoid black macks, the dhooby and the banyan are daily raising their rates. Rs. 4 a month is barely enough for this kind of wear.' "Why do you call it a waste?" "When we have not enough to buy rice and chil and salt, what else but waste as washing and starching, shaving and polishing?" "Do you have to buy your own shoe-polish and brass polish?" 'Yes, and we buy our own shirts and underwear, and have to keep them clean and white. They get dirty and tear so easily.' "After all these odds and ends, what do you have left to buy your food-stuffs?" 'Sometimes Rs. 12, sometimes Rs. 8, and sometimes less.' "Are you married?" 'I am not. I have a wife and two children.' "Do they work and earn anything?" 'How can a constable's wife do much work? Moreover when is the time? The children are young, and unless the house after the house, I could not possibly be regular at my duty.' "Do the children go to school?" 'He looked sad and said, "I am trying to send them, but I can't afford it." A neighbour said he would recommend them to a big Vakil and get some scholarship.

If I accused, I can send at least one of them to school. "Do you save anything against future contingencies? Suppose you get a daughter, what will you do for her marriage?" 'Sir, I have some family property which my grandfather left me. It was in affluent circumstances. I have been able to live by the loan I raised on that property. My uncle has a cloth shop at Varanasi. He helps my wife and his daughter. Else, do you think I could live on that constable's pay?" The constable's case is only illustrative. If one entered into the life of any of the subordinate Government servants one will find the same story of insufficient wages, loans raised on family properties acquired by more prosperous ancestors, and help from generous relations. The question often asked why if salaries were inadequate as there so much competition for the places. The answer is that there is a large body of impoverished families who stand in need of supplemental earnings and who would therefore serve, like the boys and girls in factories, for moderate wages. But simply because men offer themselves, it is not desirable that the State should obtain the services of any person unless he is paid the minimum needed for maintaining him and his family. The State is not like a private schoolroom whose only concern is to cheapen the cost of production. As through increased the efficiency of the subordinate Government service is being kept up out of the earnings of prior generations or some other class of workers who feel bound to help according to Hindu social customs. To increase the salaries of the ill-paid subordinate Government servants may mean increased taxation, or reduction of establishment not at present a part of the expense in reality. I rarely the case of impoverished families who are prepared to undertake such service. If Government should make up what is wanted to make both ends meet. That is, to pay the cost of maintenance of clerks, peons, and constables is met partly by general levies and partly by robbing poor families of their accumulated resources by taking advantage of their poverty and their inability to stand out and bargain. What the nation gains by cheap subordinate clerical and other service is lost by the impoverishment of families and consequent permanent injury to the national wealth. One of the greatest service which the new responsible Ministers can render to the nation would be the initiation of a bold and impartial inquiry into the minimum wages necessary for self-respecting and healthy standards taking into account the social obligations and circumstances of the various states of Indian society, and a readjustment of salaries and wages in accordance therewith.

HAND-SPUN

It is said to me that even in well-informed circles the reason of Mr. Gandhi's attachment to coarse Indian cloth does not appear yet to be understood. Mr. Gandhi does not prohibit any prince or princess
who can afford wearing exquisite Indian fabrics. But these fabrics have now given place to cheap foreign imitations. The cloth that is dear to Mr. Gandhi's heart is on for three reasons. The first is that it is cloth made of cotton spun as well as woven by Indian hands. The fine texture stuff woven in India and sold as Swadeshi are almost all foreign yarn. If you desire your cloth to be true Swadeshi, you must take care to ensure. Otherwise you will depend on Lancashire or Japan to clothe your nakedness. The second reason is that to the uninitiated taste, the coarse Indian hand-woven is far from unadulterated, and more beautiful than even the machine-made fabrics that come in our consumption from foreign countries. The third reason is that it will furnish an occupation to our women, which, when the cloth should come to be valued at its true worth, will prevent them on account of hunger, from offering to work in places and circumstances such as we ought not to allow our women to live.

SOUTH AFRICAN OPINION ON REPATRIATION

The South African correspondent of The Times in India writes as follows:

Both the present winter report of the Asiatic Commission, and its acceptance, with equal emphasis, by the Union Government have been surprising. The Chairman of the Commission, Sir John Heseltine, was credited with sentiments antipathetic with the nature of the report, presented with such alacrity as to be unexpected. Thus, the Government was not expected to accept at once the Commission's recommendation for releasing the restrictions on the export of gold, and this matter is at present before the subject of discussion by a Select Committee of the House of Assembly. However, the conventions, political or otherwise, do not weigh much with our Indian friends when the occasion is worth it.

The report has met with practically universal support. The time for real controversy will come when the main report of the Commission will be heard.

What strikes one about the report is that it is quite outside of the purview of the Commission's letter of appointment, which is confined to trading, and land purchase rights by Asiatics and persons of Asiatic descent. The recommendation has, seemingly, been made in good faith, with the knowledge that, though neither it comes under the heading of, nor actually a report of, it is, indeed, about the only point on which both Europeans and Asiatics are agreed.

The Times correspondent says—

It is perhaps difficult to understand what prompted the Asiatic Inquiry Commission to bring this report to the Government, the terms for the voluntary repatriation of Indians now living, in this country. The proposals the Commission has put before them, of course, perfectly sound. It is, indeed, desirable that such Indians as wish to return to their Motherland shall be allowed...
MORE ABOUT REPATRIATION.

FURTHER NOTIFICATION.

The Government of India have now received further information regarding the scheme of voluntary repatriation of Indians from South Africa recommended in the interim report of the Amicus Enquiry Commission which was published on the 1st July last. The repatriation will be carried out under the provisions of section 6 of the Indians Relief Act 1914. This station is reproduced below—

(5) The Minister may, in his discretion, cause to be provided out of moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose, a free passage from any port in the Union to any port in India (with or without free conveyances by rail to such first mentioned port) for an Indian, other than an Indian who has been enlisted under law No. 25 of 1891, Natal, or any amendment thereof, to such free passage, who makes a written request for such free passage and (a) signs as a condition of the grant of such a request a statement that he resides on behalf of himself and his wife and all minor children (if any) all rights possessed by him or them to enter or reside in any part of the Union together with all rights incidental to himself or their domicile therein and (b) furnishes to an officer designated by the Minister a statement that his Indian and his wife and minor children (if any) as the Minister may prescribe, the production of a statement that his Indian and his wife and minor children (if any) have abandoned him or their domicile therein.

It will be seen that the Union Government are able to provide free passages only to Indians who ask for them in writing and who sign a statement to the effect that they wish to reside on behalf of themselves, their wives and their minor children (if any) all their rights to enter and reside in the Union together with all rights incidental to their domicile therein. It is understood that the Government of the Union of South Africa have placed Mr W. Park, President of Natal, on special duty to carry out the scheme and that Indians leaving South Africa will be allowed to take legitimate savings in gold subject to a maximum of £25 per head or £50 per family. The Government of India are assured that repatriation under the scheme will be purely voluntary and that it will be left to Indians in South Africa alone to decide whether they desire to take advantage of the Union Government’s offer.

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TRUE CHRISTIANS.

When the Umtas, led by Sir Edward Cameron, the champion of Ulster reparation, hovd down Mr. Mutchu for the efficiency to lay down some simple and obvious maxims of Indian policy, when General Dyer is being examined by the Morning Post and when the attempt is being made by the Englishmen and other English newspapers to support General Dyer's attitude and action, it is most refreshing to read English Christiana giving the clearest expression to their opinion on the side of justice and against terrorism and tyrannies. We therefore gladly print the letter addressed by the Christian Englishmen and English women to the English press. We congratulate them on their courage in giving out views which might not be popular amongst their own people. We hope that they will act rest till the Punjab has received full justice and the officers who are proved to have cruelly ill-treated people are dismissed from office.

To the Editor of the Westminster.

Sir—It appears to be commonly supposed that European opinion in India approves of the methods adopted by the military authorities during the recent disturbances in the Punjab.

We desire to express an opinion which we believe to be shared by many of our fellow-countrymen.

We regret and deplore the excesses of the mob and recognise the extreme gravity of the situation with which the authorities had to deal.

We are not prepared to affirm or to deny the evidence that has been published that the prosecution of Martial Law was necessary. We would strenuously maintain, however, that the sole justification for the prosecution of Martial Law is the welfare of the people of India of every race and creed. It is not sufficient to say that Martial Law was necessary for the protection of the people of India as a whole. Such an argument is fundamentally suicidal to the spirit of the recent Resolutions and to the best traditions of the British Empire.

But while we dissent from expressing an opinion as to the necessity for Martial Law, we have no hesitation in commending some of the methods by which it was administered. The indiscriminate firing on the crowd at Jallianwala Bagh prolonged even among those who, it is alleged, were refraining from the crowd. The firing of schools, shops at random for punishment, these things are beyond excuse, they have gravely demeaned the British name in India.

Words of all, in our judgment, as the morality of those who adopted these methods. By their evidence before the Commission they have shown how contemptuous is their attitude towards the people of India, and how arrogant is the assumption of moral superiority. The slaughter of some 400 Indians makes only a mild expression of regret. The imposition (on the ground of alleged sedition tendencies in these Colloquies) of daily roll-calls for a thousand one classes, involving a 15 mile walk a day, is vaguely described as "the form of physical exercise." The report in the fact of only five students and the staff of the Sanskrit Dharma College whom we once allowed to form a club on the compound wall, was rejected because the officer in command of Lahore was looking for such an opportunity. These methods have been rightly denounced by one of the presidencies in the Hunter Reporter as "frigidity," and condemning the whole policy is the belief that "there is no one thing that an Asiatic has any respect for." (Hunter Reporter, pp. 136-137.)

We feel bound, both as Englishmen and as Christians, to express our regret that such methods should have marked British rule in India. As Englishmen, we regard "frigidity," whenever presented as unacceptable and futile, for an empire can so meaningfully build on a foundation of conciliation and love. As Christians, we hold that the combination of such methods would involve the rejection of the teaching and example of Christ and the rejection of these Christian principles of co-operation and friendliness without which there can be no true progress of the peoples of the world.—Yours, etc.

B. N. Baithin, Principal, Khalsa High School, Patiala, Punjab; P. N. R. N. B. S. M. S. M. S. S., Dahr, R. C. Dard; Principal, St. Paul's College, Calcutta; J. J. Ellis, Wazir Pan Singh, Tri-tukum, D. G. F. R. A. F.; Principal, Tri-
AT THE CALL OF THE COUNTRY.

(See M. M. Gourish.)

Dr. Saqra delivered before the Khilafat Conference at Allahabad an impassioned address sympathizing with the Muslims in their trouble but dissuading them from embarking on non-co-operation. He was frankly unable to suggest a substitute but was unhesitatingly of opinion that whether there was a substitute or not non-co-operation was a madly worse than the disease. He said further that Muslims will take upon their shoulders, a serious responsibility if whilst they appealed to the ignorant masses to join them, they would not appeal to the Indian judges to resign and if they did they would not succeed.

I acknowledge the force of Dr. Sagar’s last argument. At the behest of Dr. Sagar’s mind is the fear that non-co-operation by the ignorant people would lead to danger and shame and would do me good. In my opinion any non-co-operation is bound to do some good. If even the Viceroy or doorman of the court, *Please Sir*, I can serve the Government. I have an ideal to serve the evil that has affected the highest in the land, and I hope I can serve the Government so long as it has not hurt my national honour, and resigning is a step mightier and more effective than the mightiest speech denouncing the Government for its injustice. Afterwards it would be wrong to appeal to the doorman when one has appealed to the highest in the land. And so I propose, if the necessary steps are to be taken the doorman of the Government to dissociate themselves from an unjust Government, I propose now to address an appeal to the Judges and the Executive Commissioners to join the protest that is rising from all over India against the double wrong done to India, on the Khilafat and the Punjab questions. In both national because involved.

I take it that these gentlemen have entered on their high office not for the sake of ameliorating the nation, nor I hope for the sake of fame, but for the sake of serving their country. It was not for money, for they were earning more than they do now. It must not be for fame, for, they cannot buy fame at the cost of national honour. The only consideration that can at present moment keep them in office come he serves of the country.

When the people have faith in the government, when it represents the popular will, the judges and the executive officials possibly serve the country. But when that government does not represent the will of the people, when it supports dishonesty and terrorism, the judges and the executive officials by remaining office become instruments of dishonesty and terrorism. And the least therefore that these holders of high office can do is to cease to become agents of a dishonest and corrupting government.

For the judges the object will be raised that they are above politics, and so they are and should be. But the doctrine is true only so far as the government is on the whole for the benefit of the people and at least represents the will of the majority. Not to take part in politics means not to take sides. But when a whole country has one mind, one will, when a whole country has been denied justice, it is no longer a question of party politics, it is a matter of life and death. It then becomes the duty of every citizen to refuse to serve a government which misbehaves and feces national wish. The judges are at that moment bound to follow the nation if they are ultimately its servants.

There remains another argument to be examined. It applies both to the judges and the members of the executive. It will be urged that my appeal could only be meant for the Indians and what good can it do by Indians renouncing offices which have been won for the nation by hard struggle. I wish that I could make an effective appeal to the English as well as the Indians. But I confess that I have written with the mental reservation that the appeal is addressed only to the Indians. I must therefore examine the argument just stated. Whilst it is true that these offices have been secured after a prolonged struggle, they are of use not because of the struggle but because they are intended to serve the nation. The moment they cease to serve the nation, they become useless and are the present case harmful, no matter how hard-won and therefore valuable they may have been at the outset.

I would submit that to our distinguished countrymen who occupy high offices that their giving up their offices will bring the struggle to a speedy end and would probably obviate the danger attendant upon the names being called upon to signify their disapproval by withdrawing co-operation. If the title-holders gave up their titles, if the holders of honorary offices gave up their appointments and if the high officials gave up their posts, and the would-be members boycotted the council, the Government would quickly come to its senses.
May the readers be aware that Indian noblewomen have already taken up spinning. Their ranks have been joined by Dr. Mrs. Madan
bar Bahadur, who has already learnt the art and who is now trying to introduce it in the Havasudan. Her Highness the Begum of Jessia and her sister Mrs. Akbar Bahadur, have also undertaken to learn the art. I trust that these good ladies will, having learnt spinning, religiously contribute to the nation their daily quota of yarn.

I know that there are friends who laugh at this attempt to revive this great art. They remind me that as these days of mills, sewing machines, or typewriters, only a handful can hope to succeed in reviving the rusticated spinning wheel. These friends forget that the needle has not yet given place to the sewing machine nor has the hand loom been ousted by the typewriter. There is not the slightest reason why the spinning wheel may not coexist with the spinning mill even as the domestic kitchen coexists with the hotels. Indeed typewriters and sewing machines may go, but the needle and the road pon will survive. The mills may suffer destruction. The spinning wheel is a national necessity. I would ask society to go to the many poor homes where the spinning wheel is aglow complementing their slender resources and ask the inmates whether the spinning wheel has not brought joy to their homesteads.

Thank God, the reward bestowed by Mrs. Rama
shanker Jiagowta bids fare to bear fruit. In a short
few months the women will possess a rejuvenated spinning wheel—a wonderland invention of a patriar Doojan artisan. It is made out of simple materials. There is no great complication about it. It will be cheap and capable of being easily mended. It will give more yarn than the ordinary wheel and is capable of being worked by a five year old boy or girl. But whether
the new machine proves what a chance to be un
it does not. I feel convinced that the reveal of
hand-spinning and hand-weaving will make the
largest contribution to the economic and the moral
regeneration of India. The million must have a
simple industry to supplement agriculture. Spinning
was the cottage industry years ago and if the mil-
lion are to be saved from starvation, they must be
enabled to tambourine spinning in their houses, and
every village must possess its own weaver.

MR. ANDREWS' DIFFICULTY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Andrews whose love for India is equaled
only by his love for England and whose mission
in life is to serve God i.e., humanity through India,
have contributed remarkable articles to the 'Bombay
Chronicle' on the Khilafat movement. He has not
spared England, France or Italy. He has shown
how Turkey has been most unjustly dealt with
and how the Prime Minister's pledge has been
broke. He has devoted the last article to an
examination of Mr. Mahomed Ali letter to the
Sultan and has come to the conclusion that Mr.
Mahomed Ali's statement of claim is at variance
with the claim set forth in the latest Khilafat
representation to the Viceroy which he wholly
approves.

Mr. Andrews and I have discussed the question
as fully as it was possible. He has asked me pub-
litely to define my own position more fully than I
have done. His sole object in writing is to give
strength to a cause which he holds as intrin-
sically just, and to gather round it the best opin-
on of Europe so that the allied powers, especially
England may for very reasons be obliged to revise
the terms.

I gladly respond - 'a Mr. Andrews' invitation.
I should clear the ground by stating that I re-
ject any religious doctrine that does not appeal to
reason and is in conflict with morality. I tolerate
unanswerable religious sentiment when it is not in-
natural. I hold the Khilafat claim to be both just
and reasonable and therefore it deserves greater
force because it has behind it the religious sentiment
of the Muslinian world.

In my opinion Mr. Mahomed Ali's statement is
unanswerable. It is not abut cloaked in diplo-
matic language. But I am not prepared to quarrel with
the language so long as it is sound in substance.

Mr. Andrews considers that Mr. Mahomed Ali's
language gives to show that he would resist Arme-
nian independence against the Armenians and the
Arabs against the Arabs. I attach no such mean-
ing to it. What he, the whole Muslinians and there-
fore I think also the Hindus resist is the shambles
stomp of England and the other Powers under
cover of self-determination to assassinate and dis-
member Turkey. If I understand the spirit
of Islam properly, it is essentially republican in
the truest sense of the term. Therefore if Armenia or
Arabia desired independence of Turkey

they should have it. In the case of Arabia, com-
plete Arabian independence would make transmu-
lations of the Khilafat to an Arab chieftain, Arabia in
that sense is a Muslim land, not purely Arabian
And the Arabs without ceding to be Muslin, could
not hold Arabia against Muslim opinion. The
Khilafat must be the sanction of the Holy places
and therefore also the xaruts to them. He must be
able to defend them against the whole world. And
if an Arab chief arose who could better satisfy that
test than the Sultan of Turkey, I have no doubt
that he would be recognized as the Khilafat.

I have thus discussed the question academically.
The fact is that neither the Muslinians nor the Hind-
us believe in the English Ministerial word. They
in fact believe that the Arabs or the Armenians
want complete independence of Turkey. That they
waste self-government in doubt. Nobody dis-
putes that claim. But nobody has ever asserted
that either the Arabs or the Armenian desire to do
away with all connection, even nominal, with Tur-
key.

The solution of the question lies not in our
academic discussion of the ideal position, it lies in an
honest appointment of a mixed commission of ab-
soletely independent Indian Muslinians and Hindus
and independent European to investigate the real
weak of the Armenians and the Arabs and then to
come to a sooner solution whereby the claims of
the nationalities and those of Islam may be
adjusted and satisfied.

It is common knowledge that Smyrna and
Thrace including Adrianople have been dishonestly
taken away from Turkey and that mandates have
been unceremoniously established in Syrah and Mosop-
tania and a British Governor has been set up in
Hedjaz under the protection of British guns. This
is a position that is intolerable and unjust. Apart
therefrom from the questions of Armenians and Ara-
bia, the dishonesty and hypocrisy that pollute those
peace terms requires to be instantaneous removed.
It paves the way to an equitable solution of the
question of Armenian and Arabian independence
which in theory no one denies and which in practice
may be easily guaranteed if only the wishes of the
people concerned could with any degree of certainty
be ascertained.

INDIANS OVERSEAS.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The meeting held at the Excelsior Theatre in
Bombay to pass resolutions regarding East Africa
and Fiji, and presided over by Sir Narayan Ghandi-
varkar, was an impressive gathering. The Theatre
was filled to overflowing. Mr. Andrews' speech
made clear what is needed. Both the political and
the civil rights of Indians of East Africa are at
stake. Mr. Anantam, himself an East African settle,
showed in a formal speech that the Indians were
the pioneers settlers. An Indian sailor named Kano
directed the celebrated Vasco De Gama to India.
He addressed applause at Stanley's expeditions.
This is not to say that we must not strive to do better abroad whilst we are all at ease in our own homes. We must strive, we must help our countrymen who have settled outside India. Only if we recognize the true situation, we and our countrymen abroad will learn to be patient and know that our chief energy must be concentrated on a betterment of our position at home. If we can raise our status here to that of equal partners too in some but in reality so that every Indian might feel it, all else must follow as a matter of course.

The question of Fiji is a different proposition, though it too is affected by the same considerations. There it is no longer a question of status. We simply want to know, why there was the wanted, why Mr and Mrs Mulaif. Doctor deported without trial and without even being heard in their defence? The Government has not kept too long waiting. We must insist on full justice being done and we must bring back as speedy as possible all those who wish to return to the Motherland.

HINDUSTAN AND ITS MEANING

Indus is a continent. Its articulate thousands know what its articulate millions are doing. The Government and the educated Indians may think that the Hindustan movement is merely a passing phase. The millions of Muslims think otherwise. The light of the Muslims is growing. The newspapers contain paragraphs in out-of-the-way corners informing the readers that a special train containing a barracks with sixty women, forty children including twenty shackles, all told 705, have left for Afghanistan. They were cheered as they went. They were presented with cash,适合s and other things, and were joined by more Mahajans as they went. No serious preaching by a Muslim can make people break up and leave their homes for an unknown land. There must be an appealing faith in them. That it is better for them to leave a State which has no regard for their religious sentiment and face a harder life than to remain in it even though it may be in a princely manner. Nothing but pride of power can blind the Government of India to the scene as being created against it.

But there is yet another side to the movement. Here are the facts as stated in the following Government pamphlet dated 10th instant:

An unfortunate affair in connection with the Mahajans occurred on the 8th instant at Kasba Bhan between Peshawar and Jalandhar. The following are the facts as at present reported. Two members of a party of the Mahajans proceeding by train to Jalandhar were detained by the British military police travelling without tickets. After being searched at Jhansi College Station, the train proceeded to Kasba Bhan. An attempt was made to eject these Mahajans, whereas the military police were attacked by a crowd of some forty Mahajans and the British officer who intervened was struck with a stone. A detachment of Indian troops
In order to save the Indians from the ill-advisers of the Act 1 of 1875 has been brought in force. Mandal was not deterred to leave the Fiji Islands but he was forbidden to enter the Viti Levu, Ovalau and Malaita Districts. This was considered necessary to save the Indians from the ill-advisers of a dangerous leader. Mandal has not been deported from Fiji but he has left the Islands at his own request and of his own accord.

By Order
J. E. FELL
Colonial Secretary, Fiji

I am from the Encyclopaedia Britannica that Viti Levu is the most important of the Fiji Islands. Out of the total area of 73,135 square miles, Viti Levu contains an area of 41,132 square miles, which is the capital of the Fiji Islands and is a part of Viti Levu. It is the seat of the Supreme Court and Mr. Mandal was living and practicing in Suva. So, the deportation of Mr. Mandal from Viti Levu and his exclusion from Ovalau and Malaita Districts practically meant his deportation from the Fiji Islands. This notice is a striking illustration of the mentality of the Fiji authorities. The Colonial Secretary has not only used some choice phrases for our friend Mr. Mandal such as अंतरालक अयोध्या and अन्तरालक अयोध्या but what is more disgraceful he has cut a cruel joke when he says that Mr. Mandal has not been deported from Fiji but he has left the Islands at his own request and of his own accord.

I need not say anything about the 'Loyal Indians' who asked the Fiji Government to deport Mr. Mandal. I have been informed that the Honble Pandit Bimal Mandal is the leader of these Loyal Indians in Fiji and I wonder if this is a fact. Nine hundred and twenty-five Indians have returned from Fiji on the 3rd of July, 1920 and I hope they will give us a full account of the recent disturbances in that Colony.

In our Madras letter, we reported about strikers. The strike march of 1919 was not visible to those carried along with it. Labour strikes are an exception to the rule. Success and failure are often mere formulas which do not represent what has taken place. The parties concerned are often aware of what has really been lost or gained. Take for instance a recent strike among the "Gang-men" or the permanent way coolies of a railway line near Madras. The men demanded better conditions and wages. Outsiders who helped in organizing or Union were treated as interested agitators. The Labour Commissioner of the Government of Madras was asked by the Railway Company not to trouble about the affair. One of the coolies who had the unfortunate ability to represent the grievances of his brother-coolies was for that reason dubbed a "gang-leader" and transferred to a gang 80 miles away from his native village, as if a gang-suddy on Rs. 13 a month can be transferred from place to place like a Deputy Collector or District Munshi on a pay of Rs. 400 a month.
Representatives were made but the Railway authority were firm, and the result was a strike. Even then they resolved not to yield, and with the help of the Government, through its village officials and other Revenue Subordinates, new codes were secured, and eventually the strikers were dismissed. The Railway officials believe they have secured a victory, and that Labour would have learnt a lesson. The Workmen’s Union believe that the strike was unsuccessful. But let us look into the matter a little more closely. Inquiry would show that the Railway had no right to get the new men, but has got them on much higher wages, and is giving them very comfortable conditions and treating them with unparalleled solicitude for their welfare. The Railway had had to give up workmen, wherever they may be, much better conditions on the whole than what prevailed before the strike. From the point of view of Labour as a whole, if we do not take the individual workmen into account, the strike has been most successful. This is inevitable, and capital cannot prevent that. It may be that the wages paid and the good treatment and better conditions are only temporary. But such temporary improvement always come, at least a great part, to stay. Workmen’s Unions should not consider that their struggles are undertaken only in the interests of the particular individuals concerned. They should realize that their battles are fought for the working class in general, and for succeeding generations of workmen as well as their own. So it does not matter and is no failure if any particular group gives out or particular men are dismissed, provided that as a result, the conditions of service are permanently improved.

If the railway Company’s gang could be as a consequence of the strike paid more and treated better, it does not matter who is in the gang and who is out. The plans visualized by the new hands, how in agriculture or elsewhere are available to the increased men, and they should feel quite happy and be content to fill up those places in which their brother-workmen had hitherto worked contentedly. In that there would be a slight betterment of conditions even in the latter places as a result of the shifting. This is the inevitable march of events in favour of labour. The battles cannot be fought except on these conditions.

Take another case. One department of a big concern revolved, asked for an increase of wages. The managers succeeded in resolving the trouble, and prevented the spread of insurrection. The additional department was punished with an extra-firm attitude on the part of the employers, but increased were promptly given to all the workmen in other departments. The strikers were dismissed and replaced by others. Here too, the strike may be said to have failed. But the maintainance of labour under the company have on the whole improved as a consequence of the struggle, even though the men who struck work are not there to reap the benefit.

If there were rightly understood, there would be less of stubbornness or pride on the one side, and less of irritation on the other. These would be greater readiness to yield to reasonable requests, and on the side of the men there would be no exhibition of hostility or violence against new hands brought in to replace those who held out.

Everything went on custom in this land including labour and wages but prices soon became an exception. Prices rose of themselves, but wages refused to rise except after bitter struggles. A very deep Capital appears to think that it is a good thing if strikes and other labour struggles fail in their objective. On the contrary every strike that fails is a step in the inevitable progress of the system of property and capitalism. Every group of workmen turned out of the factories after a defeat in a labour struggle is a regiment added to Bolshevism. The individual factory employer may not care, but the State is bound to mind such results.

**POLITICAL CONFERENCE**

The Madras Provincial Conference which met at Trinelly last week definitely and finally committed itself and all Congress organisations in the presidency to work as a party organisation in the coming elections.

The policy is supported by some who really think that the work of the Congress as a national organisation is practically finished. They think that with the establishment of a wide electorate and representative assemblies the letter can do all the work hitherto done by Congress and more effectively. They believe that nothing better can be done with the Congress than turning it on to election work. This position, however, will not be accepted by the vast majority of the people, who still do not believe that the new congress can, any more than the Mussoorie Congress, replace the National Congress, or have free and full scope for doing all that the latter has been doing for the nation.

Others support this policy on the ground that the Congress should not lead content with deliberative work, but should take steps to effectuate its decisions. But surely this can be done by ways other than converting itself into the official organisation of a political party. The Mahasabha who are in a majority in congresses and conferences, no doubt want a party organisation as distinguished not only from moderates but from certain other organised parties and interests. But it is good sense to utilise the whole of the existing Congress machinery as a ready-made party organisation instead of building up gradually a party machinery

The conversion of Congress into a ready-made party-machine may be the cheapest and most effective device from the point of view of the party. A thing over which 35 years have been spent is no doubt in better shape than anything that we can get up in a few months. But the incorporation of the personal rivalries and personalities of party politicians must render congress and conferences much less efficient for all other purposes. As one under stands the nationalistic creed, there remain many things to be done which cannot be done very well by the legislative councils or by the party organisations connected with them. The result will be that new non-party organisations have to be built up for all the various purposes which remain yet unfulfilled, and for which the entire Nation without distinction of party must put forth its efforts. The policy adopted by the Conference at Trinelly is that national economy.
The party system itself is in the opinion of many not a desirable thing yet for our country. Besides, a really made party organisation, without having to build it up, is as hateful as any form of power or wealth obtained without having to work for it, or an absence of food forced down a starving man's throat.

Social Conference.

There was considerable difficulty for the Turneyless Social Reform Conference to get through its programme. Once upon a time, Social Conferences were attended by only those who supported or sympathised with the social reform movement. Orthodoxy did not bear any danger and pursued its own course indifferent to meetings and resolutions of social reformers. Now things have so far progressed that those who believe in the old order want real danger. They feel they cannot treat these social conferences with indifference. Hence we have now the phenomenon of opponents at Social Conferences, besides separate organisations for the defence of the old Dharma. What happened at Turneyless last month is therefore a proof of progress and a reason for satisfaction, not a matter for regret as some appear to have thought. Our society has now realised that social reformers are in earnest and that their achievement is a reality. It would however be wrong to imagine or pretend that social reformers are in a majority in society. As long as only those who sympathised attended conferences, there was no need for a creed. But now that reformers have made definite progress and have compelled their adversaries to recognise their strength and they seek therefore to attend social reform gatherings and oppose resolutions, we cannot conduct our conferences on the old lines. Social reform resolutions cannot henceforth be always passed on free and unrestricted vote at an open conference, for those who stand for change are admittedly a minority in society, and if both sides take part, they must lose in the count of numbers. Their work consists in that they are a minority. All real causes are in the hands of minorities rather in numbers or in strength. The Turneyless incident must mark a definite stage, and a creed or other limitation must be introduced into the Social Conference Constitution to restrict gatherings—the voting section—to only those who sympathise with reform. Social reformers cannot both be true to their faith and obtain the majority of votes at propositions or general gathering. A constitution for the adoption of a social reform creed would appear to be necessary for future work. Those who do not accept the creed should attend only as visitors, not as delegates. The usefulness of the annual conference is two-fold. Its value as a demonstration of the growing strength of social reform, and the opportunity for exchange of ideas among people from various parts of the country working in the field of social reform. Neither of these objects can be attained in conferences where those who are opposed to all change are in overwhelming numbers. Such gatherings would be an ordinary public meeting in the occasion for the mere preaching of social reform, but the annual Social Conference has a different object.

HARTAL ON 1ST AUGUST

The Central Khalifat Committee, Bombay, has issued the following instructions—

Although every effort is being made to secure revision of the Pees Tikka it appears to be almost certain that it will not come before the first of August next. The Committee desires to mark the sacred character of this forthcoming demonstration of non-co-operation in a fitting manner. It also wishes to gauge the public feeling in this matter. The Committee, therefore, urges the co-operation of Hindus and other non-Muslim communities in making the inauguration a complete success.

1. The Committee advances full bail on the first of August. Mills and other assets, however, are requested not to abstain from work, unless they receive permission from their employers, and should all those abstiners who are required for absolutely necessary day-to-day work, viz., hospital men, sanitary men, and dock labourers.

2. (a) The day should be devoted to prayer. All those, who so desire, should fast for the day. (b) Meetings should be held all over the country outside the smallest village at which the following resolution should be adopted with or without speech.

THE RESOLUTION.

"This meeting held at ... of the inhabitants records its full sympathy with the movement of the Central Khalifat Committee in order to secure revision of the Turkish Pees Tikka, consistently with Muslim sentiment and Islamic law and approves of non-co-operation adopted by the Central Khalifat Committee to be continued till the Pees Tikka are revised. This meeting respectfully urges the Imperial Government in the interest of the Empire which they are supposed to represent, to secure a just revision of the Terms which have been unreasonably demanded as unjust and manifestly in breach of Ministerial declarations. The resolution should be sent to His Excellency the Viceroy with a covering letter requesting him to forward the same to the Imperial Government. Khalifat Committees should be advised of the passing of resolutions and its despatch.

MOVEMENT FOR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

N B.—There should be no procession. Speeches should be restricted. It is expected that the meeting everywhere will be very largely attended. All police and other governmental instructions or regulations should be strictly and suspiciously obeyed. No meetings should be held where there is any written prohibition. It cannot be too often urged that the whole success of the movement depends upon perfect peace being observed by the community and complete obedience being rendered to police instructions in connection with the movement. It should be clearly understood that this is not a movement of Civil Disobedience. What should be done when unreasonable orders are issued misconstruing the liberty of the subject will be considered on the merits by the Committee.

RENOUNCING TITLES.

It is expected that all title holders, honorary Magistrates, Judges of Peace, Members of the Legislative Councils, who feel about this important question affecting the well-being of millions of Muslims, and who are in sympathy with the movement, will surrender their titles or honorary posts on this day.

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Notes.

Mr. V. V. Madhav Rao and non-co-operation
—Mr. V. V. Madhav Rao has taken exception to our note attributing to him the opinion that it requires a sanction to be able to offer non-co-operation and he has in his speech at Khandala asked us to quote our authority for the statement made by us. The Hon'ble Mr. Shastri, our authority in the Servant of India" of 8th instant. "He (Mr. Madhav Rao) went so far as to say that the resolution would mean the practice of Swadeshi on a national scale and was not fit for discussion in a political gathering". Turning over the proceedings at Tundvally we find nothing direct reported in his speech, but Mr. Shrihari Aiyinger who made use of the word Swadeshi has said that he had followed Mr. Madhav Rao in his views on non-co-operation. But having probed our authority for our statement we do not wish to labour the point any further. It gives us pleasure to note Mr. Madhav Rao saying in the speech to which we have referred: "But so far as I can see there is no course left to us other than non-co-operation if we are to maintain our self-respect after the treatment we have received at the hands of Parliament and all the three subjects, the Punjab question, the Khilafat question (in regard to which we Hindus can co-operate with the Mahomedans only as far as the smaller aspects of the question are concerned) and the Reform Act and its rules, which have been uprooting the public mind.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Please note the change in address.

All communications regarding subscription, refund etc. must be addressed to the Manager, Young India, 14, Bernard Road, Ahmedabad, or to Chalukya, Banker Bhavan, Ahmedabad.

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OUR MADRAS AGENTS

Messrs. R. G. Garnier & Co. (31, North West Corner, Chennai Street, Madras) are our authorised Agents for Madras.
MR. MONTAGU ON THE KHILAFAT AGITATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Montagu does not like the Khilafat agitation that is daily gathering force. In answer to questions put in the House of Commons, he is reported to have said that whilst he acknowledged that I had rendered distinguished services to the country in the past, he could not look upon my present attitude with equanimity and that it was not to be expected that I could now be treated as leniently as I was during the Rowlatt Act agitation. He added that he had every confidence in the central and the local Governments, that they were carefully watching the movement and that they had full power to deal with the situation.

This statement of Mr. Montagu has been regarded in some quarters as a threat. It has been considered to be a blunt challenge for the Government of India to re-establish the reign of terror if they choose. It is certainly inconsistent with his desire to base the government on the goodwill of the people. At the same time if the Hunter Committee's finding be true and if I was the cause of the disturbances last year, I was undoubtedly treated with exceptional leniency. I admit too that my activity this year is fraught with greater peril to the Empire as it is being conducted to day than it was last year's activity. Non-co-operation in itself is more harmless than civil disobedience, but in its effect it is far more dangerous for the Government than civil disobedience. Non-co-operation is intended so far to paralyse the Government, as to compel justice from it. If it be carried to the extreme point, it can bring the Government to a standstill.

A friend who has been listening to my speeches once asked me whether I did not come under the section section of the Indian Penal Code. Though I had not fully considered it, I told him that very probably I did and that I could not plead 'not guilty' if I was charged under it. For I must admit that I can pretend to no 'affectation' for the present Government. And my speeches are intended to create 'disaffection' such that the people might consider it a shame to assist or co-operate with a Government that had forfeited all title to confidence, respect or support.

I draw no distinction between the Imperial and the Indian Government. The latter has accepted, on the Khilafat, the policy imposed upon it by the former. And in the Punjab case the former has endorsed the policy of terrorism and harassment of the brave people initiated by the latter. British ministers have broken their pledged word and wantonly wounded the feelings of the seventy million Mussalmans of India. Innocent men and women were insulted by the lowest officers of the Punjab Government. Their wrongs not only remain unrighted, but the very officers who normally subjected them to barbarous humiliation retain office under the Government.

When at Amritsar last year I pleaded with all the earnestness I could command for co-operation with the Government and for response to the wishes expressed in the Royal Proclamation, I did so because I honestly believed that a new era was about to begin, and that the old spirit of fear distrust and consequent terrorism was about to give place to the new spirit of respect trust and goodwill. I sincerely believed that the Mussalman sentiment would be placated and that the officers that had been abused during the Martial Law regime in the Punjab would be at least disarmed and the people would be otherwise made to feel that Government that had always been found quick and rightly) to punish popular excesses would not fail to punish its agents' misdeeds. But to my amazement and dismay I have discovered that the present representatives of the Empire have become dishonest and unscrupulous. They have no regard for the wishes of the people of India, and they count Indian honour as of little consequence.

I can no longer retain affection for a Government so evilly manned as it is now-a-days. And for me, it is humiliating to retain my freedom and to witness the continuing wrongs Mr. Montagu however is certainly right in threatening me with deprivation of my liberty if I permit or endanger the existence of the Government. For that must be the result if my activity hinders my only regret is that research as Mr. Montagu admits my past services, he might have perceived that there must be something essentially bad in the Government if a well-wisher like me could no longer give his affection to it. It was simpler to meet an injustice being done to the Mussalmans and to the Punjab than to threaten me with punishment so that the injustice might be perpetuated. Indeed I fully expect it will be found that even in promulgating legislation towards an unjust Government I had rendered greater services to the Empire than I am already credited with.

At the present moment, however, the duty of those who approve of my activities is clear. They ought on no account to resent the degradation of my liberty, should the Government of India deem it to be their duty to take it away. A citizen has no right to resent such restriction imposed in accordance with the laws of the State to which he belongs. Many less have those who sympathise with him. In my case there can be no question of sympathy. For I deliberately oppose the Government to the extent of trying to put its very existence in jeopardy. For my supporters, therefore, it must be a moment of joy when I am imprisoned. It means the beginning of success if only the supporters continue the policy for which I stand. If the Government
arrest me, they would do so in order to stop the progress of non-co-operation which I preach. It follows that if non-co-operation continues with unabated vigour, even after my arrest, the Government must imprison others or grant the people’s wish in order to gain their co-operation. Any eruption of violence on the part of the people even under provocation would end in disaster. Whether therefore it is for any one else who is arrested during the campaign, the first condition of success is that there must be no resentment shown against it. We cannot impress the very existence of a Government and quartel with its attempt to save itself by punishing those who place it in danger.

A NOTED RESIGNATION.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

During the eventual tour of the Khilafat party in the Punjab was given a copy of a letter of resignation by a sub-divisional officer over the Khilafat question. It is printed elsewhere in this issue. The letter shows clearly how different classes of Muslims are being affected by the Turkish press terms. It is an unforgettable sight that England has been primarily responsible for doings the Muslim world. And as time passes, the movement for compelling its undoing will gain instead of losing strength. When an official of twenty years standing and considered to be almost indispensable, decides to leave a Government in respect of a great wrong to which it has been party, it is time for us to review the act that has prompted a resignation such as Mr. Mohammad Azam has felt called upon to tender.

But my purpose in publishing the resignation is not so much to draw the Government’s attention to it (for they have it already) but to congratulate Mr. Mohammad Azam and to present the public with an example worthy of copying Mr. Mohammad Azam from a purely worldly standpoint has sacrificed a position which many would covet. From the standpoint of religion or honour, he has gained by his resignation. What are position and money at the sacrifice of one’s conscience? His superior officers, he said to their credit, have recommended it for acceptance because it has been tendered for conscience’ sake. If the higher branches of the Government services were to copy Mr. Mohammad Azam’s brave example, the movement might attain the goal without the lowest ranks having to give up their employment.

Mr. Mohammad Azam’s an instance of positive courage. It is always difficult to find positive courage. But I hope there is enough negative courage in India to ensure that nobody else applies for the post vacated by Mr. Mohammad Azam. It is almost certain that no Mahomedan will. But I hope that Hindus will be equally staunch and steady to their Musulman brethren that they are fully alive to the difficulty in which they find themselves and that they will not be behind hand in giving them their active support.

The critics may say, it will be unnecessary for any Indian to apply because it is a post which any Englishman will be glad to fill. I do not doubt it for a moment. Only the condition is somewhat different from the ordinary when a post is voluntarily relinquished by way of protest and when no one belonging to the protestant class applies for it. The only thing needed is to cease to make Government employment a fetish. There are many other avenues open to an honest man of ability to earn a decent livelihood. After all Government servants represent a microscopic minority of the population.

THE FIRST OF AUGUST

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is hardly likely that before the 1st August there will be on the part of His Majesty’s Ministers a pronouncement of a revision of the press terms and the consequent suspension of the inauguration of non-co-operation. The first of August next will be an important event in the history of India as was the 9th of April last year. The ninth of April marked the beginning of the end of the Rowlatt Act. No one can consider the Rowlatt Act can possibly live in the face of the agitation that has only been suspended—never given up. It must be clear to anyone that the power that wields justice from an unswerving Government in the matter of the Punjab and the Khilafat will be the power that will secure repeal of the Rowlatt Act. And that power is the power of Satyagraha whether it is known by the name of civil disobedience or non-co-operation.

Many people dread the advent of non-co-operation because of the events of last year. They fear madness from the mob and consequent repetition of last year’s repressions almost unsurpassed in their ferocity in the history of modern times. Personally I do not mind Governmental fury as I mind mob fury. The latter is a sign of national contempt and therefore more difficult to deal with than the former which is confined to a small corporation. It is easier to curb a Government that has rendered itself unfit to govern than it is to cure unknown people in a mob of their madness. But great movements cannot be stopped altogether because a Government or a people or both go wrong. We learn and profit through our mistakes and failures. No general worth the name gives up a battle because he has suffered reverses, or which is the same thing, made mistakes. And so we must approach non-co-operation with confidence and hope. As in the past, the commencement is to be marked by fasting and prayer—a sign of the religious character of the demonstration. There should also be on that day suspension of business, and movement to pass resolutions praying for revision to the press terms and justices for the Punjab and resuming non-co-operation until justice has been done.

The giving up of titles and honorary posts should also commence from the first of August. Doubt has
MORE ABOUT THE BULLETED MUHASSIN

(By M. K. Ganda)

Last week I dealt with the Muhajirn who were shot during the Khalsa party's tour in the Punjab. I was handed a signed statement giving particulars about the incident on which the Government have issued a communique. As the statement purports to come from responsible parties and as it contains a version of events with that of the communique, I esteem it to be my duty to place it before the public and invite the Government's attention to it. If the facts stated in the statement are true, they reflect the greatest discredit on the so-called soldiers who took pleasure in killing a man who was endeavouring to protect the honour of women.

I understand that the N. W. Frontier Administration are holding a judicial inquiry into the matter. But the public has become so suspicious even about inquiries described as judicial, that unless it is a really independent and honest inquiry, no weight will be attached to its findings. If therefore the Government do not wish to lay themselves open to the charge of having hushed up an unwarrantly act on the part of the British soldiers they will not dreed publicity and they will invite the most trusted men to investigate the matter. No local men merely can possibly be considered sufficient to ensure impartiality.

The incident is of no small importance. General Dyer unfortunately talked of the lives and honour of English women being held sacred in India. I hope that India holds the honour and life of every woman dear and sacred. There is therefore the question of women's honour involved in the incident. Then again there is the question of the Indian soldiers having refused to fire. If it is a fact and if the refusal was due to the nature narrated in the statement, it reflects the highest credit on them. The affair again derives importance from the fact that the tragedy has occurred in connection with an anglicization of a moral character. I urge the Government that the matter be warmly talked about among thousands of men throughout the Punjab. Fullest and unbiased inquiry is essential if they do not intend that an unanswered version should be current among the masses.

I wish that the narrative reproduced by me was free from passion and prejudice. A narrative of events gains by being free from adjectives and expression of the narrator's opinion. But perhaps it is too much to expect perfect narratives from inexperienced men especially when they are taken down in English by people who are indifferent translators and are often eager to interpret their own opinions. In any case I would advise the readers to suspend judgment till they have had the Government version before them.

This incident moreover shows the necessity of the Government laying down their policy about Hijrat. If they do not wish to prevent the peaceful and religious protest they should say so. The petty officers not knowing the Government policy may act foolishly and rashly and precipitate events in a manner not desired by the Government. A movement, which is attaining the dimensions that this leads to do, cannot be left to itself. An open declaration of the Government policy is most desirable for the sake of every interested.

"HANDLOOMS OR POWERMILLS?"

Whenever an attempt has been made, as it is being made today, to encourage the use and production of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, many have looked askance whether it is intended in this age of mechanical industry to supplant the latter by medieval hand-looms. The issue is placed between the hand power and the power mill. A correspondent of the Jamia Millia is under this common
error. Apparently captivated at the idea of reviving the home industries, he exclaims, “The real question for consideration with us, with any people to-day is not whether the handloom will or will not be able to hold its own against the power loom, or whether it cannot feed millions of families or clothe millions more in home-woven dress, but which will contribute to the economic and political power of a nation or country. Whether it is the handloom or the power-mill? Handicrafts or machine industries—that is the real issue.”

It is quite clear from the above what the notions of the correspondents are about the economic and political power of this country. We cannot imagine him to seriously believe—though his argument runs as if he does—that that power can be achieved without feeding and clothing the millions of our half-starving and half-naked men, women and children. The political and economic power of a nation depends even in this “Age of mechanical industries,” not on its powerful machines but on its powerful men. Germany was equipped with the best and most powerful and modern machinery, but it failed because at the last moment the power of its nation failed. We want to organize our national power. This can be done not by adopting the best methods of production only but by the best methods of both the production and the distribution. Production that is the manufacture of cloth in this particular instance can be brought about in two ways: (1) by establishing new mills and increasing the output or producing capacity of each mill and (2) by increasing the number of handlooms and improving them. All these activities can go together. The notion of a competition between the hand-loom and the power-mill has been shown by such eminent economists as Prof. Raja Ram Malhotra to be altogether wrong.” Says Mr. Mukhopadhyay in his “Foundation of Indian Economics”:

“The hand-loom does not compete with the mill; it supplements it in the following way:

(1) It produces special kinds of goods which cannot be woven in the mill,
(2) It utilizes yarn and above certain counts which cannot at present be used on the power-mill,
(3) It will consume the surplus stock of Indian spinning mills which need not then be sent out of the country,
(4) Being mainly a village-industry, it supplies the local demand, at the same time giving employment to small capitalists, weavers and other village-workers and
(5) Lastly it will supply the long-felt want of an honest field of work and livelihood for educated Indians.”

But even this is not all that can be said in favour of handloom industry. Mill industry no doubt can be a powerful aid to the promotion of Swadeshi. But apart from the bitter struggle, strife and demonization of the Capitalist and the workman (as explained by the eminent scholar, administrator and economist, the late Mr. Bombay Chandra Dutt) it has led to the question is: Can it solve the problems which Swadeshi is designed and sought to do and which arises only because of its abandonment? Every writer of note on the industries of India, whatever his ideas and conclusions about the future of Indian industrialism may be, has shown that there was a time and that was even till the early British Raj in India—where spinning and weaving, only next to agriculture, were the great national industries of India, when all the cotton was spun by hand and a very large portion of the work was done by the farming populations which augmented its resources by spinning and weaving. Mr. Dutt has given extracts from the statistical observations of Dr. Francois Buchanan’s economic inquiries in Southern and Northern India, conducted between 1786 and 1814. They show how many hundreds of thousands of our men, women and children worked on this industry—mostly in their leisure time—each day and earned scores of rupees annually.

How our home industries came to the sad plight they are in to-day is an open secret, admitted by all authorities and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the problem to-day is not to bring about that political and economic organization of our country, which disturbs the West to-day—an organization which has led to the breaking up of the society by ceaseless struggles, bitterness and rupture between Capital and Labour. We want to work out the real political and economic regeneration of our country by Swadeshi. And the problem of the Swadeshi is the problem of 80 percent of our population who spend more than six months of the year in enforced idleness, owing, throughout the year a miserable, half-starving and half-naked existence. We must find out suitable work for them during these idle hours. We must make them a real asset and power to the nation. Pure Swadeshi alone can do it.

A LESSON FROM THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE

It had been a rule with England to use her own ships for fetching foreign goods to her shores. Similarly did she use her own vessels for importing Greek and Latin cultures for her masses. And it was while withholding these cultures through her very color that England developed it. Other European nations also obtained development by similar use. The French language even till the beginning of the 16th century bore marks of its original character as a langue rustique, a tongue suited for homely conversation, for folk-lore and for ballads. The terms of art and science, and the use of sustained eloquence, impassioned poetry or logical discussion were left to Latin as their natural and legitimate exponent.
The first note, however, of the new French literature, in relieving it from the trammels of the Greek and Latin tongues, was sounded by Clement Marot of whom it is told that the presentation, that he had to undergo a Huguenot, so far from harming, helped his literary faculty. His school became famous for its polished style and graceful wit. The Marotists were soon replaced by Bernard and his famous band. This band called the 'Bûche' aimed at bringing the French language, vocabulary, construction and application, on a level with the classical tongues by borrowing from the latter. The best of Bernard's scenes and edies are such as could not have been previously found in the French language for the simple reason that the medium of expression was wanting. Bernard and his coterie constructed this medium for themselves. And the reward they received for this labor was that thus literary circle was destined for two long centuries. All the branches of literature, dramatic poetry, poetry proper, prose, history underwent almost equally remarkable changes in this very period.

The suppression of confining theological discussion in Latin was broken in this period by the Protestants. Their teaching, being the adopted in the French language could easily reach the masses. Raams' Loges was the first departure from the old habit of composing in Latin all works in any way connected with philosophy. The field of science also was not neglected by the literary genius of this period. The famous potter, Bernard Poulsey, was not less skilful as a fashioner of words than as a fashioner of pots and has description of the difficulties of his experiments in assemblage which lasted sixteen years, in classical. Thus the work of elaborating the French language for all the departments of literature was so enthusiastically hastened in this century that some thrashing agency had become necessary. And this thrashing was undertaken by Malherbe and his school.

The literary history of France points out that a vernacular of a spirited people not only escapes from the trammels of a superior tongue but rather spares not of the struggle more vigorous and more successful. A similar achievement was made by Saintes and poets of the 16th century onwards for our vernaculars so that they ceased to be looked upon as dialects in the treatment of echoes and philosophical subjects. In Gujarat it was mainly through the efforts of a devoted hand inspired by the famous Fränzmund, that the vernacular was shaped out of what may be called a langue racette. Thus did our forefathers breathe in the vernacular the essence of all the knowledge that was within their reach, and bequeathed to us a rich and noble trust. Shall we, dazzled by the false prospects of mastering a richer but alien tongue, now betray this trust and allow our vernaculars to lapse into more spoken languages? So long as we do not build our vernaculars to our needs, so long we shall be blindly erecting our temple of learning on shifting sands.

RECENT DISTURBANCES IN FIJI.

A N INDEPENDENT ENQUIRY AND ITS REPORT.
To the Editor of the "Young India."

Sir,

The Government of India has published some papers about Fiji riots. They contain a dispatch of the Governor of Fiji, some portions of which have been quoted in the "Pomest" of 19th July. As far as I can gather from these portions the dispatch of the Fiji Government does not seem to be reasonable or convincing. While reserving my opinion till I get a copy of these papers I will request your readers to read the following report of Mr H. H. Holland, M.P., about the recent disturbances in Fiji.

It is to be noted that Mr. Holland opposed the action of the New Zealand Parliament when they sent the New Zealand soldiers to Fiji to strike terror into the hearts of the poor Fiji Indians. It is also to be noted that the Fiji Government tried their utmost to conceal the true state of affairs, and Sir James Allen, the head of the New Zealand Parliamentary party, wanted Mr. Holland and others to refrain from discussing the political matters with Natives of Indians.

Here is an extract from the report of the Labour Members of the Parliamentary Committee that investigated into the Samoan labour difficulties. The report has been published in the "Samoan Worker," which is an official organ of the Uniao Federation of Labour and the New Zealand Labour Party. It is dated Wellington, April 7, 1920, and is signed by Mr. H. P. Holland, Chairman, Parliamentary Labour Party of New Zealand.

"FIJI AND THE INDIANS."

"At Fiji obviously we were given opportunity whatever (I) to ascertain from the Indian workers the reason which led up to the recent trouble. While the 'Molokai' was lying in the harbor on the morning of our arrival, Sir James Allen made a demand on the members for an undertaking that we should not attempt to get into touch with the coconuts—an undertaking we were not prepared to offer. Sir James was notified accordingly. As he was assured by the Indians we interviewed that the disturbances was wholly a political upheaval, then the Indians were demanding political and social equality with the whites, and that this was a demand which was unshakable and impossible. On investigation, however, we found that the strike had its origins in an endeavour by an overseer to increase the hours of labor on the roads from eight to nine. The subsequent demand for a wage of 3 a day grew out of the enormous increase in the cost of living, and in our opinion fully justified. The housing conditions of the Indians we found much the same as when the Rev. Dr Curtis and Rev. C. F. Andrews described them, although better steps are now being taken by the C. & B. Company to modify the evil, and from the information we derived from the Indians themselves, as well as from some of the whites, we have no doubt whatever that the statement of Rev. Andrews concerning the shocking insolvency of the coconuts made on solid facts. We are satisfied that shooting immorality is still rampant. We have the word of the
necessary for it that the Indians are still bettered, and that they are regarded and treated as something less than human. Very many of the whites we came in contact with were unimpressed in their denunciation of the Indians, but when we suggested that a solution of the problem would be to see them back to their country we were at once met with the objection: 'But we must have the cheap labour,' yet the Indians themselves assured us that to the mass they would be glad to leave Fiji and its economic and political oppression and that the shortage of transport facilities alone prevented them. The Indians have no political rights, no franchise, no voice in determining the laws under which they are compelled to live, they have no social status. Since the strike they could not move beyond their doors without danger of arrest unless provided with a permit. During the strike quite two hundred of them were arrested, and their cases lingered into twelve months hard labour. If the Indians remain in Fiji this generally accepted, that it is only a matter of time when they will become the dominant race. Within recent decades the Fijian population has declined by tens of thousands while Indian population has increased enormously. If the Indians remain in Fiji they must have economic and political equality with the rest of the people, their status as workers must not be taken as right. We are emphatically of the opinion that in the return of the Indians lies the first imperative step towards the solution of what otherwise threatens to be a serious problem in Fiji.

Some of the cases have been cleared by cable that Mr. J. M. Manlal, M.A., L.L.B. (an Indian barrister who was regarded as a leader on the Indians and whom among others we interviewed) has been ordered by the Governor to leave Suva—a line of policy which we fear will increase the Indians throughout Fiji.

We must be thankful to Sir Holland and the Parliamentary Labour Party of New Zealand for their independent investigation and impartial report. I hope the Indian public and the leaders, will attach greater importance to it than to the whitewashing despatch of the Fiji Governor.

Yours etc

E. Bhattacharya, Hirduma

A SUBDIVISIONAL OFFICER'S RESIGNATION

To the Director General,

Military Works SIMLA

Sir,

In consequence of April last and subsequent interviews I beg to protest at my past painful duty that I have most carefully considered over the Turkish Peace Treaty Drafts and find that quite contrary to the several persistent promises of British Ministers the same is most unjustly injurious and does certainly seriously hurt the re-union of Islam.

Moreover the Treaty is exceptionally stiff, severe and burdensome in its terms if compared with that given to other hostile Powers which were the archenemies of the world's peace. This unreasonableness is strikingly exemplified and I being a descendant from a well-known, respectable, most religious dynasty of Moghuls, must be bound to a Khedifat asinhust.

Impressed with my most proper, reasonably loyal, full sense feelings which are now severely blows by the above reasons, I have every reason to regret most painfully for my utmost hard work of 20 years service generally and of 15 months during war especially quite single-handed and in most difficult circumstances of hardest situation in the far off Shilman valley. It was only this too much work, which necessitated the long inconclusive leave of six months, which on my leaving it nine men had to be employed to run. The utmost zeal and efforts in which I am the above change single-handedly resulted in various remarks from some very particular, local officers like Col. W. J. D. O. J. E., Lt. Col. F. Brodsmen, 3 B. Q. O. 2 B. K. and Capt. F. H. Wilson, which were expressed thus:

1. He performed the duties of three sub-agencies.
2. The work. Mohammad Asan had had to do was beyond the capacity of any man and he certainly deserves the greatest credit for which he has accomplished.
3. The work Mohammad Asan did in Khyber was the hardest I experienced during my 12 years' stay in India.

All the above efforts were done not only by myself but by almost all of my family members who are still the present itself serving in the war areas of different theatres, served extremely satisfactorily in the danger zones of Manapuzha, Baghdad, France and the Khyber with the belief that so far as Turkey is concerned the British Government would try to the best of its great power to disregard the reason abode feelings of the most loyal Muslims. But also our knaves have not been fruitful and the result so far is simply dismaying.

Under the circumstances I beg to tender my resignation with this request that I must be relieved as early as possible within one month, or kindly forbearing my one month's pay because I intend leaving India for good.

With sincere prayers for the proper sense of judgment for the British Ministers and sticking to their promises about Islam for their own good and for the maintenance of the future peace of the world.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Mohan Das Asan,

Sub-Divisional Officer No. 1,

Sub Division, Abidabad-

(Through the Amuak State Royal Engineer,

Hazarat Dastan, Abidabad.)

Remarks on the Resignation application

A C QE

Passed: Passed. As thus appears to be purely a matter of religion, I suppose we cannot do otherwise than accept the resignation. But I am of firm opinion that the Department is losing a good amount of wisdom by so doing. I understand that the majority of Muslims are setting as a similar manner.

(Sgd) W. C. Wilson,

Civil Engineer. G. P. I.
To the Secretary to the C Commissioner,
N.W.F. PUNJAB E. W. P. FEBAWAI.

The attached resignation from Qasim Mohamed Assaibah
S. Officer is forwarded for acceptance.

I shall post with great regret with this D officer and he will be a real irreparable loss to the military service. The reason for his resignation being as stated I have no comments to make.

I request his wishes may be accorded to and that he is relieved as early as possible i.e. within a month.

(Sd) V. K. Purcell
Mayor B. E.
A. G. R. E. Hazara

MORE ABOUT THE BULLETTED MAHARAJIN

Mr. H. J. Mahomed sends us the following facts about the bulletted Maharajin with comments—

On Tuesday the 8th July 1920 a party of Maharajins left Faisalabad for Jaldana by train. A shamal rain and painful feet happened on the way. In the train were two British soldiers who began to stare at the women in the female compartment. At the Lahore College Railway Station they got into the female compartment at the presence of stamping tickets and began to tease the women. A well-built Pathan Maharajin, Habibullah Khan, of village Tangi, Faisalabad District, protested against this treatment of the women among whom were the relations of the Maharajin and the soldiers to come out. This led to a fracas in which the Pathan threw stones at each other with much noise. Another Maharajin came to the assistance of his comrade and the soldiers retreated into their own compartment. No one was injured in the affray. Habibullah Khan, Maharajin, then took the news to the Commissioner’s Department in the northern compartment of the female Maharajins to protest against further molestations. The train moved to Khush Garhi when the British soldiers (rumour with rage, something that probably seemed to them as absurd and offensive of an Indian) went to their camp and brought a detachment of Indian soldiers armed with rifles and surrounded the train. They were followed by another detachment led by a British officer with drawn sword. A search for the offending Maharajin Habibullah. When he was found, sword and bayonet were pointed at him and he was ordered to come out. As soon as he stepped out several rifles were fired and bayonets were thrust by the officer and the British soldiers into the body of this man. He turned back but was again wounded in the back and fell down. As he fell down he pulled up a stone lying at the platform, fig at his sword European assistants.

The British officer then ordered the Indian soldiers to fire at the dying man. The Indian soldiers, but mention no to their credit, refused to take part in this brutal murder and to fire at the unarmed man already at the point of death. The British soldiers then aimed rifles from Indian soldiers and fired a volley upon the procurer man who immediately expired under the eyes of his daughter about 7 years. After this firing they removed the sword and bayonets into the body of the dead man. The officer knelt upon the body and sat deep into the neck. Meanwhile another Maharajin had ventured to come near. He was quietly wounded with bayonet and knocked down.

A British soldier knelt over him and he was left to die. The rest of the party of Maharajins remained hiding from fear in the surrounding houses. The corpse of Habibullah and the wounded man were placed in the burning sun and left there for several hours. When news of this dreadful murder reached the Khidiat and Hurri Committee several members immediately went to the spot. But they were not allowed to go to the corpse and the wounded Maharajin.

The latter were eventually sent down to Faisalabad by train. The medical examination shows that Habibullah received 15 wounds of which 3 were inflicted with sword and bayonet and 6 with bullets. Of the 3 bayonet wounds 2 were on the front side, 3 on his back.

Comment:
The above brief account of this horrid tragedy speaks for itself and comments is superfluous. It is a repetition of the events of the Punjab on a smaller scale but in a more cruel manner. The British soldiers and the Officials could easily have arrested Habib Allah who was unarmed if they had intended to do so, but thus was no part of their plan. They were burning with vengeance at what they probably thought a gross insult on the part of an Indian in having opposed the British Soldiers and prevented them from doing an unpopular act. They were bent on murder and murder to an cruel manner, for this abuse could satisfy their lust for blood and suppress their anger.

The Khidiat and Hurri Committees are making further inquiries and will lay the details before the police later on. We have to see yet what justice is put upon this awful tragedy by the authorities. We appeal to the leaders of the country to rise to the occasion and fight out the principle of non-violability and freedom of the person of Indians. Our laws and constitutions hang upon the swords of British soldiers who seem to have no fear of the Civil Authorities and consider themselves above the law of the land. It may be added to the end that before the corpse was sent down to Faisalabad thousands of men were running in and outside the city in wild excitement.

The Khidiat and Hurri Committees with volunteer corps proceeded in maintaining order with great difficulty. On the arrival of the corpse a huge crowd of people assembled near the Police Hospital and escorted the corpse to the offices of the Committee. Next day a complete "Hate" was observed in the city and about nearly a thousand people both Mahomedians and Hindus accompanied the corpse to the burial ground. The whole day was spent in grief and people were weeping. In the evening a mass meeting was held in the open ground of the Shahi Bagh in which speeches was passed expressing their horror and indignation at what had happened and urging that the cases be tried in a regular court of law as the people had no confidence in the military impressing speeches were made by Maulvi Abdul Ghaffar, Lala Azim Chand and Sardar Singh. The people broke into weeping as the chid of the deceased was exhibited on the platform. Sardar Singh, particularly laid stress on the unity of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs as children of the same Motherland. He declared a verse of Guru Granth Sahib in which the Guru exhorted mothers to give birth to sons or patriots or brave sons, otherwise not lose the light of God by producing unworthy sons. Great excitement prevailed.

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We request each of our subscribers to have their subscriptions in order to avoid them to us as early as possible. We regret to note that some of the Y I's sent us in response to our appeal to our readers in order to bring this to an end have been refused and returned to us. Our friends must remember that this article is not the only one in which you can hardly hear us. We would request those who wish to see us on our last line to kindly address the Manager accordingly—Ed Y I

LOKAMANYA

(By Y K. Gandhi)

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak is no more. It is difficult to believe of him as dead. He was so much part of the people. No man of our time has held the position that Mr. Tilak held. The devotion that he commanded from thousands of his countrymen was extraordinary. He was unaccountably the idol of his people. His word was law among thousands. A giant among men has fallen. The voice of the land 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 knar on religion but love of his country. He was a born democrat. He believed in the rule of majority with an intensity that hardly frightened him. 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 sincerity and the masterfulness of Lokamanya. His countrymen therefore implicitly believed in him. His courage never failed him. His optimism was irresistible. 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 remain behind, to put forth undaunted effort to make it a reality in the shortest possible time.

Lokamanya was an immeasurable son of the bureaucracy, but this is not to say that he was a hater of Englishman or English rule. He was Englishman among making the mistake of thinking that he was their money.

I had the privilege of listening to an impromptu, learned discourse by him, at the town of the last Calcutta Congress in Hindi being the national language. He had just returned from the Congress packed. It was a treat to listen to a man of such discourse on Hindi. In the course of his address, he paid a glowing tribute to the English for their care of the Viceroyalty. His English was, in spite of his bad experiences of English juries, made him a staunch believer in British democracy. He even seriously made the amazing suggestion that the English should instruct the Burmese through the same method. I regret the 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 would not and would not put up with any 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. To the battle for freedom he gave no quarter and asked for none. I hope that Englishmen will recognize the worth of the man whose India has adored.

For us he will go down to the generations yet unborn as a man of modern India. They will repay his memory as 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 earn for the only Lokamanya of India an imperishable monument by weaving into an own lives his bravery, his simplicity, his wonderful industry and his love of his country. May God grant him peace.

We very much regret we are not able to give a block photo of Lokamanya as we intended to do—Ed Y I
Notes.

What is in a name? A writer in the Times of India the other day twitted Mr. Gandhi for approving boycott of the Prince's visit whilst he disapproved of boycott of British goods. Here there is a clear confusion of terms due perhaps to our having to write in a foreign language. The writer has overlooked the fact that Mr. Gandhi used not disapprove of all boycott because he disapproves of boycott of British goods. He does for instance attempt to boycott, and often succeeds in boycotting, untruths and evil. He does boycott all foreign cloth for his own use. Boycott of British goods is bad because it is conceived in a passionate spirit and has no reference to any permanent principle of life such as we had in the Boycott of British goods means war with the nation whereas Mr. Gandhi is engaged in a war with the Government of the day, and boycott of British goods means introduction of Japanese and other foreign goods, and therefore complications in our economics and possible difficulties with these foreign powers. Boycott moreover being a form of punishment must be immediate and extensive to be effective. People are not ready for it. Hence Mr. Gandhi's opposition to such boycott. But boycott of the Prince's visit has no idea of punishment behind it. It is merely a refusal to co-operate with the authorities who have for their own ends arranged the visit in order to thwart their plans on India and gain from the civilised world a certificate of merit as Mr. Gandhi calls it. Boycott of the Prince's visit therefore becomes a duty imposed upon all who value national honour and who wish to make it clear to the authorities that they are in no way to expect help from the people in increasing their power to do evil.

The Cloth Problem — The cotton position of 1920 was the subject of a lecture recently delivered by Professor John A. Judd before a committee of the Lancashire section of the Textile Institute. Professor Judd said that throughout the cotton belt in America, he definitely told his audience, 'American farmers have failed us as our main source of textile fibre, and failed us I think, permanently. And it 'could only be a question of time, he said, 'before we were faced with a acute scarcity of cotton.' When the first cotton-producing country thus fails, England and other cotton manufacturing countries will naturally look to India and Egypt for the supply of cotton. Some provision against the American shortage of cotton has been contemplated since for a long time by European cloth manufacturers. Accordingly during the past quarter of a century, the area devoted to cotton in Egypt has been increased by over 50 per cent. The International Cotton Federation knocked at the doors of the India Office and just before the war actually lifted the cotton crop in India from 3,000,000 to nearly 6,000,000 bales. With ten years of peace, we have it on the authority of Sir Charles Macfarlane that the quantity of Indian cotton might have even equaled the American crop. Such an effect made by foreigners to increase the Indian cotton crop must awaken us to appreciate the importance of our cotton position. In view of the present shortage of the world's cotton supply, we may be said to be a privileged position. We certainly produce sufficient raw material for ourselves here.

Besides, the scope of our cloth manufacture is not confined to cotton only. It can be seen from Mr. Rawlinson's book on the Mills of India that one of the very important potential assets of India has been allowed into the background. The author has considered the subject not from the point of our market, but of the French and English markets. We, however, cannot forget that India was even now importing over 2,000,000 lbs. a year of raw silk, and consuming nearly all of it. If the researches of foreign countries have brought it home to us that we produce sufficient raw material for our cloth, we should produce more, and can improve its quality and why should we import foreign raw materials or foreign cloth? Our mills are no doubt too few to utilise the action or silk that we grow. Now can we produce sufficient machinery from outside for a long time to come. Handlooms and spinning wheels therefore must be re-called to the rescue. It is certain that the cloth we weave on handlooms would be cheaper and cleaner than the foreign raw fabrics. But it must be remembered that we cannot build our industries in a day and without any sacrifice on our part. England has gone through such a stage. In the middle of the 19th century legislation was passed there to assure sale for home made cloth. Simon De Montfort, the founder of English Parliament, passed the first law of the state to protect English coarse cloth from foreign competition. Similar attempts are necessary in India to protect Indian cloth from foreign competition. Will the framers of our parliament or responsible government direct their efforts in that direction? But in the absence of protective legislation, Swedish is the only remedy to assure demand for our home-made cloth.

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THE CONGRESS AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Hon'ble Punjat Malaviya, for whom I entertain the highest regard and whom I have so often described as a patriot, has appealed to me both privately and publicly to suspend non-co-operation till the Congress has pronounced upon it. The Malaviya has also done likewise. These appeals have made me pause and think; but I regret to say that I have not been able to respond to them. I would do much and give much to please humanity, but a higher duty requires me not to turn from the course mapped out by the Non-co-operation Committee. There are moments in your life when you must act even though you cannot carry your best friends with you. The 'small voice' within you must always be the final arbiter when there is a conflict of duty.

The reason for asking me to suspend action is that the Congress will presently meet and consider the whole question of non-co-operation and give its verdict. It would therefore be better (says Punjat) to await the Congress decision. In my humble opinion it is no Congressman's duty to consult the Congress before taking an action in a matter in which he has no doubts. To do otherwise may mean stagnation.

The Congress is after all the mouth-piece of the nation. And when one has a policy or a programme which one wishes to see adopted, but on which one wants to cultivate public opinion, one naturally asks the Congress to discuss it and form an opinion. But when one has an unshakable faith in a particular policy or matter, it would be folly to wait for the Congress pronouncement. On the contrary one must act and demonstrate its efficacy so as to command assent by the nation.

My loyalty to the Congress requires me to carry out its policy when it is not contrary to my conscience. If I am in a minority I may not pursue my policy in the name of the Congress. The decision of the Congress on any given question therefore does not mean that it prevents a Congressman from any action to the contrary, but if he acts, he does so at his own risk and with the knowledge that the Congress is not with him.

Every Congressman, every public body has the right, it is sometimes their duty, to express their own opinion, and upon it oeuvre and thus anticipate the verdict of the Congress. Indeed it is the best way of serving the nation. By making well-considered remarks we furnish data for a great democratic body like the Congress to enable it to form a well-informed opinion. The Congress cannot express national opinion with any definiteness, unless at least some of us have already firm views about a particular course of conduct if all suspended their opinion, the Congress must necessarily suspend its own.

There are always three classes of people in an institution. Those who have favourable views on a given policy; those who have fixed but unfavourable views on it, and those who hold no fixed views. The Congress decides for this third and large group. I hold fixed views on non-co-operation. I believe that if we are to make anything of this reform, we will have to create a pure, clean and elevating atmosphere instead of the presentoust, unclear and disastrous atmosphere to work in. I believe that our first duty is to compel justice from the Imperial Government in regard to the Khilafat and the Punjab. In both these matters injustice is being sustained by malpractices and injustice I therefore consider it to be the duty of the nation to pour the Government of the malnourished before they can co-operate with each other. Even opposition or obstruction is possible where there is mutual respect and confidence. At the present moment the governing authority has no respect for us or our feelings. We have no faith in it. In these circumstances non-co-operation is a crime. Holding these strong views I can serve the Congress and the country only by reducing them to practice and thus according to the Congress material for forming an opinion.

For me to suspend non-co-operation would be to prove untrue to the Mussalman brethren. They have their own religious duty to perform. Their religious sentiment has been deeply hurt by a total disregard of laws of justice and their own promises by British ministers. The Mussalman must take action now. They cannot await the Congress decision. They can only expect the Congress to ratify their action and share their sorrows and their burdens. Their action cannot be delayed till the Congress has decided on a policy nor can their course be altered by an adverse decision of the Congress unless their action is otherwise found to be an error. The Khilafat is a matter of conscience with them. And in matters of conscience the Law of Majority has no place.

WHO IS DISLOYAL?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Montagu has discovered a new definition of disloyalty. He considers anyone who boycot the vultures of Wales to be disloyal and some newspapers taking the cue from him have called persons who have made the suggestion "unmanly. They have even attributed to these "unmanly persons" the suggestion of "betraying the Prince." I drew a sharp and fundamental distinction between boycotting the Prince and boycotting any welcome arranged for him. Personally I would extend the heartiest welcome to H.M. Royal Highness if he came or could come without official patronage and the protesting wings of the Govern-
most of the day. Being the heir to a constitutional monarchy, the Prince's movements are regulated and dictated by the ministries, no matter how much the discretion may be concealed beneath diplomatically polite language. In suggesting the boycott, therefore, the promoters have suggested boycotts of an insidious bureaucracy and dishonest ministers of His Majesty.

You cannot have it both ways. It is true that under a constitutional monarchy, the royalty is above politics. But you cannot send the Prince on a political visit for the purpose of making political capital out of him, and then complain that those who will not play your game and, in order to checkmate you, proclaim a boycott of the Royal visit, do not know constitutional usage. For the Prince's visit is not for pleasure. His Royal Highness is to come in Mr. Loyd George's words, as the "ambassador of the British nation," in other words, his own ambassador in order to issue a certificate of merit to him and possibly to give the minister a new lease of life. This work is designed to consolidate and strengthen a power that spells mischief for India. Even as it is, Mr. Montagu has foreseen that the welcome will probably be excelled by any kitherto extended to Royalty, meaning that the people are not really and deeply officered and stirred by the official atmosphere in the Punjab and too insidiously dishonest breach of official declarations on the Kailash. With the knowledge that India was bleeding at heart, the Government of India should have told His Majesty's ministers that the moment was inopportune for sending the Prince. I venture to submit that it is acting iniquitously to bring the Prince and through his visit to steel-borns and further prestige for a Government that deserves to be dismissed with disgrace. I claim that I prove my loyalty by saying that India is in no mood, is too deeply in mourning, to take part in any welcome to His Royal Highness, and that the ministers and the Indian Government show their dishonor by making the Prince a salt pew of their deep political game. If they persist, it is the clear duty of India to have nothing to do with the visit.

CRUSADE AGAINST NON-CO-OPERATION

(By M. K. GANDHI)

I have most carefully read the manifesto addressed by Sir Narayan Chandra and others demanding the people from joining the non-co-operation movement. I had expected to find some solid argument against non-co-operation, but to my great regret I have found in it nothing but distortion (no doubt unconscious) of the great religions and history. The manifesto says that "non-co-operation is deprecated by the religious beliefs and traditions of our motherland, say, of all the religions that have paved and elevated the human race." I venture to submit that the Bhagavad Gita is a gospel of non-co-operation between forces of darkness and those of light. If it is to be literally interpreted, Arjun representing a just cause was enjoined to engage in bloody warfare with the unjust Kauravas. Tulsi's advice to the Sakti (the good) to slay the dharma (the evil-doer) The Vedantas represent perpetual duel between Ormuzd and Ahura Mazda, between whose there is no compromise. To say of the Bible that it teaches non-co-operation is to know Jesus, a prince among passive resisters, who uncompromisingly challenged the might of the Sadducees and the Pharisees and for his sake of truth did not hesitate to divide rails from his parents. What did the Prophet of Islam do? He non-co-operated in Mecca in a most active manner so long as his life was not in danger and wiped the dust of Mecca off his feet when he found that he and his followers might have no chance to perish, and fled to Medina and returned with he was strong enough to give battle to his opponents. The duty of non-co-operation with unjust men and kings is as strictly enjoined by all the religions as in the duty of co-operation with just men and kings. Indeed most of the scriptures of the world warn even to go beyond non-co-operation and prefer violence to effeminate submission to a wrong. The Hindu religious tradition, of which the manifesto speaks, clearly proves the duty of non-co-operation. Puthal dissociated himself from his father, Mereb, from his wife, Tobishar, from his brother.

The manifesto speaking of the secular aspect says, "The history of nations affords no instance to show that it (meaning non-co-operation) has, where employed, succeeded and done good." One of the recent instances of brilliant success of non-co-operation is that of Gandhi's Satyagraha, which has destroyed Lord Milner's railroad canals and thereby restored a perfect constitution for his country. The Dukhobours of Russia offered non-co-operation, and a handful though they were, their primespoins so deeply moved the civilized world that Canada offered them a home where they form a prosperous community. In India instances can be given by the dozen, in which in little principates the rajas when deeply gravely by their chiefs have cut off all connections with them and sent them to their will I know of an instance in history where well-managed non-co-operation has failed.

Hitherto I have given historical instances of bloodless non-co-operation. I will not remind the intelligence of the reader by citing historical instances of non-co-operation combined with violence, but I am fees to confess that there are on record as many successes as failures in violent non-co-operation. And it is because I know the fact that I have placed before the country a non-violent scheme in which, if all worked satisfactorily, success is a certainty and in which non-co-operation means no harm. Fix it if ever one man non-co-
COW PROTECTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Cow protection is an article of faith in Hindustan. Apart from its religious sanctity, it is an essential need. But we, Hindus, have to-day little regard for the cow and her progeny. In no country in the world are cattle so ill fed and ill kept as in India. In beef-eating England it would be difficult to find cattle with horns sticking out of their flesh. Most of our propagandists are all menaged and ill kept. Instead of being a real blessing to the animal world, they are merely hanging-deadly for dying animals. We say nothing to the British farmers for whose sake hundreds of cows are slaughtered daily. Our slogan does not hammer to provide rest for them. Englishmen. Our protestation of the cow, therefore, extends to rescuing her from Musulman hands. This reverse method of cow protection has led to endless scandals and bad blood between Hindus and Musulmans. It has probably caused greater slaughter of cows than otherwise could have been the case if we had begun the propaganda in the right order. We should have commenced as we ought now to commence, with ourselves and cover the land with useful propaganda leading to kindness in the treatment of cattle and scientific knowledge in the management of cattle farms, dairies and curd-yard space. We should devote our attention to propaganda among Englishmen in the shape of inducing them voluntarily to abandon beef, or, if they will not do so, at least to be satisfied with imported beef. We should secure prohibition of export of beef from India and we should adopt means of increasing and purifying our milk supply. I have not a shadow of doubt that if we proceed along these lines we would secure voluntary Musulman support, and when we have ceased to compel them to stop killing cows on their festival days we would find that they have no occasion for sanctifying or killing them. Any abuse of force on our part must lead to retaliation and acceleration of feeling. We may not make Musulmans or anybody respect our religious wishes or otherwise by force. We can really do so only by exciting their fellow feeling.

Hence it is that I have declined, and I am so quite wisely, to enter into any bargain on the Khilafat question. I consider myself to be among the staunchest of Hindus. I am as eager to save the cow from the Musulman's knife as any Hindu. But on that very account I refuse to make my support of the Mussulman claim on the Khilafat condition upon his saving the cow. The Mussulman is my neighbour. He is in distress. His grievance is legitimate and it is my bounden duty to help him to secure redress by every legitimate means in my power, even to the extent of losing my life and property. That is the way I can win general friendship with Mussulmans. I refuse to accept human nature. It will, as I said, be bound to respond to any noble and friendly action. The nobility of the help will be reverenced magistrately if it was rendered conditionally. That the result will be the saving of the cow is a certainty. But should it turn out to be otherwise my view will not be affected in any manner whatever. The test of friendship is a spirit of love and sacrifice independent of expectation of any return.

But one observes a spirit of impatience on the part of the Hindus. To our eagerness to protect the cow we seek to legislate through Municipalities and get the resolutions passed by Musulman municipalities. I would urge the Musulmans to patronise our Municipal Councils and make them do justice to the matter. I remind the readers of Musulman Abdul Bari's declaration that he would not take any pledge and unless in a defeat Mussulman would see his way clear to asking his followers to protect the cow. He has been as good as his word. He has been most consistently attempting to create a favourable atmosphere for revising the doctrine of cow protection in humanising and utilising the ground. Husein Ahmad Khan, President of the Muslim League, last year secured his resolution of abstention from cow-killing on festival days in the teeth of opposition members. The All India Brothers have stopped beef-eating in their household. We must feel deeply grateful to these noble-hearted Mussulmans for their unselfish response. We must utilise them so as to solve the difficult problem in their own way. My advice to my Hindu brethren is simply to help the Musulmans in their sorrow in a generous and self-sacrificing spirit without aiming the cost and you will naturally save the cow. Islam is a noble faith. Treat it and its followers. We must hold it a crime for any Hindu to talk to them about cow-protection or any other help in our religious matters whilst the Khilafat struggle is going on.

RENUNCIATION OF MEDALS

Mr. Gandhi has addressed the following letter to the Viceroy——

It is not without a pang that I return the Kaiser—Kadett gold medal granted me by your predecessor for my humanitarian work in South Africa. The Zulu war medal granted 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 ventured to
Mr. Sardardevi Chaudhri has addressed the following letter to the Viceroy—

I am the holder of a brevet granted by your Excellency's Government for my recruiting services with regard to the formation of the Bengal Regiment. I have been in the service of the Indian Army for twenty years and I am a member of the Bengal Regiment. I have served in the Indian Army for twenty years and I am a member of the Bengal Regiment.

The attitude of the Imperial and Your Excellency's Governments on the Punjab question has given me much cause for grave dissatisfaction. I had the honour, on Your Excellency's instruction, to visit the Punjab in 1919 and I saw the state of affairs personally. It is true that the Punjab has been much disturbed, but this disturbance cannot be attributed to any fault of the Government. The disturbances were caused by the secession of the Punjab secessionists and the outbreak of the 1919-20 disturbances. The disturbances were caused by the secession of the Punjab secessionists and the outbreak of the 1919-20 disturbances.

In my humble opinion, the ordinary method of settling by way of petitions, depositions, and the like, is no remedy for the disturbances. It is necessary to go to the root of the matter and to deal with the causes of the disturbance. The disturbances were caused by the secession of the Punjab secessionists and the outbreak of the 1919-20 disturbances.

EAST AFRICA AND INDIAN OVERSEAS ASSOCIATION

To the Editor, 'Young India.'

Sir,

The following is an extract from a telegram from the special correspondent of the "Hindu," dated London, May 23—

"Mr. Jinnah, head of the Indian East African delegation called this morning. He says the Colonial Office is to hear the case of the Indo-Asian community in East Africa. He fears that the representations of the delegation may be misunderstood. He says that the case of the Indo-Asian community in East Africa is now before the Colonial Office. He says that the case of the Indo-Asian community in East Africa is now before the Colonial Office.

Mr. Jinnah frankly confessed the failure of the efforts hitherto made and said that it was entirely wrong for the delegations to demand a conference of the Muslim leaders of the country and to approach with them a way that would please the Muslims and do no harm to the unhappy Punjab.
his threat with that publicity in the general press was not sought for the purposes of Indian in East Africa.

Mr. Jeanevange was aiming to put the matter before the British public and Parliament. With that in mind, he was ensuring that the Indian Nationals Association was made aware of the situation.

Mr. Jeanevange informed the press on Friday, the 8th ultimo, that he had already published a correspondence in the newspapers advocating the preservation of the internal affairs of the Indians. He had also told the press that he had a written agreement with the Indians that they would not be allowed to interfere with the internal affairs of the Indians.

Mr. Jeanevange promised that he would not allow the internal affairs of the Indians to be interfered with. He stated that he had made arrangements with the Indians to ensure that no interference would take place. He also stated that he had written to the Indian Nationals Association to inform them of the situation.

The Indian Nationals Association had already taken steps to ensure that the politics of the Indians was not interfered with. They had written to Mr. Jeanevange and informed him of their concerns.

Long before Mr. Jeanevange was elected as the leader of the East African Indian Deputation, the Association had already taken steps to ensure that the politics of the Indians was not interfered with. They had written to Mr. Jeanevange and informed him of their concerns.

The question was then raised as to whether the Association should be allowed to interfere with the internal affairs of the Indians. The Association stated that they had already taken steps to ensure that no interference would take place. They also stated that they had written to Mr. Jeanevange and informed him of their concerns.

It is therefore necessary in order to avoid misunderstanding, that I should place before you, from the Indian Nationals Association, the following letter:

"Dear Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th ultimo, in which you refer to the proposed meeting of the Indian Nationals Association to be held on the 10th instant. I am informed that you are desirous of holding this meeting to discuss the proposed strike of the Indians in East Africa.

I trust that you will understand that the Association has not been consulted in reference to this meeting, and that your letter has not been received in time to enable the Association to take any action in connexion with it.

The Association has already taken steps to ensure that the politics of the Indians is not interfered with, and has written to Mr. Jeanevange and informed him of their concerns.

I have the honour to be,

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]"

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I have the honour to be,

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]"
Mr. GANDHI'S SPEECH

Before a council meeting of Muslims in the Muzafarnagar of Bombay held this April 16 speaking on the impending non-co-operation he said on Monday: The 16th April, 1930, that non-co-operation was only the first step towards the ultimate goal. He urged the Muslims to take a firm stand and to resist all forms of evil. He also said that non-co-operation was not a mere protest but a practical means to achieve the ultimate goal.

An unjust Government that supported an unjust cause received his unqualified support. He believed that the Government must be held accountable for its actions and that the people had the right to resist any form of oppression. He called upon the Muslims to unite and work together for the common goal of freedom.

Swadeshi

He had laid down a plan for non-co-operation. To him Swadeshi was as much a part of the struggle as it was to his own people. He believed that Swadeshi was the only way to achieve independence. He called upon the people to use only Indian goods and to support Indian industries.

NOTICE

As we have been receiving numerous applications for specimen copies of Y. L., we have to inform such applicants that it is necessary for them to send two and a half anna postage stamps.—Ed. Y. L.
Notes.

Lokamanya and non-co-operation—The upcountry English papers in giving obituary notices about the late Lokamanya Tilak have attributed to him views against non-co-operation. So far as we are aware Mr. Tilak held very strong views on non-co-operation. We know that he assured Maulana Shastri Ali that if the Muslims offered non-co-operation his party and the Hindus in general would certainly follow them. He demanded and co-ordinated views on the details of non-co-operation including boycott of cinemas but when Maulana Shastri Ali wrote to him and asked him to do so that he would do so. Mr. Tilak’s views were such that he would do so.

Mr. Motaiga versus Mrs. Naidu—In the course of a letter to Mr. Gandhi, dated 10th July 1921, London, Mrs. Subramania Naidu writes, “I am in very bad health. But the two questions of the Punjabs and the Khilafat are my main interest. I am not in a condition to express my views on a race as bold and direct, with the arrogance of power, the bitter prejudice of race, and to act with such an abnormal ignorance of human conditions, opinions, sentiments and aspirations. The debate on the Punjab in the House of Commons last week showed the last remnant of my hope that the British government and the British people might understand the Punjab. The discussion in the House was unanswerable and indeed tragic. Our friends have revealed their positions, our enemies have revealed their positions, and the combination is a palpable and heart-breaking.”

Mr. Montague has proved a broken reed. I enclose a copy of my correspondence with him in the subcommittee on the outgoing committee during the Mahratta Law regime. I am not interested in the Congress and Committee’s report, but I certainly assume that no single statement contained in it stands up without the most vigorous and persistent scrutiny. But the general attempt seems to be to dismiss the Congress and Committee’s findings and to shift the responsibility of such outrages which cannot be claimed to Indian shoulders—the skin-game with a vengeance. Speaking at a dinner meeting the other day, I said that what we Indians demanded was repetition and not revenge, that we had the spiritual forces and vision that enabled us to transcend hate and transmute bitterness into something that might mean reconciliation both for ourselves and the British race. That freedom was the only true separation of the agony and
shame of the Punjab. The sentiments that my heart-disease is in an advanced and dangerous state, but I am nourished with the heart of the world to repent for the tragedy of murdered India.

Outrages on women—The correspondence between Mr. Montague and Mrs. Naidu published elsewhere, gives one a glimpse into Mr. Montague's mentality. A member of the House of Commons speaks in scathing tones of Mrs. Naidu regarding her charges against British authorities about outrages on women. Mr. Montague hastily wrote to Mrs. Naidu denying her of making untrue statements and challenging her to quote her authority or publicly withdraw her statement. The very next day he had to qualify himself by admitting that some authority did exist in the Congress Committee's report but that it had reference to police torture. Mrs. Naidu had an easy task before her, we must refer the reader to Mrs. Naidu's written reply. And now we hear that Mr. Montague has ceased to be made into the statements published in the Congress Committee's report. We may invite the reader's attention to the fact that Mr. Montague's attempt to confuse all-treatment of women to the ladies police also failed. The Munnawars cases quoted by Mr. Naidu refer to Mr. Bosworth Smith. The charge was investigated by Mr. Andrews himself and then by Mr. Labhaleshwar, Barrister-at-Law. Mr. Montague's report thoroughly discredited Mrs. Naidu is now naturally exasperated about the statements made in the Congress report. The commission has themselves described the way in which they have recorded evidence. In any event Mrs. Naidu stands entirely exonerated. The Congress report may be trusted to take care of itself.

The Muhajiru Incident—Further statements, which we publish from eye-witnesses confirm the information supplied by us regarding the firing on a Muhajiru. If the witnesses have given evidence, the truth is that the incident reflects little credit on those who were responsible for the control of the traffic at the frontier. But we must await the result of the Government inquiry.

Illegal and Immoral—Elsewhere we publish a letter from Mr. Andrews on the renewal of Opium Traffic with China by back-door methods. The latter is full of righteous indignation at the connivance of the authorities concerned who have in fact hastened the encroachment and illegal trade. It is clear from a recently published book, "The Opium Monopoly," written by an American, Iden La Motte. The book, it is reported, has caused jitters among representative Chinese as a very useful and timely publication while the British officials all over China are said to resent it very much and are courting the author for exposing their system of dragging the world.

The best minds of the country strongly resent this, positively and whole-heartedly condemn this degrading and demoralisation of the nation, but to no purpose. The Chinese Government prohibits and punishes the production and sale of opium in China, but the British possess China not only by encouraging the illegal traffic in the country from British territories but directly by the import of Morphine manufactured in the laboratories of England and Scotland. The British and Indian Governments will be keen to discourage the production and traffic of this poisonous drug. So it is undoubtedly helps them to a great extent financially and even politically. It is, however, left to the people both here in India and in China to assert their own strength and boycott the production, consumption and traffic of this fatal drug.

The City-Fathers against the mother-tongue—According to the new rule, the Bombay Legislative Council and the University Senate permit speakers in vernaculars if the speakers are not fluent in English. A similar step was expected of the Bombay Corporation. And Dr. Nanavati T. Nirmal did move a proposal to this effect in the last meeting of the Municipal corporation. But unfortunately the majority of the corporation misunderstood the proposal. One member even went to the length of saying that the resolution would close the European members out of the hall. Dr. Nirmal had already considered this objection, "the to the inconvenience to the European members," he urged, "they should look to the conversation of the natives who did not know English." And the proposed change, he said, "was for the good of the people 80 per cent of whom knew no English." The resolution was mainly meant to facilitate the proceedings when the reformed corporation with its non-English-speaking members would come into existence. Indeed no one could deny the necessity of this change, but it was a surprise to the members who could compromise themselves even with such a permissive measure. It therefore failed to pass. Such a measure ought indeed to be more workable in the corporation than in the University Senate or in the legislative council, for, the latter consist of men from the whole Presidency speaking four different vernaculars, whereas the former is constituted of representatives of a city where two very kindred languages are spoken. As a fact most of the business in the city is conducted on one single language viz. Gujarati so that the difficulty of understanding speakers is minimised. Yet the corporation regarded this innovation as an unwarrantable composition. This attitude only indicates their disrespect towards their vernacular and a bureaucratic disregard of the convenience of the masses. This is indeed the curse of non-politicalism, on those that belong to cities whose hybrid growth Dr. Bambrau recently condemned in his book. The Anglophones to the corporation seem to lack upon the national languages as the only for house-rules.

It is fortunate, however, that out of 32 members, 15 at least voted for the resolution. We hope that this failure would pave the way to an early success.
THE DOCTRINE OF THE SWORD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In the age of the rule of brute force, it is almost impossible for anyone to believe that any one else could possibly raise the law of the foul supremacy of brute force. And so I receive anxious letters advising me that I must put aside with the progress of non-co-operation even though popular violence may break out. Others placate me and say naively that I must not confuse violence and non-violence during its transition as my views in this matter affect the conduct of a large number of people, I am anxious to make them as early as possible.

Such being the hold that the doctrine of the sword has on the majority of mankind, and as means of non-co-operation depends primarily on absence of violence during its progress and as my views in this matter affect the conduct of a large number of people, I am anxious to make them as early as possible.

I do believe that where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence I would advise violence. Thus when my eldest son asked me what he should do, had he been present when I was almost fatally assaulted in 1928, whether he should have run away and saved himself or whether he should have used his physical force which he could and wanted to use and defeated me, I told him that it was his duty to defend me even by using violence. Hence it was that I took part in the Boer War, the so-called Zulu rebellion, and the late War. Hence also do I advocate training in arms for those who believe in the method of violence. I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become a helpless witness to her own dishonour.

But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence. Forgiveness is more manly than punishment (दुष्क्रिया विद्वेषि विद्वेषा) Forgiveness makes a soldier. But obedience in non-violence only when there is the power to punish, it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature. A mouse hardly forgives a cat when it allows itself to be torn by her. I therefore appreciate the sentiment of those who cry out for the cruel punishment of General Dyer and his ilk. They would turn to it if they could. But I do not believe India to be helpless. I do not believe myself to be a help-
What is the maximum along with his host of other "19," the content to be "torn" by the rapacious class of Lanka. Dear Sir, in physical might by spiritual effect, and his physical might by spiritual effect. Common hail, I do not think, are the proper objects of the present generation. I wish to parallel before the machine for the tanks and the aeroplanes of the English. And she takes up non-co-operation out of her weakness. It must still serve the same purpose, namely bring her delivery from the crushing weight of British injustice. If there were a sufficient number of people pressing it.

I dislike the non-co-operation from Sun Yat-sen, for, it is so connected to the inseparable being offered side by side with violence. But I want even the school of violence to give the peaceful non-co-operation a trial. It will not fail through its inherent weakness. It may last because of poverty of response. Then will be the time for real danger. The high-souled men, who are unable to suffer external humiliation any longer, will want their wrath. They will take to violence. So far as I know, they must punish without delivering themselves or their country from the wrong. It India takes up the doctrines of the sword, she may gain momentary victory, but India will cease to be the pride of my heart. I am wedded to India because I own my all to her. I believe absolutely that she has a mission for the world. She is not to copy Europe blindly. India's acceptance of the doctrines of the sword will be the bane of my trial. I hope I shall not be found wanting. My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself. My life is dedicated to service of India through the religion of non-violence which I believe to be the root of Hindooism.

Meanwhile I urge those who desire peace not to disturb the even working of the struggle that has just commenced, by insisting on violence in the belief that I want violence. I desire, secrecy as a sin. Let them give non-violent non-co-operation a trial and they will find that I had no mental reservation whatsoever.

Courts and Schools

(By M.K. Gandhi)

The Non-Cooperation Movement has induced, in the last stage, boycotts of law-courts by lawyers and of Government jobs by parents or students, as the case may be. I know that it is only my report as a worker and higher which has saved me from an upon charge of having given the advice about boycotts of courts and schools.

I venture, however, to run some method about my madness. It does not require much reflection to see that it is through courts that a government establishes its authority and it is through schools that it manufactures clerks and other employees. They are both healthy institutions when the government in charge of them is on the whole just. They are death-traps when the government is unjust.

First as to lawyer.

No newspaper has published my views on non-co-operation with so much pertinacity and ability as the Allahabad Leader. It was reduced to my views on lawyers expressed in my booklets, Indian Home Rule written by me in 1908. I adhere to the views then expressed. And if I find time I hope to elaborate them in these columns. But I refrain from so doing for the time being as my special views have nothing to do with my advice on the necessity of lawyers suspending practice. I submit that non-cooperation requires suspension of their practices by lawyers. Perhaps no one cooperates with a government more than lawyers through its courts. Lawyers interpret laws to the people and thus support authority. It is for that reason that they are styled official servants of the court. They may be called honorary office-holders. It is said that it is in the lawyers who have put up the most stubborn fight against the Government. This is a doubt partly true. But that does not undo the mischief that is inherent in the profession. So when the nation wishes to paralyze the Government, that profession, if it wishes to help the nation to bend that Government to its will, must suspend practice. But say the critics, the Government will be too pleased if the pleaders and barristers fall into the trap laid by me. I do not believe it. What is true in ordinary times is not true in extraordinary times. In normal times the Government may resent harsh criticism of their actions and methods by lawyers, but in the face of force action they would be loath to part with a single lawyer's support through his practice in the courts.

Moreover, in my scheme, suspension does not mean stagnation. The lawyers are not to suspend practice and enjoy rest. They will be expected to induce their clients to boycott courts. They will improve arbitration-boards in order to settle disputes. A nation, that is bent on forcing justice from an unwilling government, has little time for engaging in mutual quarrels. Thus both the Law and the lawyer will be expected to bring home to their clients. The readers may not know that many of the most noted lawyers of England suspended their work during the late war for the lawyers there, upon temporarily leaving their profession, because whole-time workers instead of being workers only during their recreation hours. Real politics are not a game. The late Mr. Churchill used to deplore that we had not gone beyond treating politics as a pastime. We have no notion as to how much the country has lost by reason of amateurs having managed its battles with the serious-minded, trained and wholetime-working bureaucrats.
The critics then argue that the lawyers will starve, if they lose their profession. This cannot be said of the learned of the profession. These do not starve. They do not starve on the bread of the shikastas. They do not maintain wives and children on the bread of the shikastas. They do not maintain wives and children of their own. Of those who live from hand to mouth if they are honest men, each local Khilafat Committee can pay them an honorarium against full time service.

Lastly, for Mohammedian lawyers, it has been suggested that if they stop their practice, Hindus will take it up. I am hoping Hindus will at least show the negative courage of not touching their Muslim brethren's charts even if they do not suspend their own practices. But I am sure no religious-minded Muslim will be found to say that they can carry on the right only if the Hindus stand aside by acts with them in deeds. If the Hindus do as they must, it will be to their honour and for the common good of both. But the Muslims must go forward, whether the Hindus join them or not. It is a matter of life and death with them, they must not permit the cost. No cost is too heavy for the preservation of one's honour, especially religious honour. Only they will maintain who cannot shun forced sacrifice in no sacrifice. It will not last. A movement looks unrealistic when it is supported by unwilling workers under pressure. The Khilafat movement will become an irresistible force when every Muslim treats the same terms as an individual wrong. No man wants for others help or assistance in matters of personal wrong. He wants help no doubt, but he fights against the wrong done to him whether he gains help or not. If he has justice on his side, the divine law is that he does not get help. When the Pandava brothers were unable to help Draupadi, God came to her rescue and saved her honour. The Prophet was helped by God when he seemed to be forsaken by man.

Now for the Schools

I feel that if we have not the courage to suspend the education of our children, we do not deserve to win the battle. The first stage includes renunciation of honour or favours. As a matter of fact no government favours without taking more than the favours are worth. It would be bad and extra vagant government which threw away its favours. In a government broad-based upon a people's will, we give our lives to secure a trystant which is a symbol of service. Under an unjust government which denies a people's will, rich Jupares become a sign of servitude and dishonour. Thus understood, the schools must be given up without a moment's thought.

For me the whole scheme of non-co-operation is among other things a test of the integrity and extent of our feeling. Are we genuine? Are we prepared to suffer? It has been said that we may not expect much response from title-holders, for they have never taken part in national affairs and have bought their honour at too great a price to sacrifice it. I make a present of the argument to the children, and ask, what about the parents of school-children and the grown up college-students? They have no such intimate connection with the Government as the title-holders. Do they or do they not feel enough to enable them to sacrifice the schools?

But I contend that there is no excuse involved in emptying the schools. We must be specially mute for non-co-operation if we are so helpless as to be unable to manage our own education in total independence of the Government. Every village should manage the education of its own children. I would not depend upon Government aid. If there is a real awakening the schools need not be interrupted for a single day. The very school masters who are now conducting Government schools, if they are good enough to teach their offices could take charge of national schools and teach our children the things they need and not make of the majority of them indifferent clerks. I do look to the Aligarh College to give the lead in this matter. The moral effect created by the emptying of our Madrasas will be tremendous. I doubt not that the Hindu parents and scholars would not fail to copy their Musalmun brethren.

Indeed what could be grander education than that the parents and scholars should put religious sentiment before a knowledge of letters? If therefore no arrangement could be immediately made for the literacy instruction of youths who might be withdrawn, it would be most probable training for them to be able to work as volunteers for the cause which may necessitate their withdrawal from Government schools. For as in the case of the lawyers so in the case of boys, any notion of withdrawal does not mean an indolent life. The withdrawing boys will each according to his worth be expected to take their share in the agitation.

OPium Traffice Renewed

To the Editor of 'Young India.'

Sir,

May I call the attention through your columns to the scandal of the continuance of the opium traffic from India in spite of the verdict of the whole civilized world? We are still sending opium into China by back-door methods. The sales to Indo-China are enormous and any one can easily see that it is filtering through into China itself. The same is probably true of the extensive sales at the Satara Settlements and in Java, where very large numbers of Chinese, having direct commercial relations with China, are congregated. The only certain check upon the traffic, which has been condemned by the whole civilized world, into 'ration' opium to each country. Let the maximum for medical requirements for that country's population be allowed and thus prohibit any further sale to that country. But unfortunately immense profits are
to be made out of the sale and from those profiles the great military and civil expenditures are partly met. It needs, however, no longer to be argued in detail, how impetuous such a mode of obtaining revenue is. Surely, in the demand of eighteensixths, which is now being made, before co-operation with the Indian Government can be renewed, the evil of the opium traffic should not be left out of sight.

A certain field outside Jerusalem was once bought with the thirty pieces of silver, which represented the blood-money earned by Judas Iscariot. The field was called "Aceldama." This word, being interpreted, means "The Field of Blood." There are many aceldamas—"Fields of Blood"—in India today. They actually cover over 700,000 acres. The soil of Bharat Mata should not thus be stained by the cultivation of a poison intended to destroy man's bodies and souls.

Yours faithfully,
C. F. Andrews.

THE FESHWAR INCIDENT
STATEMENTS OF EYE-WITNESSES

State of Taza Gul (wounded) resident Tenzu,
Tahsil Chhawar, District Feshwara.

I got into the train from Feshwara station. When the train arrived at Islamia College Station, a woman was made in the female compartment. A British soldier had jumped into that compartment. Heibulla Ilah (deceased) and myself went to the female compartment. Two soldiers were standing on the platform and one was in the female compartment. We asked him to get down, but he refused, hence we had to pull him down. Then they began to beat us. We also hit them. They hurled stones at us and we threw stones at them. The train whistled and started. The soldiers ran and got into a compartment. We sat in the female compartment with our mothers and sisters. When the train arrived at Kasbahgal, those soldiers got down and they whistled hard and ran towards the fort wherefrom they brought more soldiers and ran towards the train and surrounded it. In the meantime an officer holding a naked sword in hand, came running with more men. The officers and soldiers began to search the train and came to the female compartment where we were sitting. The soldiers pointed us out to the officer that there were we were. The officer ordered us to get down, thereupon the soldiers got into the compartment and forcibly dragged us out. Heibulla Ilah (deceased) was about to get up when the officer hit him with sword and he again fell. The soldiers took the guns from Indian soldiers and began to hit us with bayonets and the butt-ends. I received injury from a bayonet in head. I ran but fell and swooned.

Statement given by Man Chutman/ M. Gulam Jelani, Aluminium Mian, resident Mullahabl, Mukarab Khan, Vagta, occupation milk seller, Feshwara City.

On Thursday dated 5th July 1920, I was taking milk to Jumurr by train. When the train arrived at Islamia College Station, a woman came from the female compartment, every man heard it. After that there was one that was slain and the other who was hurt, ran towards the female compartment. Those two British soldiers were standing below and a man was standing in the female compartment, whom the slain dragged down from the compartment. They began to fight. The two parties then throw stones at each other the train started and the soldiers took their seats in some front carriages. The slain and the wounded sat in the female compartment. When the train arrived at Kasbahgal, the two soldiers got down from the train and whistled and then the third got down and two of them ran towards the fort and then remained standing. The two soldiers brought a column of soldiers towards the train and the sepoy after formation charged their guns with cartridges and shot bayonets in them and surrounded the train. After that one officer with some soldiers, sword in hand, came towards the train from the fort and began to march the train to accompaniment with them. British soldiers having seen two or three other compartments they came to the female compartment where the deceased and the wounded were sitting. The white soldiers pointed them out to the officer and ordered them to come down, hence the soldiers rushed upon the deceased and the wounded, and dragged them down. When they had fallen on the ground, the deceased picked up a stone to throw at them. Upon this the officer attacked him with his sword and ordered the sepoy to stop at him. But no sepoy was seen firing. The soldiers and the officer took the rifles from the sepoy's hands and began to attack the deceased and the wounded with bayonets and butts. The deceased caught the bayonet in his hand whereas the officer relented the rifles fired at him. Then the British soldiers also fired at him. The deceased exclaimed "Alamho Akbar!" and passed away peacefully. The train had to be detained for two hours and then proceeded again and I also went in the same train to Jumurr.

Secretary Khudmamul Muhayrul telephoned to the Political Tahsildar not to allow the Kafis in question to proceed. Afterward the Secretary himself went and asked him. The Political Officer however allowed the Kafis to go without even passports, for the simple reason that the truth might not be disclosed.

Evidence tendered by Gulam Hyder Khan of Muhammad Inseem, inhabitant of Feshwara.

On 3rd July when this incident happened I was going to Jumurr by crucible for personal business. I was in the same train in which this incident happened. When the train reached Islamia College Station and stopped, a hue and cry was raised, which reached the ears of everybody. It was heard that the soldiers had got into the female
August 11, 1890.

**YOUNG INDIA.**

trying to get at, and the officer gave him a stroke of sword. The deceased again fell down on the ground. The officer gave the order for firing. The Indian Sepoys refused to comply. The British soldiers and the officer shouted the order. The Sepoys and began to shoot the deceased and the wounded with bayonets and butts. Then the injured began to throw stones. The officer and the soldiers then began to fire at him. The deceased fell flat upon the ground because of the shots. Nobody could come out to help him as the train was surrounded by the Sepoys with fixed bayonets, who said that it was their officer's order that any one getting down will be shot. Owing to this fear, nobody could get down. The train stopped for nearly two hours and then started for Jamjuli. Then I came back to Peshawar with my servant by Tonga.

Mr. MONTAGU AND Mrs. NAIDU

The following is the correspondence referred to in Mrs. Naube's letter to Mr. Gandhi:

(Mr. MONTAGU TO Mrs. NAIDU)

India Office, Whitehall, S. W. 1
3rd July, 1910

**IMMEDIATE**

MADAN,

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India to transmit your assurance in the report of a public meeting at Khatrawi Hall on the 3rd June, published by the organ of the meeting. You are requested to see pages 17 to 18 and to say whether your copies of these parts are not exactly the same as in the Report of the Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress to which you say you referred as the authority for these facts. You are also requested to see whether there is any discrepancy in the Report published by the Government of India.

Mr. Montagu has written to the Secretary of State that the statements that women were struck, kicked, or caught during the operation of martial law in the Punjab are incorrect.

Evidence of Abdur Rahman on which the press report was published is here printed for your information.

**EVIDENCE OF PANDUR RAIMAN**

I am to inform you, your highness, that the Committee of the House of Commons has just been called in the House of Commons for its next meeting on the 12th July.

In accordance with your request, I am to inform you, your highness, that the Committee of the House of Commons has just been called in the House of Commons for its next meeting on the 12th July.

(Quoted) S. K. BROWN

**SECOND LETTER TO MR. NAIDU**

India Office, Whitehall, S. W. 1
10th July, 1910

Since the dispatch of my letter to you yesterday, the news of the Secretary of State has been called in the House of Commons. Mr. Montagu has written to the Secretary of State that the statements that women were struck, kicked, or caught during the operation of martial law in the Punjab are incorrect.

Be sure to return your answer, if any, to me, as soon as possible, and I will forward it to you.
Harshly, regarded in the general object of the meeting.
In the case which you feared is made to your enemies
and to the conduct of your country, the Secretary of
State does not think that this charge can be the allega-
tion which you have in mind. It is an allegation wholly
untrue and not in accordance with Martial Law procedure
made against Indian Police constables and not against
but you described as Martial Authorities. It is not specifically
referred to in the Congress Report.
If however, the allegations made have any in the
Report or the Evidence published by the Congress 5th
Committee, in the following year attempt to make
you to make it seem that what you have in mind to make
such a change, except my Martial Authority, any such
you had in your mind only, no legislative change, or any
the substitution police in the area in a suit for
prosecuted.
I am to tell that paragraph to the Congress of
India that at the first Martial Law in which enquiry
is promised is such as that it all allegations obvi-
ously apply to this one. The fact is that the letter is also,
hence, directly and indirectly, contrary to this matter,
and having in mind what we have a right to stand to
the public the results of the enquiry.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of the letters of the 6th and 14th
months of your Secretary in my direction.

I notice that the statements contained in the first
letters are entirely unjustified in the usual. While
the first one demands the existence of my curren-
tage published by the Congress sub-committee to put
by the reasons made by my Honorary, 8th Month, to
which you refer the second on the conspiracy of such
there is such evidence. But that the matter is made
true of the police and of the Maj. 8th 14th.

I am surprised that you should attempt to make
such a distinction, the naturality of which must
obvious, when the police were not integral part of the
Martial Law machinery and admittedly were not, the
purposes of the Martial Law Authorities immediately
as the outrages were perpetrated by them to procure
on the present for the Martial Law Tribunals.

In any case, if you refer to my speech itself, the
report of which is not entirely accurate, you will
will that there are only two instances of outrage upon women
which I have specifically attributed to Martial Law
Authorities. These remarks were based upon several
statements made by these women themselves, which
reads thus--

"We were called from our houses or wherever we were
and collected near the school. We were asked to remove
our veils. We were misled and hurried to give out
the name of Miss Veel Singh as having been
against the Government. This incident occurred at the end of

Copyright last in the morning in Mr. Bhowmick's presence. He sat at our table, and read many old things.

"We are not satisfied with the stocks. We were made to stand
to read and to hold our ears. He also said telling

"Thus you can see, what I have done, but

While the men were at the Rajah's house, we called
to our village, taking back with him all the women who
in them on the way frequently for the

-Reading, he told me, 14th 14th
lines and ordered all to march into their houses
and stood in the tail of our women hit their
angry at having been killed and silent.

He held a stick and a stone in his hand and yet the
able to swat the breasts of all the women, brothers,
and the words and in the same.

The especially critical is she was sisters and
by the same rule. You were in the same beds with
your husband, in our house, and not permitted from
being in that manner. You are about to be looked
by the same rule. It was said that she was raised,
and presented to me as the mother of holding our
baby, passing, and had to stand, while being
able.

I then told you that I was indeed not to be in the
place of the men who were with me to Bangalore.

Permit the 7th 14th, I am this,

On the 7th 14th, the husbands were killed into a
village. The village people may be further and behind
the town. That is when, on the 14th I told it will
matter to you, and I told, that he told me and put to
in the last, I said, into a village. I then asked every
woman about the

The woman had told them I should not to return
their veils. They too were driven with that.

From Statement No. 141

"I am a purchaser of a I have speech in
publishing even before the court.
"I, therefore, called them from my house. I went with a
woman, and I was perpetually ordered by me. I have
purposely said, and I was not permitted to return to
my purchase. I was frightened and asked the judge.
I was then naturally Miss Veel Singh. She told me
that I should not to return their veils. They too were
driven with that.

From Statement No. 143

"I am a purchaser of a I have speech in
publishing even before the court.
"I, therefore, called them from my house. I went with a
woman, and I was perpetually ordered by me. I have
purposely said, and I was not permitted to return to
my purchase. I was frightened and asked the judge.
I was then naturally Miss Veel Singh. She told me
that I should not to return their veils. They too were
driven with that.

From Statement No. 141
Notes.

**Distress in Orissa.** A fresh calamity.—Misfortune they say never comes singly and so at the top of a scale and prolonged because some reports of heavy and sudden floods which are said to have made thousands of people destitute and homeless. We do not yet know the exact magnitude of the distress caused by the floods, but from the reports sent to us by Mr. L. N. Saha of the Servants of India Society and from what has appeared in press we can well imagine the seriousness of the fresh calamity. We only trust that the charitably inclined persons from the presidency will not only not cease their efforts to alleviate the distress but will hasten with their timely help us to avert needless misery and suffering.

**Indians in East Africa.**—So the Governor of East Africa has after much shilly-shallying announced his Indian policy. The telegram received last week from East Africa amounts to the following:

Translation only to two Indian members. Strict racial segregation has been enforced. Land-purchasing facilities are granted to Indians only. Indian education is to be improved. Immigration is unwise. Indians are not allowed to purchase business plants in Kenya.

Obviously the drastic territorial division separating the coastal land from the uplands has been substituted by an equally drastic division of races. The Governor's announcement amounts to an official declaration of preserving the Uplands as the White Man's Country. We are constrained to think that the territorial division was no itself a device to carry out automatically the policy of Indian segregation.

His Excellency the Viceroy speaking recently in the Imperial Legislative Council made the following solemn declaration:

"...The position of the Government of India is and always will be that there is no justification in a Crown colony or Protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects."

Now let us review what the Indian demands have been and how the British Government has tried to meet them.

Indians asked that the encroachment made, during and since the war, on their right to purchase landed property in the Uplands, which had been cancelled by repeated administrative acts and gained the force of custom and almost the force of law, be forthwith removed. Indians claimed an equal electoral status for all of His Majesty's subjects in East Africa including themselves. The electoral system inaugurated recently ignored them altogether. The power of vote had been confined to Europeans, and only two nominated seats on the Legislative Assembly had been assigned to them.

Indians demanded to be protected against any detrimental law being passed in the future concerning segregation or deportation. Quite recently two very alarming bills were passed on the Government programme. The one was entitled "Underraking Bill" by which any person could be arrested from East Africa without trial, without any case being stated and without appeal, and the other, "Segregation of Races Bill" by which Indians could be segregated in special areas in township. Owing however to our united protests, these measures were withdrawn. But it was always feared that they might be put forward unless other forms.

In all these matters what our countrymen have now got is just the opposite of what they demanded. We would like to ask which of these is consistent with the declared policy of the Government of India, that high-sounding and solemn declaration of the Imperial Government and above all the highest principles of justice and equity.
More about Voluntary Repatriation—By a strange coincidence, made by rail with the news from East Africa we get a telegraphic message from South Africa saying that the Repatriation scheme is being abused by bringing away as many Indians on board as they can manage, from which we infer that besides the insufficient accommodation and the inhuman way in which the induced emigrants are being dealt up the steamer, many of them are being forcibly repatriated. If this be so, it will be a flagrant abuse of the letter and spirit of the voluntary scheme, and we have no hesitation to say it will defeat the very end in view Indians will repent and resist to it any attempt to expel late their country out of the Colony. Instead of inducing, uprooting and happy solution any such manner of purely voluntary repatriation, will simply confuse the issue and make the struggle one of greater strife and bitterness.

We have already been apprizing the danger of an illegitimate use of the scheme because we have had against us a speech of Mr. Wynne Cole, the special officer in charge of carrying out the scheme, in which among others he has repeatedly led emphasis on the fact that the Government not only re-admits the free passages which were granted under the Relief Act but with the aid of ‘recruiters’ intends to encourage and induce the Indians to leave the country. (Readers are these ‘recruiters’ being used to induce the Indians to go out of the country as they had been ‘reduced’ to do there? We anxiously await fuller information.

An echo of the British Guiana Colonization Scheme—We are surprised to hear Messrs. Lockhart and Wharton of the B. G. Colonization Deputation, who were here not very long back in connection with their scheme, giving us an interview to a Guiana paper, The Daily Argus, that their scheme had met with the support and approval of the Indian Legislative Council, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association and a number of public bodies and newspapers and that they had even been given permission to start labour bureaus in different towns in India with a view to starting the colonization scheme right away, and that at the end of this year or early next year the scheme will be fully started and colonists will be coming from India. So far as we are aware, no resolution of approval was passed by the Legislative Council, or by any other body, and no Indian paper put the endorsement on the scheme, without solid and substantial reservations. Even the report of the sub-committee appointed by the Imperial Council was very cautious and only recommended an Indian deputation to go to the island to report on the conditions there before the scheme could be finally accepted and adopted. Messrs. Lockhart and Wharton and the other men of the Guiana Deputation surely knew this before they left India. How is it then that those gentlemen are now asserting that the scheme met with the approval of the Indian Community and that they were given permission to start their scheme and establish labour bureaus in different towns? Have those Indians been bullied and are they the cringing, soul and the British Guiana? Dr. Wharton is further reported to say that a large number of the repatriated Indians who arrived in India last December by the S.S. Serendip are willing to return to the colony, and this is due to the fact that the conditions in the colony are better than those existing in India. We know nothing about the fact, but we should very much like to know whether this is so, and also whether the labour-bureaus mentioned by Dr. Wharton are working.

The threat for Impeachment—the House of Lords has acquitted General Dyer. Yet it was the tribunal to which most of our countrymen in their utter simplicity vacuously dedicated to appeal. An impeachment is nothing but a trial by the House of Lords, according to legal forms, the judgment being by a vote of the House. We now know to what bitter experiences we have been subjected by similar instances in the past; but even so an impeachment must end. The truth is that we should learn to be content with our own conscientious and uncontrolled judgment and not hunger for the decision of a law-court especially when we know that it is after all the conscientious themselves that sit as a court. For, it is the unchristianized brute spirit of the West more brutalized than ever by the successes and failures of the last war, that are now in April 1919 and expect to profit itself by killing bustees and souls in the Punjab and again with imperialistic sanctions to make ascends in the Common, but the spirit could not rest till it frankly let itself out in the Lords.

How British Ministers yield—The Home Office embroglio is one of the pillars for the European statesman to solve. To seek a war with Soviet Russia and respect the professed aims of the Supreme Council for defending Poland, or to refuse from such a war and avoid its dangerous consequences, has been the true question behind all the tall tales of the Allied statesmen. Great Britain, however, it is said, has (for the time, at least) chosen the safer course. Had she drifted into a war with Russia, the Soviets would have, says the Times of India, 'earned the war into Persia, Afghanistan, and Mesopotamia.' Perhaps worse than that for Great Britain would have been the other consequence of the war, viz., the general strike of the Labour Party. Speaking of the strike the Times uses the words 'internal revolution.' It explains the King's Government is still vested in the three Estates of the Realm, a considerable section of the people set themselves against the decrees of these Estates, and resort to measures to defeat them, even if those measures take no more violent form than a general strike, it is an effect a revolution.'
It was the dread of this revolution that induced Great Britain's decision. This effect of the Labour strike has a lesson for us. We see that the masses in Great Britain can by their non-co-operation influence the foreign policy of the British Government. Why should we not be able to bring about by our non-co-operation a similar change in the mind of our Government? Our demands are indisputably just. Our methods are also. To plead against action is an act of our unpreparedness and want of organisation to acknowledge our inability and our incompetence to live as self-governing and self-respecting nation. We do need the self-confidence and the organising powers of the English people, but these can be achieved only by action.

The success of the Indian Strick in significance is another point of view. It is often said by some Englishmen, what on earth the Indian Muslims have to do with the grievances of the Indian Muslims that the British Government should change their Turkish policy? Our present discussion is with the Government to its will. But there is another consideration of the whole nation seems to fall on deaf ears. It therefore remains for our consciences to stand up for the just cause till it is vindicated.

The duty of men of religion—Kings, own conscience convinced and watched by faithful, holy priests, was considered a sufficient guarantee of just government in ancient India. Prime need was to assume the role of guardians and representatives of the people their decisions were accepted by kings as final. Such corruptions of unjust and inhuman treatment are also found in modern history. An incident, where a king submitted to the just dictates of a fearless, holy priest, would well contrast with the narrow policy of the Government, which with false ideas of prestige disregard the wishes of a whole nation in connection with the Persian tragedy.

The loss of the Persians, the Empire of the Lus honor Empire, in 618 A.D. received intelligence that one of his lieutenants was cruelly murdered by the people of Persians. He got impressed by the diary forms of a judicial inquiry and ordered that the blood of his lieutenant should be expiated by the blood of the guilty people. His office, however, involving the people to witness games, massacred, without discrimination of innocence or guilt, a large number from the gathering. The news of this massacre reached the ears of Ambrose, bishop of Milan. Filled with grief and horror he retired into the country to indulge his grief and to avoid the presence of Theodosius. But satisfied that a timid silence would render him an accomplice of the king's guilt, he represented in a private letter the enormity of the crime. He also had a personal interview with Theodosius when the archbishop, in the tones and language of an ambassador of Heaven, declared that private conviction (which the emperor had already resolved to do) was not sufficient to stoke for a public fault or to suppress the passions of the offended Deity. Theodosius accepted the rigorous conditions of peace and pardon laid down by Ambrose, and stripped of the dignity of royalty the emperor seated with tears and sighs the pardon of his sins. Upon thus the great historian, Gibbon, rightly remarks: The example of this emperor may prove the beneficial influence of these principles which could form a monarch exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws and consider an inviolable judge.

Besides illustrating the duty of a sinful ruler, this instance also shows how an unbiased subject can rescue a cruel act of his sovereign. Ambrose refused to admit Theodosius to the benediction till he had done public penance. Thus it is one of the many instances even from European history showing how a Christian refused to cooperate with his unjust sovereign till the latter had purged himself of sin.

If a sovereign punishes us in our mistakes, the duty of his subject, Christian, Hindu or Muslim, is clear. This duty has been bravely performed by men of different religions of different ages and in different countries. In Europe as in India, it was more difficult to perform this duty in a monarchical period than now. But a spirited soul heads to no circumstances, when once the duty is clear. An incident from the Mahabharata History illustrates it.

When Naramba Raghunath was murdered, his uncle and successor, Raghunathsharma, was suspected of having a hand in the crime. The minister, including Ram Shastri, chief judge of the court, declared that it was on every account advisable to support Raghunathsharma's right to the succession as long as there was even the least evidence in his favour. But when Ram Shastri was exonerated from Raghunathsharma himself that he had participated in the fall of his nephew, the undaunted Shastri declared to Raghunathsharma, "I will neither accept of employment, nor enter Pampa, whilst you preside in the administration." He kept his word and retired to a secluded village near Wana.\says Grant Duff.\n
It is men of Ram Shastri's stuff that render a government civilized and adore the services they belong to.
MORE OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

( By M. K. Gandhi.)

Swadeshrutin is one of the most influential daily dailies of Madras. It is widely read. Everything appearing in its columns is entitled to respect. The Editor has suggested some practical difficulty in the way of non-co-operation. I would therefore like, to the best of my ability, to deal with them.

I do not know where the information has been derived from that I have given up the last two stages of non-co-operation. What I have said is that they are a distant goal I strive for it. I admit that all the stages are fraught with some danger but the last two are fraught with the greatest—the least worst of all. The stages have been fixed with a view to running the least possible risk. The last two stages will not be taken up unless the committee has attained sufficient control over the people to warrant the belief that the laying down of arms or suspension of taxes will, humanly speaking, be free from an outbreak of violence on the part of the people I do entertain the belief that it is possible for the people to attain the discipline necessary for taking the two steps. When once they realize that violence is totally unnecessary to bend an unwilling government to their will and that the result can be obtained with certainty by dignified non-co-operation, they will cease to think of violence even by way of retaliation. The fact is that hitherto we have not attempted to take concerted and disciplined action from the masses. Some day, if we are to become truly a self-governing nation, that attempt has to be made. The present, in my opinion, is a propitious movement. Every Indian feels the insult to the Punjab as a personal wrong. Every Indian resents the wrong done to the Khilafat. There is thereby a favourable atmosphere for expecting co-operation and restrained movement on the part of the masses.

So far as response is concerned, I agree with the Editor that the quickest and the largest response is expected to be in the matter of suspension of payment of taxes, but as I have said so long as the masses are not educated to appreciate the value of non-violence even whilst their holdings are being sold, so long must it be difficult to take up the last stage into any appreciable extent.

I agree too that a sudden withdrawal of the military and the police will be a disaster if we have not acquired the ability to protect ourselves against robbers and thieves. But I suggest that when we are ready to sell out the military and the police on an extensive scale, we would find our selves in a position to defend ourselves. If the police and the military ranges from patriotic reso-

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SWADESH.

( By M. K. Gandhi.)

In criticising my article entitled 'The History of the Spanning Wheel the 'Laddoo' the other day distributed to the idea that I have never entertained. And it is necessary for the purpose of understanding the true value of swadeshi, to correct some of the current fallacies The Reader considers that I am putting back the hands of the clock of progress by attempting to replace mill-made clothes and mill-spun yarn by hand-woven and hand-spun yarn. Now, I am making no such attempt as all. I have no quarrel with the mills. My views are incredibly simple. India requires nearly 15 yards of cloth per head per year. She produces, I believe, less than half the amount. India grows all the cotton she needs. She exports several million bales of cotton to Japan and Lancashire and receives much of it back in manufactured clothes although she is capable of producing all the cloth and all the yarn necessary for supplying her wants by hand weaving.
August 13, 1920.  

YOUNG INDIA.

and hand-spinning India needs to supplement her main occupation, agriculture, with some other employment. Hand-spinning is the only such employment for millions. It was the national employment a century ago. It is not true to say that economic pressure and modern machinery destroyed hand-spinning and hand-weaving. This great industry was destroyed or almost destroyed by extraordinary and immoral measures adopted by the East India Company. This national industry is capable of being revived by exertion and a change in the national tastes without damaging the mill industry. Increase of mills is no present remedy for supplying the deficiency. The difficulty can be easily supplied only by hand-spinning and hand-weaving. If this employment were revived, it would prevent sixty million rupees from being annually drained from the country and distribute the amount among half of poor women in their own cottages. I therefore consider Swadeshi as an automatic, though partial, solution of the problem of India's growing poverty. It also constitutes a ready-made insurance policy in times of scarcity of rain.

But two things are needed to bring about the needed revival—to create a taste for Khaddar and to provide an organisation for the distribution of carded cotton and collection of yarn against payment.

In one year, by the silent labours of a few men, several thousand rupees have been distributed in Gujarat among several thousand poor women who are glad enough to earn a few pice per day to buy milk for their children etc.

The argument does not apply to the sugar industry as the "Leader" has attempted. There is no such annual surplus as grown in India to supply India's wants. Sugar was never a national and supplementary industry. Foreign sugar has not supplanted Indian sugar. India's wants of sugar have grown, and she therefore imports more sugar. But this importation does not mitigate a drain in the sense in which importation of foreign cloth does. Production of more sugar means more scientific agriculture, more and better machinery for crushing and refining. The sugar industry therefore stands on a different platform. Swadeshi in sugar is desirable. Swadeshi in cloth is an urgent necessity.

ADDITIONAL POLICE IN SHADIAD

It is more than a year that the inhabitants of Nadia have been demanding a larger share of police upon that town and making Balis and Patidars pay for it. Twice did they submit petitions to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay. The Legislative Council too was moved in the matter. Readers of "Young India" know the shifting policy of the Government in December last. Government presumed, as it still does, that Nadia was a disturbed area in April 1919, and on that ground it professed to justify, in its September session of last year, the location of additional police under section 25 of the Disturbances Act. In the same session, however, queries regarding the recovery of damages arising out of the Ahmedabad disturbances, made under the same section, were referred to the Hunter Committee by the Government. Mr. Gokuldas Telikar of Nadia, dissatisfied with the Government's inconstant attitude, applied to the Secretary of the Hunter Committee for allowing him to appear as a witness. The Secretary, however, replied that there were no disturbances at Nadia and that place did not fall within the Committee's investigation. As the fruit of its persistent efforts however, Nadia did obtained a hearing from the Committee. But the Committee held that the measures taken under sec. 25 of the Disturbances Act fell outside the scope of their enquiry. Thus the Government alone remained the sole judge and arbiter in the matter of the injustice done to the Ahmedabad and Nadia in recovering money from them under the above section. We need not recall the commendable attitude taken by two leaders of Ahmedabad in the recovery of the fine. The Nadia people however chose to turn the last stone and a resolution was moved once again in the last session of the Legislative Council. The Government on its side came forth with its patent arguments of the so-called invasion of the High School by the mob and the ambitious leaflet, both of which had been referred to in the petitions. Further, while attempting to fasten the guilt on the Balis and Patidars, Mr. Robertson, on behalf of the Government quoted from a letter of the Collector in which it was stated that they (Balis) were to blame for creating the spirit of opposition to Government which culminated in the demonstration, and for stoning their shops which gave the signal for commotion and是对数 of the mass in the town. Sir George Cramond endorsed the official colleagues' speech of the disturbances to the proceedings of the Sadr (Sel) of Satyagraha in 1913. The true bureau in turn however came out fully when he told the Council, "The Collector, who knows the state of affairs, is of opinion that (additional police) was necessary."

The fact was, thus very, the Collector who knew the state of affairs wrote on 21st April 1919 to the Municipal Board appreciating the general respect for law and order maintained by the people during the period of excitement and thanked the leaders who used their influence in the direction of moderation. This letter is now as much enough explained away as meant to be an appeal to the leaders to see that nothing untoward was repeated! The Collector also knows that some of the Patidars and Balis have strained every nerve to get hold of the real offenders. These genuine co-operators and their whole class, who form one-third of the whole population of Nadia, are classed as suspects without even a title of evidence against them, simply because they refuse to take things lying low and because they conduct peaceful, healthy and vigorous political
YOUNG INDIA.
August 18, 1920.

OUR MADRAS LETTER

Some people believe that they can accomplish work in Indian politics without calling on men to make any serious sacrifices, without taking them much outside the daily routine of domestic life. In their opinion, all programmes involving large sacrifices are inconsistent with the Brahmin's ideal and are impractical.

Men of science discovered long ago that the unalterable law of nature is that energy cannot be created or destroyed. No work can be done without the expenditure of a definite quantity of energy. One form of energy may be changed into another, but we cannot create something out of nothing. Thus, the law of Conservation of Energy has a counterpart in politics which appears not to be realised by the politicians who fondly believe that political achievements can be made without pain or sacrifice.

freedom was lost in this country centuries ago, not by mere chance, but owing to the failure on the part of the people to perform Yajnas, i.e., put forth energy, by uniting in the defence of their libraries. To regain freedom again—it is in reality, whatever may be the constitutional formula in which it may be expressed—the people must necessarily, in some shape or other, put forth that energy which they failed to do in the past. If a stone has fallen down from its place in a tower, in order to take it up again, we must apply a definite quantity of energy. We might employ any number of pulleys or machinery, but the quantity cannot be altered; so also, lost freedom cannot be re-established, without a definite quantity of sacrifice in some shape or other.

If all people felt that the peaceful pursuit of daily avocations even in a state of slavery was the right and wise thing to do, and that life and domestic happiness were too precious to be sacrificed, and families too dear to be left destitute, for the sake of ideals of freedom, there would have been no war of freedom in the world, foreign invasions would not have been repelled, and despotic rule would never have been overthrown. If freedom, maintained or got by wars and revolutions, involves the ready sacrifice of individual life and happiness, can we escape that sacrifices by merely avoiding bloodshed if we ask still to attain the same end through without killing? We may try to overcome our bondage by gradual administrative development, or more quickly by some non-violent direct action, or even try to buy it for a price in money distributed among British political parties; but by no trick in political mechanics can we escape the quantity of sacrifices needed for the result. We may spread the sacrifices thinly over a long period of time or put it forth concentrated at one point of time; but the law of conservation cannot be infringed.

Differences in method involve differences in the proportion of wastage in the length of time needed but not in the essential quantity of large and ready sacrifices.

The distinction between capital expenditure and expenditure out of revenues lies in its counterpart in national sacrifices. The essential and political principles of war loans and conscription govern also the sacrifices needed for peaceful solutions. The cost of freedom or National Consolidation is a proper charge not only on the present but on succeeding generations and less and subsequent national on families are not abnormal in imposing sacrifices for national and permanent gain for generations to come. It is thus that the call of patriotism is greater than that of family and children.

Seeing that sacrifices in one shape or other is necessary, let us clean up and all the pulleys, and avoid the needless pain and wastage of freedom. A critical point has been reached in our national life. The desire for freedom is strong; the willingness to sacrifice is there but there is no readiness—the machinery is not cleaned up and the cordage and apparatus. What then is the remedy?

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

The only answer in education. Train our boys and girls in such a manner that sacrifices may be easy and even a normal pleasure. Wrong up-bringing causes all the pain of sacrifice. Avoidable conditions of life cause all the misunderstandings which makes sacrifices unnecessarily difficult. Hundreds of boys and girls can easily be trained from early ages to live a life simple enough to make sacrifices easy, and to live it with common sense and satisfaction. And in some of the luxuries which make and keep up our slavery.

All earnest political effort in India is an attack on a powerful Government that almost all those of us who are engaged in so-called politics are men whose bread-winning occupations or position in society unstricly bind them to that same Government. It is as if you try to lift the chair on which you are sitting. You cannot lift it when
once your feet be on the ground, however much you may do with your hands. There is a hint, likewise, to strike a blow. You cannot depend for your support on the very thing which you try to live upon. Freedom at a particular point further progress will stop.

True national education for people in bondage is, then, not merely the teaching of politics or history, but learning how to live in such a manner that the boys of yourAshrams and Gurukul should spring up in all parts of the country, where a new generation will get sound and useful knowledge without losing the capacity to use their hands and feet, who, when they grow up to be men and women, can live an humble and earn their bread in ways not dependent on any particular governmental institution and who will therefore be free in the true sense of the term. How much of us is a weaver, a carpenter, or a blacksmith, or a Government clerk, lawyer, magistrate, or teacher? You can earn your bread by the labour of your hands and be responsible only to God, but the other has to serve if he does not serve the Government or choose to incur its wrath, and again, there is no bond or bond, and there is no caste or cast, of this broad relationship with government. If all the free assertion and other workmen, or even a small fraction of them were given the knowledge that has made us politicians, how great would be the energy that we could put forth. Let us try to do the converse. Let us make weavers, carpenters, or blacksmiths of our future politicians and enunciate them in advance. There can end should be Ashrams, not schools at Sabarmati or Hardwar but in a hundred other places where not only (1) true and useful knowledge is given, and (2) the intellect is fully trained, but (3) a handiack is taught to every one, and (4) the conscience is developed both individual and civic.

where it will (1) beget the habit of being independent, and (2) readiness to sacrifice is increased, so that the people may rest easily and firmly on the ground when the chair is lifted and not dangle helplessly when imaginary efforts are made to raise oneself. When these are ready all over the country, true politics, beyond the line of mere administrative alterations, - true Hind Swaraj, - will be founded.

** DENUNCIATION OF A PROPOSED RICH GRANT.**

The following is the copy of a letter that Ben Anjuya Sarasvati wrote to the Educational Inspector Ahmedabad Division -

Savarkar, Ahmedabad August 10-8-30

Sir,

With reference to your memorandum addressed to the collector and forwarded to me about my application for a site for laboratories I regret to inform you that for the present I shall be unable to avail myself of the proposed grant by reason of my having joined the non-co-operation movement in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab. As far as the fact that I hold personally strong views on the Khilafat and Punjab questions, representing as I do a very large number of Musalmans well disposed for whom the Khilafat is a religious question, I should be unable to receive any Government grant from whom the letters may derive any nudity advantage I am anxious to make my position clear in order to prevent the appearance of ingratitude or non-cooperation when I know that Mr. Chethik, the Collector now on leave, put himself to considerable trouble in order to confer the honours of the proposed grant and that the grant itself meant no small pecuniary consideration.

Yours truly,

Anjuya Sarasvati

I It is estimated that the value of the proposed grant was about Rs. 36,000.—Ed Y I

**A TALK WITH MR. GANDHI.**

**NON-CO-OPERATION EXPLAINED.**

A representative of the journal called on Mr. M. K. Gandhi yesterday at his temporary residence in the Firozeshah High Road for an interview on the subject of non-co-operation. Mr. Gandhi, who has come to Madras on a tour to some of the principal Muslim centres in Southern India, was busy with a number of workers discussing his programme, but he expressed his readiness to answer questions on the chief topic which is agitating Muslims and Hindus.

'After your experience of the satyagraha agitation last year, Mr. Gandhi, are you still hopeful and convinced of the wisdom and success of non-co-operation? - Certainly.

'How do you consider conditions have altered since the satyagraha movement of last year? - I am satisfied that people are better disciplined now than they were before. This I include even the masses whom I have had opportunities of seeing in large numbers in various parts of the country.

'And you are satisfied that the masses understood the spirit of the satyagraha movement? - Yes. Moreover, the danger that attended the civil disobedience part of satyagraha does not apply to non-co-operation, because in non-co-operation we are not setting up civil disobedience of law as a mass movement. The result hitherto has been far more encouraging. For instance, people in Sindh and Delhi, in spite of the irritating restrictions upon their liberty by the authorities, have carried out the Commissariat instructions in regard to the Nizamat meetings. Proclamation and to the prohibition of posting placards on the walls which we held to be injurious but which the authorities consider to be offensive.

'What is the pressure which you expect to have on the authorities if co-operation is withdrawn? - I believe and everybody must agree, that so long as Government can exist for a single moment without the co-operation of the people, waiting or forced, and if people and freely withdrawn their co-operation in every detail, the Government will have to stand still."

'But is there not a big difficulty? - Certainly there is."

'And how do you propose to proceed against the
big If. — "In my plan of campaign expediency has been 100.

If the Khilafah movement has really permeated the masses at the classes, there must be adequate re
course to the government.

"But are you not begging the question — I am not
begging the question, because so far as the evidence
I believe that the Khilafah is likely to the
Khilafah government. It remains to be seen whether their
ideas is to ensure to work in these the
measure of sacrifice adequate for successful non-coopera
operation.

"Not in your survey of the constitution, you think,
judging your advanced non-cooperation is the full con
viction that you have backed you the support of the
vest座谈 of the Mussalman population? — Yes.

"The non-cooperation, you are satisfied, will extend
to complete severance of cooperation with the Govern
ment? — No, but in the present moment my duty
is that it should. I am simply practicing non-cooperation
to the extent that is necessary to make the Government
realize the depth of popular feeling in the matter and
the disassociation with the Government that all that
would be done has not been done either by the Govern
ment of India or by the Imperial government whether on
the Khilafah question or on the pogrom question.

"Do you, Mr. Gandhi, realize that even amongst Muh
cumis there are sections of people who are not enthusias
getic in non-cooperation however much they may feel the
wrong that has been done to their country? — Yes.

But their number is smaller than those who are prepared to
adopt non-cooperation.

"And you do not the fact that there has been an
adequate response to your appeal for resignation of turb
s and officials and for boycott of elections on the Councils
indictes that you may be laying much faith in that
strategy of non-cooperation — I think for the reason that the
stage has just only come into opera
tion and our people are always most cautious and slow to
move. Moreover, the first stage largely effects the upper
most strata of society, who represents a man-eating nation,
only though they are emphatically an individual body of
people.

"This upper class, you think, has subsisted by respond
of the people for your appeal? — I am unable to say any other way
or the other at present. I shall be able to give a definite
answer at the end of this month.

"Do you think that without also a loyalty to the King
and the Royal Family being questioned, one can advocate
non-cooperation in maximum with the Royal visit? —

I must say that if there is any doubt about the proposed
boycott of the Prince's
visit, it is unsatisfactory to the Government of the Emperor
and not to the persons of His Royal Highness.

"What do you think to be the reason for promoting
this boycott in connection with the Royal visit? — The
people are not in sympathy with the treatment of the day and
that they strongly disapprove of the policy of the Government
in regard to the Punjab and Khilafah, and even in respect
of other important administrative measures. I consider
that the visit of the Prince of Wales is a singularly good
opportunity to show their disapproval of the
government.

"After all, the visit is calculated to have transitory political results:
It is not to be a
non-political event, and seeing that the Government of
India and the Imperial Government want to make the
visit a political event at first class importance, namely, for the
purposes of the government under the Punjab Code, I, for
myself, consider that if in the bonds of duty to the people's
interests the visit which is being engineered by the two
Governments in their own interest which at the present
moment is totally antagonizes to the people.

De you mean that you went this boycott preceded
because you feel that the strengthening of the hold upon
India is a great deviation in the best interests of the country? — Yes. The strengthening of the hold of a
Government so worked as the present one is not desirable
for the best interests of the people. Not that I went the
hand between England and India to secure for
the sake of convenience that I want that bond to become
strengthened only so far as it adds to the welfare of
India."

"Do you think that non-cooperation and the non-
boycott of the Legislative Councils number among? — No,
because a person who takes up the programme of non-coopera
cions cannot comparatively stand for Councils.

"In non-cooperation, in your opinion, we end in
itself or a means to an end, and if so, what in the end?

"In a means to an end, the end being to make the pre
sent Government just, whereas it has become merely as
just. Cooperation with a just Government is a duty, non
co-operation with unjust Government can possibly be a duty."

"Will you look with favour upon the proposal to defer
the Councils and to carry on other constructive work or
to decline to take in hand the task of dealing constructively with your
non-cooperation? — No, as an advocate of non co-operation I consider that such a proposal is to
co-operate with the true spirit of non-cooperation. I have
often said that a Government really believes in constitution, and
so far as the proposal to take the oath of alleg
iance in council is concerned, I am really see no meaning in it, it
amounts to a useless waste of valuable time and money.

"In other words, obstruction is not a stage in non co
operation? — No, it is not."

"Are you satisfied that all relations at constitutional
agreements have been exhausted and that non-cooperation
is the only course left us? — I do not consider non-cooper
ation to be unconstitutional, but I do believe that if all
these constitutional committees are not set up to be non-coopera
cions the only one left for us.

"Do you consider it constitutional to adopt it with a
view merely to paralyse Government? — Certainly, it is
not unconstitutional, but in fact it will act all the
steps that are constitutional if they are otherwise
understandable, and do I advise that course I am
resisting to the non-cooperation in progressive stages because
I want to evolve true order out of utter order. I am not going to
take simple step in non-cooperation unless I am satisfied that
the country is ready for that step, namely, non-cooper
ation will not be followed by a body of disorder.

"How will you satisfy yourself that anarchy will not
follow?"

"For instance, if I advise the police to lay down their
arms, I shall have satisfied myself that we are side by
side with constitutional masses to protect ourselves against thieves
and robbers. That was precisely what was done in Lahore
and Amritsar last year by the unarmed by means of volun
teers when the military and the police had withdrawn,
when Government had not taken such measures as
a place, for want of adequate force, I know people have
successfully protected themselves.

"You have advised lawyers to non-cooperate by sus
pending their practice. What is your experience? I have
the lawyers' response to your appeal encouraged me to
hope that you will be able to carry through all stages of
non-cooperation with the help of such people?

"I am not aware that a large number has yet responded
to my appeal. It is not easy to say how many will respond.
But I may say that I do not merely upon the
lawyers' class or highly educated men to enable the
Committee to carry out all the stages of non-cooperation.
My hope lies more with the masses so far as the later
stages of non-cooperation are concerned.

Prized by Shantajlo G. Bankar at Noor Jivan Madrasa, Chadi: Of, Bombay Malabar, Ahmedabad
and published by Mahadeo H. Desai at the same place.
Notes.

Running away from the issue—You cannot run away from the issues of the most burning topics of the day by leaving one to the judgment of history and alone-stamping the other. Yet that is what the most responsible person in the administration, the head of the Government of India has done. May we respectfully ask His Excellency how his attitude on the flagell and the Khilafat question pacifies by one iota or to the outside feelings of the people? Had His Excellency nothing tangible to offer or to say in regard to the demands of the people removing the wrong-doing volume from the administration? True, His Excellency was anxious not to fan the fire, but forthwith, he could have and much to speak had he chosen. His Excellency has indirectly told us that so far the Government of India are concerned the questions are a sealed book. And he hoped this ‘most foolish of all foolish schemes’—meaning thereby Non-co-operation—will fall of its own accord by reason of its insecurity to the Indian people, specially the Mahatma, to show that His Excellency’s prediction of the movement is wrong.

A Pleasant Contrast—In pleasant contrast to His Excellency’s attitude towards the question of Indians abroad which is quite consonant with the self-respect and status of both the people and the Government, by the following declaration His Excellency has shown that he is prepared to follow the footsteps of his eminent predecessor on this question.

"The regional may fail, and the British might arise, but I am determined in my speech of January last and I agree to the position which I then took. I do not feel that there is any justification in a Crown Colony in a Protean State for assigning to British India a status in my way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty’s subjects. We have continually pressed this point of view upon the authorities at Home and we have argued that the franchise in the Crown Colony should be a common franchise on a reasonable property basis plus an educational test with no religious discrimination. I have only to add that if the decision of His Majesty’s Government is not favourable to India, I claim the right of the people of India to be in any way due to a failure on the part of the Government of India to press the Indian point of view. We reserve to ourselves the subject and it will be a matter for serious consideration what India will do after the Government of India appears to us in order to assert the legitimate rights of Indians in the Crown Colonies."

We are prepared to take this declaration at its worth and in due course and the Government of India are going to take up the legitimate rights for our countrymen abroad.

One more breach—The act of deprivation of the right to full citizenship of the cooled have been released under the Royal Commission, following which a series of significant violations of the most important and sacred terms of the Royal Commission, should not be ignored or passed over. It is true we have much hope in the future that taking it on its own worth and voluntarily cooperate with the Government in order to the Reform Scheme a reality. And we do not regard having taken up that stand. On the contrary it has strengthened our present position by lessening the extent and gravity of the wrongs to which we have been year after year by the Proclamation. The disfranchisement of the Indian leaders for voting and standing as candidates is a virtue in disguise as it brings into it one more illustration of the manner in which the Governments have failed to make good for the sincere and unceasing wrongs to obliterate all traces of past bitterness.

Mr Andrews and the Khilafat—We reproduce elsewhere from The Sentinel of India a leading article on "The Khilafat and the Turkish Treaty" from the able pen of Mr. G. G. Andrews, Mr. Andrews very recently contributed a
Religious Authority for Non-co-operation

By M. K. Gandhi

It is not without the greatest reluctance that I engage in a controversy with so learned a leader like Sir Narayan Chandra, but in view of the fact that I am the author of the movement of non-co-operation it became my painful duty to state my views even though they are opposed to those of the leader. I look upon with respect I have just read during my travels in Malabar. Sir Narayan's rejoinder to my answer in the Bombay magistrate against non-co-operation. I regret to have to say that the rejoinder leaves me unconvinced. He and I seem to read the teachings of the Bible, the Gita, and the Ketha from different standpoints or we put different interpretations on them. We seem to understand the words Akhams, politics, and religion differently. I shall try my best to make clear my meaning of the common terms and my reading of the different religions.

At the outset let me assure Sir Narayan that I have not changed my views on Ahimsa. I still believe that man, not having been given the power of creation, does not possess the right of destroying the meats and spices that live. This prerogative of destruction belongs solely to the creator of all that lives. I accept the interpretation of Ahimsa, namely, that it is not merely a negative state of helplessness but it is a positive state of doing good even to the evil-doer. But it does not mean helping the evil-doer to continue the wrong or tolerating it by passive acquiescence. On the contrary, love, the active state of Ahimsa, requires you to root out the wrong-doer by discovering yourself from him even though it may offend or injure him physically. Thus if my soo lives a life of ahimsa, I may not help him to do so by continuing to support him, on the contrary, my love for him requires me to withdraw all support from him, although it may mean even his death. And the same love imposes on me the obligation of welcoming him to my bosom when he repents. But I may not by physical force compel my son to become good. That is my opinion is the moral of the story of the Prodigal Son.

Non-co-operation is not a passive state, it is an intensely active state—more active than physical resistance or violence. Passive resistance is a non-comer. Non-co-operation in the same sense used by us must be non-violent and therefore neither passive nor vindictive nor based on shastra ul-will nor hatred. It follows therefore that it would be sin for us to serve General Dyer and co-operate with him to shoot innocent men. But it will be an expression of forgiveness or love for me to know him back to life, if he was suffering from a physical malady. I cannot use in that context the word co-operation as Sir Narayan would perhaps use it. I would co-operate a thousand times with this Government to wean it from its career of crime, but I will not for a single moment co-operate with it to continue that career. And I would be guilty of wrong doing if I retained a tiate in it or its servant under it or supported its lawcourts or schools. Better for me a beggar's bowl than the violent passion from hands stained with the blood of the innocents of Godhra. Better by far a warrant of imprisonment than knayed words from those who have wantonly wounded the religious sentiment of my seventy million brothers.

My reading of the Gita does not usually opposed to Sir Narayan's. I do not believe that the Gita teaches violence for doing good is in preponderantly a description of the duel that goes on in our own hearts. The divine author has used a historical medium for instigating the lesson of doing one's duty at the part of one's life. It ratifies performance of duty irrespective of the consequences, for, we are limited by our physical faculties, incapable of controlling actions or actions of our own. The Gita does not ignore the power of light and darkness and demonstrates their incompatibility.

Jenny, in my humble opinion, was a princess among politicians. He did render unto Caesar that which was Caesar's. He gave the devil his due. He ever
SHUMLAT AND SWADESHI

It was not without much reading that I consented to include Swadeshi as a plank in non-co-operation. But Mahatma Hanumath Mohan by his sheer perseverance bore down my fear however that his reasons for excluding Swadeshi are different from mine. He is a protagonist of boycott of British goods. I must confess to myself in the doctrine as I have explained elsewhere is this vein. But having failed to popularize boycott, Mohan Sahib has accepted Swadeshi as the lesser good is however necessary for me to explain how I have come to include Swadeshi in the programme of non-co-operation.

Non-co-operation is nothing but discipline in self-sacrifice. And I believe that a nation that is capable of limitless self-sacrifice is capable of reaching limitless heights. The more the importance of Swadeshi, the quicker the progress. Swadeshi offers every man, woman, and child an occasion to make a beginning in self-sacrifice of a pure type. It therefore presents an opportunity for testing our capacity for sacrifice. It is the measure for gauging the depth of national feeling on the Khilafat wrong. Does the nation feel sufficiently to move it to go against even the preliminary process of self-sacrifice? Will the nation reserve its taxes for the Japanese silk, the Manchester shawl or the French lace and find all its decoration out of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth in the Khadi? If enough of people will refuse to wear or use foreign cloth and be satisfied with the simple cloth that we can produce in our homes, it will be proof of our organizing ability, energy, cooperation and self-sacrifice that will enable us to secure all we need. It will be a striking demonstration of national solidarity.

Such a demonstration cannot be achieved by one man, no matter how capable and sincere he may be. It cannot be achieved by dotting India with Swadeshi stores. It can only be achieved by new production and judicious distribution. Production means the use of woman spinning in their own homes. This requires earnest men to be engaged in honestly distributing cards, cotton, and collecting yarn and paying for it. It means manufacture of thousands of spinning wheels. It means restoring the model weavers to their noble calling and distributing home-spun yarn amongst them and setting their manufacturers. It is thus only as an energetic agent that I can think of Swadeshi as a plank in non-co-operation. But it is not to be despised in that capacity. And I hope that every worker for the same, even if he can do nothing else, will have done something if he can advance Swadeshi yet by increasing production and distribution. He would be simply moving in a circle if he is satisfied with distributing cloth that is already being manufactured in India.

BOYCOTT OF GOODS

NON-CO OPERATION PROGRAMME

Mr. Kasin Ram Aswani was pleased to answer my argument in favour of the details of the first stage of non-co-operation that I had the honour of putting to the great Madras Beach meeting. He expressed his dissent from all but the renunciation of titles. He suggested a boycott of foreign goods in the place of the other items. Even at the risk of repeating arguments familiar to the readers of Young India, I must deal with the question of boycott which has now received the imprimatur of so able a publicist as Mr. Kasin Ram Aswani.

In the first place, boycott of British goods has been conceived as a punishment and can have no place in non-co-operation which is founded in a spirit of self-sacrifice and is meant to achieve a goal.

Secondly, any measure of punishment must be swift, certain and adequate for the effect intended to be produced. Resorted to by individuals, therefore, boycott is inefficient, for it can give no satisfaction unless it is productive of effect, whereas every act of non-co-operation is in itself a satisfaction.

Thirdly, boycott of British goods is thoroughly unpractical, for it involves sacrifice of their millions by millions. It is in my opinion infinitely more difficult for a merchant to sacrifice his millions than for a lawyer to suspend his practice or for a stockholder to give up his title or for a patentee to sacrifice, if need be, the literary production of his children. Add to this the important fact that monopolies have only lately been formed themselves in politics. They are therefore not to be taken lightly. But the class, to which the first stage of non-co-operation is intended to appeal, is the political class which has devoted years to politics and is not mentally unprepared for communal sacrifice.
WHILE British goods to be effective must be taken up by the whole country at once or not at all. It is like a siege. You can carry out a siege only when you have the requisite men and instruments of destruction. One man standing alone with his finger nails may hurt his fingers but will produce no effect upon the walls. One battle-hold getting up the title has the supreme satisfaction of having wasted his hands through the guilt of the doer and is unaffected by the refusal of his fellows to give up their. The motive of not being punitive looks the inherent practicability of non-operation. The spirit of punishment is a mark of weakness. A strengthening of that spirit will retard the process of regeneration. The spirit of sacrifice is a determining factor to rid ourselves of our weakness. It is therefore an urgent need and purifying process and is therefore also to be calculated. It will bring about such to those who use the spirit of sacrifice in the sense of all that has been one of our inner self, the spirit of the example of the West and making our sacrifice materialistically instead of off duty a sacrifice and making them in the sight of God.

THE TENDENCY OF ECONOMIC FORCES

It was similarly intended before the great war that the spread of commerce would end war. The hobbies of the dominion was made manifest by the fact that it was during the nations that had commercial dealings with each other that engaged each other in death grip and that the industrial strength of the war has succeeded in limiting the very holdings of international commerce at the present.

And with this tendency of the economic forces it is due to nations to be depended upon for the necessary services of life. International division of labor is essential beyond a certain limit in a course of industries and commerce. Few succeed in monopolize and the frantic and the fruit of labor, viz., money is a result that they have to choose for political as and consequent partly Division of labor is organized nations stronger, and the two original were driven to the wall. It is shown that one or two who are now making a positive penetration since long before the war in Europe, Belgium, Switzerland, and Turkey was required by her commercial rivals on the continent. They the country supplied with conditions on Germany, which it has no overstock in the very end of the country is a manufacturing region.

It is right that they are the pillars for the other manufacturing nations how get what they think an opportunity for making the assault in the commercialness of the new start seems to better starr Europe's productive power compared with pre-war conditions being reduced to between 30 and 40 per cent, whilst the desire to consume has increased rather than diminished. Some efforts are being made to bring production on par with the necessity of the hour. But the end of the year shows whether or not the committee of labour not having left Europe, we hear of England's productive energies being marred by overproduction of a few articles. Such an overproduction, disproportionate production is sure to lead to a bitter rivalry between the Allies themselves.

One of the means, with these organized Powers, of securing enough for their produce and developing their commerce is to tighten their hold on countries which produce raw materials but do not manufacture for themselves and thus become the dumping ground for manufactured goods. That is why Mr. Lloyd George and the other day that interdependence of Asia upon Europe and of Europe upon Asia being, a patent fact, it was the right of the Allies to see that the productive power of Asia still be not be impaired by those in Asia was the reason for the Allies to take to secure political dominance over Western Asia and naval control over the Chinese Government. If the trend of increasing war is evident enough, the only course for the Allies to take to get rid of this political dominance is to manufacture for themselves and relieve Europe of the burden of providing them with the manufactured necessities of life. In short Swadeshi in the only means of Swarajya for these unfortunate countries.

The position of India is peculiar. She did once produce and manufacture for herself and the outside world. She has to deal with the thing that the nations can be economically independent, of course not without a hard fight Japan and America are already capturing her markets. It was a wonderful, peaceful penetration during the period of war. Mr. Thomas M. Andrews, who recently visited India as the Maytag's trade commissioner, has started the alarm at a meeting at Leeds. "Our chief competitors in India," says he, are Japan and America. During the year Japan has increased her shipments from under one million to 25 million annually in textiles. Before the war the American trade was about 3 million, reaching in 1917 it rose to 10 millions, and now it has 12 millions." He exhorted his English audience to arrange for selling organizations in India.

It is against such organized and powerful efforts of England, Japan, and America that we have to hold our own. We are put in a fluid of the struggle for food, and super realty. That went on in India during the latter half of the eighteenth century. It was not, as might usually be expected, a fight between the children of the soil and the outsiders. The Indians were merely passive and helpless witnesses of a pretentious struggle between the outsiders for themselves for the possession of India. Today we witness a similar sharp rivalry for the same.

moral dominance of our country beyond ourselves, in which we are expected to play no independent part. This danger will be no way much less in magnitude and far-reaching consequences than the previous one, if we do not meet it. The awakened spirit of India will, we hope, determine for us a sound economic policy and enforce it, if not through the Indian Government, through the national will itself in the form of a vigorous Swadeshi propaganda.

INDIANS IN E. AFRICA

SIR E. NORTHBY'S STATEMENT.

(From the E. African Times.)

His Excellency General Sir Edward Northby visited the offices of the Indian A. H. Association by appointment at 8.30 a.m. on Tuesday and there met the Standing Committee of the Indian National Congress in whose name he was required to make the following statement upon the laws of Indians in the Colony of Zanzibar:

His Excellency informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the subject of Indian policy in East Africa has been arrived at after frequent discussions with the Governor of Uganda and myself, and after the Lord Chief Justice had been instructed to introduce his opinion by Lassington which included Indian representatives sent from East Africa.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies expressed the wish of Indian policy in East Africa has been arrived at after frequent discussions with the Governor of Uganda and himself, and after the Lord Chief Justice had been instructed to introduce his opinion by Lassington which included Indian representatives sent from East Africa.

His Excellency gave very careful consideration to these important questions on his own account of securing a practicable adjustment of the situation.

PHANZISHI.

The Indian community have expressed the wish to be equal rights with the European settlers in regard to representation in the Legislative Council of the Colony, and it is now to say, that their representatives on the Council should be elected instead of nominated and that the number of electors should be the same as that recently introduced for European representatives. Lord Lassington, in introducing the депутатation to which we have already referred, stated that he realized that a solution of the present difficulties could not be found in granting the franchise to Indians in the Colony generally in the same terms as to Europeans. The Secretary of State shares this opinion. He had introduced the now that having regard to the small proportion of the Indian community who could be regarded as qualified to exercise a franchise the time had not come for being the representation of Indians in the Colony on the European principle.

It is, however, now expressed by the representatives, which have been made both by the Indian representatives from East Africa and by the Secretary of State for India in this important, which is attached to the Indians to the election of their Members. The Secretary of State has therefore decided that arrangements shall be made for the election of two Indian Members at the Legislative Council on special franchise the details of which will in the first place be worked out locally. The qualifications for franchise proposed by Mr. Phatak in the resolution which he placed before the Legislative Council may serve as a basis for discussion, but it will be necessary for each party for election as representatives of the Indian community to the Legislative Council to have the additional qualifications of speaking and writing in the English language.

ELECTIVE REPRESENTATION.

It will follow as a result of elective representation of Indians in the Legislative Council that similar arrangements must be made in connection with Mesopotamia. I shall make recommendations to the Secretary of State on the best method of applying this measure.

As regards Indian immigration into East Africa, the Secretary of State could not countenance any restrictions which would place natives of India at a disadvantage as compared with other immigrants. Subject to the Immigration Ordinance to be enforced in the Colony, which is of general application, there must be no bar to the immigration of Indians.

The removal of the restriction on the acquisition by Indians of agricultural land in the highlands of the Colony of Kenya has been strongly urged by the Earl of Kneelp, who is Secretary of State for the Colonies, and referred to the President that it was not consistent with the views of the Union's Government to impose a legal prohibition on any particular section of the community in regard to the acquisition of land but that the matter of administrative arrangements grants of land to the upland areas of the Protectorate should not be made to Indians. The ground for this decision was that the area of agricultural land in the Colony suitable for European settlement is limited. This decision has been afforded to the Secretary of State by Lord Kneelp's Government, and Lord Kneelp does not feel that he should be prejudiced in representing the House in which the subject of Indian policy in East Africa has been arrived at after frequent discussions with the Governor of Uganda and himself, and after the Lord Chief Justice had been instructed to introduce his opinion by Lassington which included Indian representatives sent from East Africa.

The Secretary of State does not regard the Indian plans as the same terms as to Europeans. The Secretary of State shares this opinion. He has introduced the now that having regard to the small proportion of the Indian community who could be regarded as qualified to exercise a franchise the time had not come for being the representation of Indians in the Colony on the European principle.

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RACE-SEGREGATION CONFIRMED.

Much attention has been directed to the policy which for convenience may be called "race-segregation". This policy has given offence to the Indian community, but I feel sure that they are under a misapprehension in the matter. There is an inmost fear of discrimination against the Indians. In this case, as in that of land settlement, Lord Melton has an wish to meet the Indians in European interests. But he is convinced that as long as the Indians are fairly dealt with on the rejection of race, the principle that in the laying out of townships in unoccupied Africa separate areas should be allotted to different races is not only from the sanitary point of view but also on the grounds of social commonness, the right principle, but for all races European, Indian or native. This principle will therefore be adhered to in residential areas and whenever practicable, in commercial areas also.
THE MILLAFAF AND THE TURKISH TREATY.

(The Servant of India)

I had imagined that the full extent of the breach of faith committed by the Prime Minister, in the case of the British Government, was only known to us in India. But the hypocrisy, which has behind Constantinople, is only just coming to light. The news is slowly trickling through. There is a most abominable practice which intensifies the demand for a complete revision of the Treaty a hundredfold, and makes India's part in such a demand a duty to humanity of the very first importance.

The facts are these. The French and Italians are firmly convinced that Great Britain, by her naval power and her military occupation, is determined to rule the States and to remain indefinitely, so as to virtual lord of Constantinople, with the consequences that local conditions are too unstable to contemplate any speedy retirement. The instance of Egypt is constantly cited as a precedent. In Egypt, if it is remembered, Great Britain made more than a hundred separate promises to retire, and found reasons for breaking them all. Such, it is said, will be the fate of Constantinople.

There was, has been one terribly revealing statement of Mr. Lloyd George, which he made in an unguarded moment. He was answering a deputation, which waited on him in order to ask him what would happen to America—"Could not Great Britain undertake the responsibility of America's protection, if America were unwilling?" According to the 'servant' report given in all the papers Mr. Lloyd George answered as follows—

"We have got Constantinople, we have got Mesopotamia; we have got Palestine.

Even if Mr. Lloyd George was speaking somewhat casually, and only meant,—"we have got, in our own temporary military occupation, Constantinople"—even then, it was unforgettable, that he put Constantinople in exactly the same category as Mesopotamia. To state the very least constructive that this word will bear, it showed that he regarded the possession of Constantinople as mere temporary affair, which would be over in a few months, but a long and costly business.

Furthermore, we have now the fact brought to light, that every other allied power appears to regard the British as paramount in Constantinople, just as the French are now regarded as paramount in Aleppo and Damascus and the Greeks as paramount in Smyrna and Adrianople. All the military deficiencies of Constantinople are in the hands of the British. The Sultan himself, his viceroy, and his Cabinet sign dogfully and unanimously British orders. Resident officials have been effectively dealt with financial control has been taken from the Turkish Government, and the Sultan has been made, not only a prisoner in his own palace, but also practically a pauper and a mendicant, dependent on the hated
foreigner for every penny of his means. It is this situation, which has made Europe regard the British military occupation as complete and lasting.

Mr. Lloyd George's own words, and those of members of his Cabinet—such, for instance as those of Mr. Winston Churchill—have now become like a sealed cannon. No one gives them any credit or currency. Every newspaper in the Continent assumes, as an axiom, that Constantinople has become a British protectorate. In France, this is characterized as an immense diplomatic triumph for Great Britain, and the means to make certain of Syria, as a French possession, has been increased by this act of the British army and navy.

Furthermore, the feeling is now strong on the Continent of Europe, to the point of dangerous bitterness, that the English Prime Minister and Mr. Winston Churchill have ever-received themselves into mendacity and in forming the basis of the Allies. It is everywhere believed that secret financial aid is being given to Greece, and that the Greek Government is deeply involved in the plot. M. Venizelos is regarded as acting as if he were in a secret concert with the British Minister in order to bring about the final overthrow of Turkey, and to place Great Britain permanently as a guardian of the Straits and controller of Constantinople's destiny.

The prize paid for this has been the Greek possessions of Smyrna and Thrace.

What the French view in detail may be made clear from the account given in Le Moniteur, a French literary weekly. It is written by M. Berthe Georges Gaulin, who was on the spot at the time of the British occupation of Thrace, and reported it most bitterly.

"At day-break," he writes, "the valley awakened. The inhabitants of Istanbul and Pera. It was the verge to the sudden leap of the British force by which it was directly towards the messengers of the groy he had been so dreadfully prepared to put off into a treaty which England's allies were well pleased to believe.

"We, the French consulates," M. Gaulin adds, "must now all this with sublimity. As the real meaning of what was happening became evident, our envoys were prepared. Every news brought by the British soldiers removed some of our minds of friendly and Scientists from those whom we had found by these tasks. The most obvious was the one nearer towards men who rely upon men's justice and honour. Consequently, the moral position of the French Consulates seemed necessary. It was desirable. In this manner of an agreement, made at this time of alarm, only be our official outlook not to fall.

"All that occurred to the story of a Turkish spring was.

The soft beauty of the skies and calms the act of the people threw in sharp relief such acts of apparently great violence."

"During the next few days," M. Gaulin continues, "the subsequent stages of Shem's occupation followed in quick succession. Manoel streets were made.

The Turkish Cabinet being disintegrated, the merciless Russian hussars hastened to completion. Gradually, the physical evidence of Great Britain's military occupation became less evident. But its innumerable presence never for a moment relaxed. Every essential Turk in Constantinople or Smyrna, was either under arrest, or else a fugitive. He was never going towards Malta, or towards Astrola."

We turn from this wordy and disagreeable picture to the actual Syracs and Mesopotamia massacres themselves and the lying and chicanery of the Powers with Mr. Lloyd George as the chief offender, stands out more clearly than ever on theminus; And without mentioning the plutocracy and plundering in every branch by far the most cunning concealment of apocryphal under verbiage that has become too truly even to deserve the name mentioned. We had another of Mr. Lloyd George's various phrases telegraphed out to us lately in India. 'The whole of the property,' he declared, 'in oil of Mesopotamia will belong in the Arab State! Now we find that, just as in the case of the 'truth and renowned lands of Neo Minor and Thrace, the promise also means nothing at all. It is "subject to any arrangements" which were made before the war. This means, in plain terms, that 25% is to go to France and 75% to Great Britain, with a certain royalty to the Arab State."

Lord Welby has bluntly declared the truth in the face of all that double dealing. "We are in the hands, he has said, with terrible circumstances, of no organization of crooks (t. e. sheaks). Lord Hugh Cecil, speaking concerning another mandatary mandate in the Persian, has given the verdict of all decent people in times of careful consideration—"The British Government have earned, rightly or wrongly, the most indestructible reputation for want of courtesy. I have known a great many governments that have not one wish we had a regulation for making the truth and acting honestly."

Mr. H. W. Menzies has expressed the same thing in words that burn with shame as follows:

"A very young student of the world and its ways, or a very letter against might envy the facile intellectual ability of expressing hypocrisy and untruth so crude as this hypocrisy of the mine does. Our own feeling approaches sadness. It would be pleasant to look the other way and write about Shakespeare and the musical glasses. Until the few men in this House of Commons, who save this beauty and independence and brains, will face the Government, as the two Clews are doing and tell us the plainest Anglo-Saxon words that these tricks of untruth and slanders are ensuring our reputation in the world, doing the faint hope of any working of the League, and burying idealism itself, the mandate must be held that the war has ended to a disregard of international rights and good faith issues and more demonstrably by far than the frank wrong doing of Bethmann Hollweg, who had at least the sense to admit that he did evil under the stress of necessity. Here there is no cunning, no cruelty.

There is a breach of treaties, a grasping at material wealth, a disregard of others' interests and rights, touched tenfold more serious because it is hidden in deception."

I do not think that a single word of all this is too strong for what has recently happened at the Peace Conference and after. What it implies for India at the present juncture, I shall discuss in my next paper.

C. F. Andrews.
A GOOD EXAMPLE IN NON-CO OPERATION

(To The Editor, "Young India")

Sir,

I hope you will kindly give publication to the following in your esteemed paper:

The Government of India and the Imperial Government being proud of the powers drawn from the Indian sources have ruthlessly disregarded the Muslim sentiments and the commandments of Islam and unscrupulously and high-handedly justified the Punab atrocities.

For the sake, gaining the safety of my faith and existence I have decided to devote myself whole-heartedly to the non-co-operation movement initiated by the Khilafat Committee. Therefore I have suspended my legal practice and have withdrawn my loved younger brothers from a recognized English school.

I also hereby give up my candidature for the U.P. Council.

Yours etc,

M. Abdul Majeed Beg,
Dharapur, Senior Vice-President, Munisipal Board &
President, Khilafat Committee, Dharapur, Bihar

DESPATCH FROM THE GOVERNOR OF FIJI

PANDIT TOTA RAM’S OPINION

(To the Editor, "Young India")

Sir,

Pandit Tota Ram has kindly sent me his opinion about the Despatch of the Fiji Governor, Pandit Tota Ram, as the reader of your paper already know, has lived in Fiji for twenty-one years and has done very useful work there. His opinion, therefore, carries some weight with it.

(PANDIT TOTA RAM’S OPINION)

In my opinion, the Despatch of the Fiji Government translated from the Leader. The dispatch read as a novel. It has concealed many points. But they can be pointed out by the public. The fact that the Fiji Government has been criticized in the New Zealand Parliament, about the Fiji disturbances and they appear to me to be quite true.

INDIANS OVERSEAS ASSOCIATION

(To the Editor, "Young India")

Sir—I have pleasure in informing you that Mr. A. M. Desai has written to the "Hindu" and to the "Bombay Chronicle," repudiating the alleged interview with the Special Correspondent in London of the "Hindu," in which he was reported to have reprinted adversely this Association.

I have thought proper to inform you of this at once in order that the incident may be regarded as closed.

Yours truly,

H. L. F. R. Fowle,
Hon Secretary, I.O: Association.

CORRECTION

The letter of the Amiya Saraf by which shall be published under the heading of "Reparation of a trek gift" was addressed to the Commissioner, Northern Division, and not to the Educational Inspector.

NOTICE

As we have been receiving numerous applications for specimen copies of Y I, we have to inform each applicant that it is necessary for them to send two and a half annas postage stamps.—Ed. Y. I
RIDICULE REPLACING REPRESSION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Had His Excellency the Viceroy not made it impossible by his default attitude on the Punjab and the Khilafat, I would have tendered him hearty congratulations for substituting ridicule for repression in order to kill a movement beneficial to him. For, torn from its context and read by itself, His Excellency's discourse on non-co-operation is intolerable. It is a symptom of delusion from savagery to civilization. Pouring ridicule on an opponent is an approved method in civilized politics. And if the method is consistently continued, it will mark an important improvement upon the official barbarity at the Punjab. The interpretation of Mr. Montague's statement about the movement is also open to any objection whatever. Without asking a government has the right to use sufficient force to put down an actual outbreak of violence.

But I regret to have to confess that this attempt to pour ridicule on the movement, read in conjunction with the statements on the Punjab and the Khilafat preceding the preceding, seems to show that His Excellency has made it a matter of necessity. He has not finally abandoned the method of terrorism and frightfulness, but he finds the movement being conducted in such an open and truthful manner that any attempt to kill it by violent repression would not expose him any longer to ridicule but consist of all right-thinking men.

Let us however examine the adjectives used by His Excellency to kill the movement by laughing at it. It is 'fickle', 'ill-advised', 'unrealistically insane', 'unpractical', 'vulgar'. He has rounded off the adjectives by describing the movement as 'most foolish of all foolish schemes.' His Excellency has in some important of it that he has used all his vocabulary for showing the unmerit of the ridiculous nature of non-co-operation.

Unfortunately for His Excellency the movement is likely to grow with ridicule as it is certain to flourish on repression. No viable movement can be killed except by the impotence ignorance or harshness of its authors. A movement cannot be killed that is conducted by men of action as I claim the members of the Non-Co-Operation Committee are. It is hardly arguable, seeing that if the people respond, every one admits that it will achieve its end. At the same time it is perfectly true that if there is no response from the people the movement will be popularly despised as 'vulgar'. It is for the nation to make an effective answer by organized non-co-operation and change ridicule into respect, ridicule as it is easily doable. Both give place to respect when they fail to produce the intended effect.

THE VICE-REGAL PROCLAMATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It may be that having lost faith in His Excellency a prelate by capacity to hold the high offices of Viceroy of India, I now end his speeches with a biased mind but the speech His Excellency delivered at the time of quelling of the council shows to be an untimely attitude which makes association with him on the Government impossible for self-respecting men.

Like I remarks on the Punjab want a flat refusal to grant redress. He would have us to concentrate on the problems of the immediate future. The immediate future is to compile repentance on the part of the Government on the Punjab matter. Of this there is no sign. On the contrary, His Excellency resists the temptation to reply to his critics, meaning thereby that he has not changed his opinion on the many vital questions affecting the honour of India. He is content to leave the nation to the verdict of history. Now that kind of language, in my opinion, is calculated further to influence the Indian mind. Of what use can a favourable verdict of history be to men who have been wronged and who are still under the bonds of officers who have shown themselves utterly unfit to hold offices of trust and responsibility? The plea for non-co-operation is, to say the least, by potential in the face of the determination to
I feared such a result in our midst, that I advised non-violent non-co-operation regarding the Khilafat. In my opinion, it is the naive and open preaching of non-co-operation which has prevented murders and assassinations in this land. The murder of Mr. Willoughby proves that the propaganda of non-violence and non-co-operation has not proved sufficient to control individual fanatics and that it is not an easy thing to do. It proves further that the Khilafat wrong is a deep-seated grievance which with the passage of time will sink deeper still instead of being forgotten.

I observe that The Times of India credits the Khilafat propagandists with the murder and calls it the first fruits. I realise that the language used is cautious. It connotes certain aspects of the agitation with the crime. But I venture to suggest that no aspect of the agitation is responsible for the unforeseen murder. It is the grievous wrong, done by the British ministers, which has awaked the cruel deed.

The Times of India on safer ground when it says that the tragedy is a special call to Islam, for all thoughtful Mohammdans must realize that the honour of their religion rests stake. I wish to emphasize that warning. It must be the special duty of every Khilafat worker to be more careful than hitherto in insisting on complete freedom from violence as the condition precedent to successful non-co-operation. I am sure it is possible to use texts from the Koran in condemnation of murder of innocent men. I can understand violence being done to wrong doers in order to compel justice. It is unfortunately the chosen method of the civilized world. It has scriptural authority. Islam is said openly to preach violence to the wrong-doer. The so-called volumes of Christianity justify organized warfare for the removal of wrong, fanned or real. Thousands of Hindus interpret the Gita to be a justificatory for war in the cause of justice. It is only a minority (daily growing in numbers) which religiously believes that violence is wrong in itself and cannot be justified even to vindicate truth. But it cannot (it may be unwise) be religious in murder innocent unarmed men without warning. It is not enough for Khilafat workers to be satisfied with public condemnations (necessary as they are) or for the sake of decorum to join them. It is necessary for us to preach privately, publicly and unassumingly the necessity of refraining from violence especially when an active campaign of non-co-operation full of promises is going on. We must feel in every fibre of our own being that every murder, every deed of violence must retard the progress of the movement.

There is an opportunity for distinguishing the Sun Fanz from the Egyptian non-co-operation from ours. The former does not and did not depend for success on non-violence. The Sun Fanzers resort to violence in every shape and form whilst theirs is a 'frightfulness' not unlike General Dyer's. We may pardon it if we
Report of the Relief's Famine Relief Fund for the Month of July 1920

We own no apology to the public for publishing late this report of the work of our relief centers for the month of July 1920. Thanks to the generous efforts of our workers, we were able to do a far greater work than usual. The funds we received were frittered out in giving relief to parts of Puri and Cuttack districts in addition to those famine relief work and secondly, the demands of the huge influx of people who came to our relief centers.

We had 17 relief centers where, in addition, relatives came to see and encourage others to whose appeals we paid special attention.

| Total | 3,333,333

The amount of Rs. 5800 was advanced to two Weavers' Cooperative Credit Societies during the month.

7. An Orphanage of about 12 children was opened on 1st July at Cuttack, and another on 15th July, at the Orphanage started by the Army's Relief at Sakhimagar. A kitchen to feed about 30 orphans and some adults was working at Brahmapur.

8. Our financial position stands like this: We collected in July Rs. 6350-11-10 as and by the end of July the balance on our hand was Rs. 8500-3-0. Taking an average one rupee per day (100 talas) of relief work relieved, the daily expenses work to Rs. 50. Thus we have only 10 months' balance to hand. The decreased amount of funds has been anticipated by a liberal contribution of the Mahamahopadhyaya who advanced large sums destroying young crops standing between. More money than Rs. 800 per day might therefore be spent in view of the new situation created, but instead of that we have been forced to close down two centers of relief already, namely, Sakhimagar on 20-20 and Brahmapur on 15-8. The relief work is expected to last till the end of October next.

9. We now agree with all our comrades who urge that some attention is given to the needs of the poor and the destitute. We have shown much largeness of heart in this charitable work, to help the voiceless and helpless, thereby we may be able to carry on the heavy and responsible work we have undertaken to the end and satisfactorily. We hope that our friends and relatives will not lose in vain that we will be able to get the further amount of Rs. 40,000 (forty thousand) that is badly needed.

A V TRAISSLER, Secretary,
Peoples' Famine Relief Committee, Puri.
Let us therefore see what that burden exactly means. Here is an inefficient soldier who ignores the strength of the Government which we are engaged in a fierce struggle. The Government represents a combination that is crafty in the young goddess untutored but conseguent self-sacrificing and increasing great powers of organisation. We must therefore mean it different by simulating not opposing gallantry but gallantry, with anguish, by truthfulness. We must teach it courage with greater ability to win, and accord its personal welfare and its dignifying power with greater organizing power. It has almost matchless weapons of violence. We must meet them with purer virtue. Unless we are able to satisfy the test, we must be content to comply a status of servility. Non-co-operation affords the nation an opportunity of sifting all the qualities required for maintaining the honour.

RESOLUTIONS

passed at the Fourth Gujarat Political Conference, Ahmedabad, 1930.

THE LAL DAKSHA

1 This Conference expresses deep sorrow at the death at this critical juncture, of Lakshma Behra, the most liberal of the Nationalist party, able journalist, profound thinker, the greatest fighter against the Barasara Government of the country for liberty and Swarajya, and sympathizes with his family in their bereavement. Theendir these pain, that Provision may grant peace to his end.

(From the Chair)...

FUNKHAR

2 (1) This Conference salutes the services of the Commissioners appointed by the Congress Sub-Committee, served at Indian complete to resist the disturbances and acts of terrorism that took place in the Punjab last year, and is of opinion that the disorders were caused by the ignorance of Mahabir Choudhury and Mr. Krishna Tewatia, at Amritsar, whom it is satisfied had spread the news by means of the printed paper. It further held that it is impossible to call the disorder a rebellion against the Government, and that not only Mr. Ball, but the Commissioner appointed by the Government, have the necessary authority, that it was proclaimed solely with the view of terminating on earlier occasion the disturbance.

(2) This Conference holds that the majority report of the Hunter Committee is entirely one-sided and do freely submit to which all the cruel and inhuman acts of the Government's orders, and that it is unjust to the face of the situation of the officers themselves. This Conference also notes with extreme regret that after accepting the majority report, the Government of India as also the British Government have, after all the penetrations of terrorism in the Punjab, retired only General Dyer for his measures at Jallianwala—where they have shown to designate merely as "error of judgment," and have not only set aside every order of the officers, but have on the contrary, supplemented Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Chelmsford for their work in the Punjab.

(3) This Conference feels extreme pain, indignation and disappointment at the tone of the debate in the House of Commons and the arrogant speeches made in the House of Lords pursuant to the recall of General Dyer, inasmuch as it compels the Conference to hold that a large portion of the British public approval of the grave injustice perpetrated by the British Ministers.

(4) Having regard to the recommendations of the Congress Commissioners, this Conference as of opinion:

(a) That the sit-in legislation should be repealed,

(b) That Lord Chelmsford should be recalled,

(c) That Sir Michael O'Dwyer should be held subject to all reasonable issues under the law, and held on all matters grounded against this as it was has policy that was responsible for the terrorism in the Punjab.

(d) That General Dyer, Sir Frank Johnson, Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bowerston Smith, Mr. Sahib Esmi Basee and Mai Hakim of Khuda should also be dismissed from service, and prosecuted.

(e) That a recent inquiry should be made into the acts of bloodshed referred to in the report, and that the officers concerned dismissed.

(f) That the fines imposed on the subjects by the summary Court of the Special Tribunals of the Punjab should be refunded, and that the fines imposed on towns and villages should be commuted, that the same should be refunded if already recovered, and that the punitive police should be withdrawn.

TURKISH PEACE TERMS

3 This Conference is of opinion that the Turkish Peace Terms are unjust and are calculated to harm the self-respect of the Turkish people and the honour of Islam, and have shocked the religious sentiments of Mahomedans in and outside India. It is also of opinion that they are in contemptu of the pledges given by the British ministers and the Indian Government to keep until the Holy places and shrines of the Musalmans and of the principle of self-determination. The Conference therefore resolves that efforts should be made to get them revised in accordance with the sentiments of the Musalmans, and with the international pledges.

NON-CO-OPERATION

4 (1) This Conference believes that as a result of the unanimous demand of the people in respect of the Punjab and the justifiable wrongs having been consistently refused, some disappointment has spread throughout the country and the people have lost all faith in the British sense of justice. To order therefore, to obviate all permanent bitterness between the rulers and the ruled, as also to give expression to the injured feelings of the people in a restrained manner, and to get rid of the grievances without the use of force, this Conference advances the pledge to gradually withdraw all help rendered to the Government in public administration and to continue that non-co-operation until the regular demands are satisfactorily redressed.

(2) Non-co-operation in its revised stage should be extended with the fullest possible means, and should be addressed to the President of long known as the educated classes and leaders of the people, and in the first stages all help and to be received from the Government should be recognised. In view of these considerations this Conference is of opinion:

(a) That all seat-holders shall publicly renounce titles also held by Government.
That the lawyer should suspend his practice as long as the Khilafat and the Punjab workers are mass-murdered, and should persuade the people not to resort to law courts and leave their disputes settled by means of arbitration boards.

That the Government schools and colleges being powerful means of perpetuating the influence of the Government should be abandoned, and people should take popular education to their own hands.

That associations with the Government in public administration by means of going to the councils or by voting at public elections is humiliating to the people as long as full justice is not done to the people in the matter of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and the heart-wounds of the people are not planted and the Congress therefore should advise the people not to stand for electors to the new Councils, and not to vote for any candidate standing for election, and also to inform the candidate and the Government in plain and clear language that they are unwilling to send any one to the Council as their elected representative.

[An amendment expressing deep public disapprobation of the continuing Punjab and Khilafat wrongs, and loss of faith in the British sense of justice, but omitting the recommendation of class-operation, was moved by H. B. Ramachandran, but was shown out by an overwhelming majority.]

RECRUITS

6. The Conference expresses to keen regret at the action of the British Government in sending the letters for freedom of the people in Mysore, Pahang, Borneo, Arabia, Turkish Egypt, and Persia, by the aid of Indian agents, and it therefore advises people to recall all Indian agents from those parts, and not to send any fresh recruits there.

INDIANS ABROAD

S. AFRICA

6. (1) This Congress applauds that the South African Government's attitude towards the Indians in South Africa is getting more and more respectful every day and that appeals from intelligence received from South Africa various devices are being planned to expel the Indians from South Africa under the cover of voluntary repatriation schemes.  

E. AFRICA

(2) For the benefit of Europeans only recently settled in East Africa, the East Africa Government is keeping very close watch on the activities and movements of Indians; but although it has been observed by means of Indian laborers, Indian goods, and Indian capital, Indians have been robbed of their political rights and right of possessing landed property, and this has not received the full approval of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Milner, and the Secretary of State for India.

FULL

(3) Though the Government of India has failed to investigate into the acts of oppression committed by the Fijian Government in the process of keeping peace in Fiji, they appear to continue to maintain Indian laborers in Fiji with a view to helping Fiji.

This Conference is of opinion that this prolonged ill-treatment of Indian immigants in the Colonies is made possible, and that it is more strong reason for adopting class-operation. (Carried unanimously.)

SWADESH

7 (a) This Conference believes that the movement to achieve the objective of Swadeshi is conducive to National prosperity, and it therefore recommends to the leaders and the public to use at whatever inconvenience Swadeshi articles, and handwork and handwoven Swadeshi cloth in particular, and to encourage the use and the production of such Swadeshi cloth and establishment of Swadeshi cloth stores for that purpose.

(2) This Conference requests the mill-agents and manufacturers to please consider the value of the textile producers and to afford some relief to the poor in these times of high prices.

Mr. Madhukar's amendment recommending boycott of British goods for those who cannot adopt Swadeshi, was lost by an overwhelming majority.

NATIONAL EDUCATION

8. This Congress believes that the educational policy introduced by the British Government has proved to be harmful to the future of India and totally unavailing to the needs of the country. It has borne fruits of results. The Congress therefore urges the necessity of starting national institutions independent of Government control which will impart education calculated to make the students self-reliant, of good character, and sincere patriots.

(2) To achieve the object mentioned above especially in Gujarat, the Congress regards the necessity of setting up national schools, colleges, and universities, and a Gujarati University to organize and co-ordinate the above mentioned basic.
by the political department of the Bombay Government and the Lunghi Durbar on the subject of the maintenance of the Durbar Durbar or a stand on the Oudh Durbar and especially as regards the distribution of water near the town of Reaggar, and humbly suggests that the Lunghi Durbar that it should remove the unjust to be given to the British subjects.

EXPORT OF CAPTIVE

12. This conference strongly objects to the slaughter of cattle which are useful for agriculture and for drawing water, and to the export of cattle allowed by the Government although they are not in demand for the development of agriculture in the country and for the supply of milk etc., for the people.

STANDING GRIEVANCES

13. Political duaths have now long drawn the attention of Government to its acts of injustice, but now that the Conference has passed the resolution of non-co-operation, it this is improper to draw the attention of Government to these acts. The Conference therefore draws the special attention of the people to the following grievances of long standing that they may be strengthened in their resolve of non-co-operation.

(a) A sign of the Governor of Bombay and His Excellency the viceroy and absolutely no need to the maintenance of prayer of the people for the removal of unjust order of depreciation against Mr. Hamilton.

(b) The Viceroy has not yet been reported although it is deplorably of the elementary rights of the people.

(c) The standing request of the people to separate the Judicial and the Executive functions of the Government has not yet been granted.

(d) The disabilities and harassment of third class and intermediate class passengers and the grievances of passengers who come in contact with the railways have received no attention whatsoever.

(e) The condition of the agriculturists of the Punjab is going from bad to worse as a result of the revenue policy of the Government, they a debarred from availing the agricultural the assessment settled by Government the officials are increasing the assessment till their own means will stand without paying the complaints of the planting Bajatas. They have no statement made any changes in the system of collecting revenue in times of famine or the satisfaction of the public.

(f) There need to be an every village of a large pasture lands kept open for grazing the cattle. Anew lands however have been gradually purchased by the Government to many villages the need for cattle has already been grave and is becoming graver still.

(g) General petitions have been submitted in respect of the sentences passed by the police tribunals in Gujarat and the Royal Proclamation also has mentioned the in case of prisoners. They are not however yet released.

(h) The injustice caused by draining away the waters of the Kase, in a way such as to restrain the rights of the people of the Mahar Taluka to use the waters of that river.

THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT'S VISIT

14. This Conference humbly holds that the people should be no party to the arrangements that might be made by the Indian and Provincial Governments for the succession of H.B. R. The Duke of Connaught.

EGYPT

15. The conference congratulates the people of Egypt on having secured their independence mainly by means of internal and non-co-operation involving immense sacrifices and hopes that they will adhere to their independence by reviving their ancient glory and becoming a nation worthy of emulation.

REVIEWS

INDIAN NATURAL MYTHS

English readers in general and folklorists in particular must thank Professor Davy for his beautiful collection of these stories from India called literature. One feels that there is a definite principle in the arrangement of the stories. The folklorist will derive ample food for self-study in the study way of interpreting nature and life's problems. To Indian readers the book can have no charm except for the beauty of the form in which the book is written. We would all wish these stories in the English form devoted as they are of their stories in this book.

The vulgar folk-tale of the Tensno Girl ought not to have found a place in the anthology of eccentric folk-tales.

SHANAA

When nations are plunged into a scramble for provinces and powers and with expected labour, the world over is trying to gather the very organization of society, an international quarterly magazine under the able editorship of Subrahmanya Bharathi is shedding its mellow light on such modern subjects as art, literature and philosophy. It has secured the services of eminent savants of the spirit from many lands.

The first issue before us promises well of the future. The superb story of Dr. Tagore, the thought-provoking article on the Art of the People by Badhakanai Nookhamas the vivid reports of that peak of India's Poetic Exhibition Hemadipathi, the comprehensive outlook of Satya Vrat Mukji in his Review of Literature in India and the Sociological view of Kumar Avtar from the pen of Babin Bhuyan, all are able expressions of the new life in India. Chinese, Buddhist poetry, Modern Laureate in poetry and such other topics enlarge our outlook and impress upon us that human nature is everywhere the same. We should like to remark here in passing that this book will not help India much unless its Indian collaborators made it a point like the noble poet Tagore never to write in English, what they have not first written for their vernacular, other wise India will be the poorer for their culture and international meat. Advertisements of all sorts have such a high class Magazine. We wish it a complete success and wide circulation.
Buddhist Annual of Ceylon

A great life lived for the Spirit has been a source of inspiration to more than a third of humanity for two thousand years and a half, and here comes to our hand an Annual from Ceylon, profusely illustrated and ably edited giving the Sinhalese of the Ceylonite as it is understood in Ceylon. The long series of articles on Buddhism and Buddhist works in Ceylon are in themselves an education Ceylon is regarded—and rightly—as the source of Buddhist Buddhism as the Lord taught it. The exposition therefore of Buddhism's doctrine from the pen of Ceylonese Biblicists demands careful reading. The author deserves to be congratulated on his venture.

SOUTH AFRICAN REPATRIATION

The "Natal" Advertiser of the 31st July this deals with the proposed repatriation in the leading column:

While the colonists at the Indian in our midst associate with student vociferous about the wrongs done to us, repatriation is proceeding quietly, unaided by a voluntary as opposed to a compulsory character. There are now two schemes under which that movement is proceeding, one conducted by the Immigration Department to repatriate to their native land unassimilated Indians and their descendants who have grown up in this foreign country, and the other known as the Wynn Cole's scheme, which has for its object the readadmission, by the offer of free rail and steamer passages, of Indians of all types to remove themselves and their families from ever from the South African soil. If it can be considered wholly for the good of the land that these Indians should depart, then these schemes are amiable, but there are several aspects to a counterbalanced question of this sort which is impossible to ignore, and which may be the panacea of the brain sweary policy find it difficult to sustain. The facts at the present moment are that at the biggest, if this year there were 8.000 Indians in Natal, but since a portion of the 1,000 has been sent away, a smaller number is due to leave shortly, and if the same rate is adhered to, it may be expected that about 2,000 Indians will leave our shores each year. But this is a drop in the ocean of Indians and will be almost counterbalanced by the birth rate, and even if there were not strong objections to the whole enterprise, would of itself be no remedy, but merely a solution. Further, it is plainly evident that the Indian who is making a profitable living in the country is not likely to leave his stakes when no comparable exists, and in consequence, only that class of Indians, which may be termed its floating population, will avail itself of the opportunities offered. Whether it was the intention of the Legislature that this should be so, is quite a moot point, but that appears to be the result, and the only result, that is being achieved. Neither the merchant class nor the man on the land is attracted by the offer of a fresh start in what would be to him a new country, albeit the country of his ancestors, and it cannot be seen how the end, even if it were proved to be beneficial to the community generally, will ever be attained under the present method, which frankly is remiss in regard of circumstances, and how not to do it? Supporters of repatriation of the Indians are apt to forget two important factors in our economic existence. One is that the man who kills the soil and makes two blades grow where one grew before, be he black or white is a benefactor rather than a nuisance to any country. The other is that if certain commercial factors were entirely removed from our midst the resultant state of the purveyor would be infinitely worse than the present. If it were merely a matter of teaching a sound economical lesson to those sickly dwellers in the Transvaal and Free State who have evidently been too long and too close, the work might be allowed to proceed until the past was felt, but there are others to whom the Indians are a useful factor in the community, and altogether apart from the statement of unprofitable and blundering, a factor which cannot readily be done without, the recommendations upon which the repatriation law was based resulted from inquiries into the acquisition of land, and rights affecting land to the Union, by Asiatics and persons of Asiatic descent, for trading or other purposes, and the trading or carrying on of business by such persons generally set up distinct localities, and whether it was the public interest to alter the law in any respect. In view of the ill-feeling—largely the result of thoughtless comments and unwise judgment—generally manifested against the Assan, the fear is growing, that these terms of reference were intended to result in harsh measures than the mere voluntary appeal to Indians to return to India, and it may be that, as in the case of the Prophet of Karassu, there is a hideous fact behind the veil. The movement at present is a compulsory under pressure of ill-advised public opinion, it may easily bear fruit in the end. Much will strike even the most casual observer in the extreme futility. It does not even afford a solution to the fringe of the problem, and taxes the imagination to find value for the money that is being spent.

THE II CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION

The following is the telegram addressed by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association to Sir George Barnes, Member of Commerce, Government of India.

SOUTH AFRICA.

My Committee, having carefully considered South African Union Government’s Voluntary Repatriation Scheme, regard it as fraught with danger to rights and interests of Indians in South Africa. First, it involves relinquishment of right of demand acquired and naturalized. India Relief Act 1914, and it is impossible to present scheme as it referred to persons whose domicile was at least debatable. Secondly, the Scheme is viewed with grave apprehensions as this end of wedge to drive out Indians from South Africa under guise of Voluntary Repatriation seeing that such scheme worked out by powerful majority interests of White races against Indians are sure to be used as agent of undue pressure to repatriate Indians from this country. Mr. Wynn Cole’s 2000 makes speed at Malmesbury and Durban telegram stating that scheme is already being abused, confirm the view. Therefore, through the relinquishment of citizenship, whether natural or acquired, is voluntary under the scheme yet.
YOUNG INDIA. September 1, 1920.

PURI FAMINE

REPORT OF THE PEOPLE'S FAMINE RELIEF FUND FOR THE MONTH OF JULY 1920

We are an apology to the public for publishing late this report of the work of our relief centre for the month of July 1920. There are two reasons for the same—First, our workers were occupied in visiting flooding parts of Puri and Outback districts in addition to their regular relief work, and secondly, the death of the head Mr. Tikam and meetings organized in connection therewith occupied us for some time.

3. We had 11 relief centres where gradations were given free to persons mentioned against the centres as under—

- Antewa—1250
- Journo—1256
- Grove—1351
- Galgai—1261
- Didwana—1177
- Brahmapuri—1100

Total—1,371

The total number of villages relieved was 534.

3 Bone gales were continued at the following places where rice was sold at a slightly reduced rate—

1. Satyabati 2 Pur 3 Sakhapura.

4. Monthly grants to schools at (1) Cop (4) Nampier (3) Kaliakpur (4) Kanvas (3) Behagia (5) Kothar, were given for meeting school fees and rest of feeding some poor boys.

5. Grants for repairs of tanks at (1) Behagia to the north-east of the Chhata lake (3) Barapada near Tendar (4) for a village road near Behagia and (4) miscellaneous work near Jamsi, were made to give employment to people.

6. A loan of over Rs. 600—cs as an 'welcome to two Weavers' Co-operative Credit Societies was given during the month.

7. An Orphanage of about 35 children was opened on 1st July at Gausalwar and on the 9th August it was merged in the Orphanage started by the Arya Samaj of Tahara at Sakhagopur. A kitchen in food about 33 orphans and some adults was working at Behagia.

8. Our financial position stands thus this—We collected in July Rs. 5559—11.10 by and the end of July the balance on our hand was Rs. 2146—9.10. Taking on an average one quarter near 100 (100 toal) of this year's crop relieved the daily expenses work to Rs. 600. Thus we have only one month's balance in hand. The distressed situation in the Puri district has been aggravated by floods to several distributionaries of the Mahanadi which was enlarged large acres destroying young crops standing thereon. More money than Rs. 600 per day will therefore be spent in view of the new situation created, but instead of that we have been forced to do two centres of relief already, namely, Behagia on 8, 26 and Satyabati on 12, 22. The relief work is expected to last till the end of October much.

9. We may now appeal with all our energy which we can command to the kind and generous public, who have shown much largeness of heart in this charitable work to help us again liberally, so that we may be able to carry on the heavy and responsible work we have undertaken to the end satisfactorily. We hope that our APPEAL will not go unheeded and that we will be able to get the further sum of Rs. 40,000 (forty thousand) which is badly needed.

A. V. Thakker,
Secretary,
People's Famine Relief Committee, Puri.
The Fiji grievance—Fiji has been in the recent letter to the press had pointed out the grave gaps in the despatch of the Fiji Governor and urged the Government of India to arrange for an impartial commission to inquire into the origin of the Fiji riot and the measures taken to quell them. Government is not in a mood to hear us. And so long as it returns its officers, it approaches us in a mood to keep us at bay.

The Fiji Tragedy—Fiji has been in the recent letter to the press had pointed out the grave gaps in the despatch of the Fiji Governor and urged the Government of India to arrange for an impartial commission to inquire into the origin of the Fiji riot and the measures taken to quell them. Government is not in a mood to hear us. And so long as it returns its officers, it approaches us in a mood to keep us at bay.

Rounding the Offenders—Any honour done to the guilty offers of the O'Dwyer regime is an insult to India. Such insults however are being heaped one upon another. The fund collected in honour of Sir Dyer has already reached £17,400. This reward must widen the breach between the contributors of the fund and the Indian nation. It was this consideration perhaps that induced the Government of India to forbid Government servants from contributing to this Fund. The Secretary of State himself however has committed a great sin in this respect. He has recently sanctioned an unemployment grant for General Dyer to be paid from the Indian revenue. On his retirement (October 1921) moreover he will be the Commander-in-chief, entitled to a pension of £800 per annum which will also be met from the Indian revenue. That is how the Secretary of State for India deports off the Indian revenues.
whom the majority of the Hunter Committee con-
demned for considering the whole village guilty and for
resorting to 'drugs with a view to inflicting punishment
and making an impression.' The Govern-
ment of India have, however, without adequate
grounds, met us with this view and have certified
that he acted in a difficult situation with prematurity
and decision. They go even further. It is clear from
Sir William Wedderburn's reply to Mr Sinha's question
that Lala Shri Ram's services will be suitably
acknowledged by the Local Government.

Thus the contributors of the Dyer Fund, the
Secretary of State, the Government of India and the
Punjab Government have all in their own way shown
how lightly they think of the feelings of the whole
nation. The Kashmiri Durbar also seems to join
hands with these. If the report of "Ravas Matarnu"
was to be believed, the Kashmiri authorities have
granted Col Johnson a contract for oil prospecting.
We should not be much surprised at this even if it
proves to his last fact. The infection of militarism in
our country is not infrequently seen in its worst
forms in our States. The origin of the evil lies in
the spirit of the Government. And this can hardly
be revolutionised by intelligent questions in councils.
These queries need some form of sanction behind
Such a sanction alone can make India a self-respect-
ing nation.

Audacious Imperialism.—The picturesque account
of ancient democracies of Greece have been an
interesting reading to the political world. The whole
charm however is lost when the reader knows that
these democracies were maintained at the cost of
slaves—however well-tended they might have been—whose number by far exceeded that of the
slaves themselves. Some what similar has been
the state of the British Empire. The British consti-
tution has won praise from all students of politics.
The imperialism however has been busy
securing fresh tethers to the Empire in order to
maintain its glory. The Crown Colonies are the
staple items in possession and additions are sought
to be made through the agency of the Mandate

The Mandate policy in Mesopotamia however has met
with opposition from several quarters. The British tax-payers oppose it on account of the heavy
loss that the British Govern-
ment has been making in the oil-fields there. The Mesopotamian tenemoselves protest against the
British Mandate because they do not like the
British occupation of their land. The Mussulman world
condemns the Mandate as it dispossesses the Turko-
Sultans of his sovereignty there. Lastly India dis
approves of the Mandate because Indians are
made to fight there for imperialistic ambitions which are by no means holy. Against all these protest
a handful of British imperialists have held their
own. They proffer to hold Mesopotamia for the
Mesopotamians. Another fact they say that they
hold it in order to protect India against an aggres-
sive Russia. For this same reason they penetrated
Persia if they are going to protect their possessions
this way they shall have to bring the whole
world under their thumb.

The present British policy in Mesopotamia has
another danger for us. Any reader of the history
can see how the windward-seat of another East Africa.
The triangular interests—of the Indians, the Eng-
liah and the natives—will naturally conflict, and
all the troubles of East Africa will follow in logical
sequence. We must cut the evil at its very
root. We must lose no time in awakening to the
real prominence. Unfortunately however blind enthu-
asiastic is still misleading us. The Maharaja of
Kapurthala has offered his regiment of Imperial
Service Infantry for service in Mesopotamia, which
the Government of India have of course gratefully
accepted. This report must open the eyes of the sub-
servite in our States. They should warn the Races
from grave counsels and should themselves stand
clear of the mire of imperialistic ambition.

NOTICE.

We have been informed by the Postal authorities
that from 1st September 1920, only registered V.P.s
will be accepted. This would involve a further fee
of 2 4s for every V.P. in mail. The V.P. system
causes much inconvenience and delay both to
readers and our readers. We hope our valiant
subscribers will in future send money orders in
some cases, trouble and expense.

Young India.
Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 8th September, 1920.

THE INWARDNESS OF NON-
CO-OPERATION.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I send you the attention of the readers of 'Young India of the thoughtful letter received from
Miss Anna Marie Petersen. Miss Petersen is a lady
who has been in India for some years and has
freely followed Indian affairs. She is about to
carry her connection with her Museum for the purpose
of giving herself to education in truly national,
I have not given the letter in full. I have ommitted
all personal references. But her argument has
been left entirely unclouded. The letter was not
meant to be printed. It was written just after my
Vellore speech. But in being extra-ordinarily important,
I asked the writer for her permission, which she
gladly gave, for printing it.

I publish it all the more gladly as it enables
me to show that the movement of non-co-operation
is neither anti-Christian nor anti-English nor anti-
European. It is a struggle between religious and
irreligious, powers of light and powers of darkness.
It is my firm opinion that Europe to-day repre-
sents not the spirit of God or Christianity but the
spirit of Satan. And Satan's successors are the
PARIANS OF THE EMPIRE

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The memorable Conference at Ujpest in its resolution on the status of Indians abroad has given it as its opinion that even this question may become one more reason for non-co-operation. And so it may. Nowhere has there been such open defiance of every axiom of justice and propriety as in the shameless demand of confirmation of Indian rights in the Kutch Colony announced by Sir Von Hagen. This demand has been supported by Lord Milner and Mr Montague and his Indian colleagues are satisfied with the decision Indians who have made Fast Africa, who understand the English, are deprived practically of the right of representation on the Council. They are to be segregated in parts not habitable by the English. They are to have neither the political nor the material comfort. They are to become Parsis in a country made by their own labour, wealth and intelligence. The Vicerey is pleased to say that he does not like the outlook and is considering the steps to be taken to vindicate the justice. He is not met with a new situation. The Indians of East Africa had warned him of the impending doom. And if His Excellency has not yet found the means of securing redress, he is not likely to do it in future. I would respectfully ask his Indian colleagues whether they can stand this robbery of their countrymen's rights.

In South Africa the situation is no less disquieting. My misgivings seem to be proving true, and repudiation is more likely to prove compulsory than voluntary. It is a response to the anti-Asiatic agitation, not a measure of relief for indigenous Indians. It looks very like a trap laid for the unwary Indians. The Union Government appears to be taking an unfeeling advantage of a section of a relieving law designed for a purpose totally different from the one now intended.

As for Fiji, the crime against humanity is evidently to be hushed up. I do hope that unless an inquiry is to be made into the Fiji Martial Law charges, no Indian member will undertake to go to Fiji. The Government of India appears to have given an undertaking to send Indian labour to Fiji. Fiji provided the commission that was to proceed there in order to investigate the condition on the spot returns with a favourable report.

For British India I observe from the papers received from that quarter, that the mission that came here is already declaring that Indian labour will be forthcoming from India. There seems to me to be no real prospect for Indian enterprise in that part of the world. We are not wanted in any part of the British Dominions except as Pariahs to do the scavenging for the European settlers.

The situation is clear. We are Pariahs in our own home. We get only what Government intend to give, not what we demand and have a right to. We may get the crumbs, never the bread. I have seen large and tempting crumbs from a lavish table and I have seen the eyes of our Pariahs—the shame of
Hinduism—brightening to see those heavy crumbs filling their baskets. But the superior Hindu, who is filling the basket from a safe distance, knows that they are safe for his own consumption. And so we in our turn may receive even Governorships which the real rulers no longer require or which they cannot retain with safety for their maternal interest—the political and maternal hold of India. In time we realized our true status.

**SWADESHI**

(By M K Gandhi)

The Swadeshi propaganda has been going on in a more or less organized manner now for the past eighteen months. Some of its results are surprising and gratifying. It has taken a fairly firm hold in the Punjab, Madras and the Bombay Presidency. Hand spinning and hand weaving are steadily increasing in these parts. Several thousand roupas have been distributed in homes where women never did any work before. And if more work of this kind has not been done it is due to want of workers.

This is however written more to note the main take of the past than to sum up the bright side. My observations lead me to the conclusion that whilst the inauguration of the three vows and Swadeshi stores have greatly stimulated the Swadeshi spirit, it is no longer possible to advocate the taking of any of the three vows or the opening of new Swadeshi stores for the sale of mill-made cloth. The result of the propaganda has been to send up the price of yarn and cloth rather than increase production. It is clear that the purpose of Swadeshi is not served until the quantity of yarn and cloth produced is increased. The gain therefore is merely moral and not material. The people have begun to perceive the desirability of weaving only Swadeshi cloth is the real interest of the country is to be advanced.

But it is clear that we must take practical steps for meeting the growing demand for Swadeshi cloth. One way, no doubt, is to increase the mills. But it is obvious that capitalists do not need popular encouragement. They know that India needs much more cloth than is manufactured by our mills. But mills do not spring up like mushrooms. It is a matter of getting machinery from outside, let alone the difficulty of getting labour. And after all, India cannot become truly and essentially independent so long as she must rely on the supply of machinery from outside for the manufacture of her cloth.

The simplest and the most popular form of Swadeshi, therefore, is to stimulate hand spinning and hand weaving and to arrange for a judicious distribution of yarn and cloth manufactured. With a little talent and a little industry this time is easy. Even as such home cooks make its own food without difficulty so may each home weave its own yarn. And just as in a spal of every home having its own kitchen, restaurants continue to flourish, so will mills continue to supply our additional wants. But even so because of our private kitchens we would not starve if every restaurant was through some accident closed, so would we, by reason of domestic spinning, not have to go naked, even if every mill, by a blockade from the west, had to stop work. Not long ago we knew the secret of our own economic independence and it is possible for us to regain that independence by a little effort, a little organizing agency and a little sacrifice.

Therefore true Swadeshi consists in introducing the spinning wheel in every household and every household spinning its own yarn. Many a Punjabi woman does it today. And though we may not supply our own cloth entirely, we shall be saving yearly acres of roupas. In any event there is no other Swadeshi than increased manufacture by hand spinning and hand weaving. Whether we take a hand-spinning and hand weaving or we do not, it is at least necessary to understand what true Swadeshi is.

**DEMOCRACY VS. MONARCHY**

(By M K Gandhi)

Looking at the scene there is but a thin dividing line between mob-law and the people's law and yet the division is complete and will persist for all time.

India is to-day quickly passing through the mob-law stage. The use of the adverb signifies my hope. It may be our misfortune to have to pass through this stage even in slow stages. But it is wisdom to adopt every means at our disposal to have done with that stage as quickly as possible.

There is much tendency on our part to yield to the rule of the mob. There was mob rule at Amritsar on the 16th April 1919. There was mob rule at Ahmedabad on the same fateful day. It presents undisciplined instruction and therefore it was thoughtless, ruthless, wicked and harmful. War is disciplined destruction, much more bloody than any yet committed by mobs. Yet war has been apostrophized because we have been deceived by the temporary, but brilliant results achieved by some wars. So, if India has to achieve her freedom by violence it will have to be disciplined and honorable (imper as it is possible to associate human with violence). Violence named war; it will then be an act not of mobocracy but democracy.

But my purpose in this is not to write of mobocracy of the Ahmedabad type. I intend to deal with the type with which I am more familiar. The Congress is a demonstration for the mob and in that sense and that only. Though organized by thoughtful men and women it may be called a mob-demonstration. Our popular demonstrations are unquestionably mob-demonstrations. During the memorable tour of the Kailash mission through the Punjab, Soothi and Madras, I have had a surfeit of such demonstrations. I have been obliged to wade at railway stations, through less than unwritten destruction of passenger
luggage by demonstrators who in their exaltation of their hopes have ignored everything else and everybody else. They have made much to the discomfort of their hostages unmolested and harried noises. They have trampled upon one another. They have let out one another. All have shouted, all at the same time in the holy name of order and peace. The volunteers have been heard to give the same order at the same time. Volunteers often become demonstrates instead of restraining people. Police officers, instead of pressing the press and the hearts and who therefore require to be protected. The coach is taken possession of by anybody who does. Volunteers bring the greatest comfort. The horse and other heavy occupants have to resist with the intruders who they may not push the coach as in that summary fashion. The head of the coach is roughly handled by the passengers. It is not often that I have seen scenes of noses left undamaged by crowds. On the contrary, instead of crowds baring the streets, they follow the coach. The result is confusion and confusion. Every moment there is danger of accidents. That is rarely any accident at such demonstrations is due not to the skill of the organizers, but the crowd is determined to put up with all jostling and retain their perfect good humour. In spite of everyone jostling everyone else, one has the slightest wish to convince one's neighbour. To touch the picture there is the meeting, an ever-growing sense of anxiety. You bear nothing but disorder, jostling, yelling and shouting. A good speaker arrests the attention of the audience and there is order such that you can hear a pin drop.

All the same this is nowhere to be as the mercy of the mob. So long as there is sympathy between you all the mob, everything goes well. Immediately the idea is broken, there is horror. An American joins in and then gives in the mob psychology.

We must begin order on of chaos. I have no doubt that the best and the quickest method is to introduce the people's law instead of non-law.

One great stumbling block is that we have neglected means. Music means rhythm and its effect is electrical. It immediately soothes. I have seen in European countries a powerful supplement of police by starting a popular song controlling the incipient tendencies of mobs. Unfortunately, like our Streetcar music has been the prerogative of the few, either by the better of prostitutes or huge class religious it voices. It has never become accustomed in the modern sense. If I had any influence with voluntary body groups and Bava-Basan organizations, I would make compulsory a proper song in company of national songs. And to that end I should have great musically attending every Congress or Conference and teaching mass music.

Much greater discipline, method and knowledge must be excited from volunteers and no chance comes should be accepted as a full-fledged volunteer. His only hinderer rather than helping imagine the consequences of the introduction of one untrained soldier finding his way into an army at war. He can imagine it in a second. My greatest anxiety about non-co-operation is not the slow response of the leaders, certainly not the well-meant and even ill-meant criticism, never undulated depression. The movement will overcome these obstacles. It will go in even strength from them. But the greatest obstacle is that we have not yet emerged from the nationalistic stage. But my conclusion lies in the fact that nothing is more easy to form mobs, for the simple reason that they have no need, no pretentions. They act in a frenzy. They repeat quickly. Our organized Government does not repeat its foolish crimes at Jallianwalla, Lahore, Kasur, Aligarh, Ram Nagar &c. But there draws tears from reverent mobs of Jallianwalla and everywhere a frank acknowledgment of repentance from those who forced the mob during that eventful month of April. Non-co-operation is therefore new using in order to evolve humanity. And I respectfully invite all the doubting leaders to help by refusing to condemn, in anticipation of a process of national purification, training and sacrifice.

Next week I hope to give some illustrations of how in a moment order was evolved out of mob disorder. My faith in the people is boundless. There is an amazing, responsive nature. Let not the leaders disgust them. This chorus of condemnation of non-co-operation when properly analyzed means nothing less than disgust of the people's ability to control themselves. For the present I conclude this somewhat lengthy article by suggesting some rules for guidance and immediate salvation.

1. There should be no raw volunteers accepted for big demonstrations. Therefore none but the most experienced should be at the head.

2. Volunteers should have a general instructions book on their person.

3. At the time of demonstrations there must be a number of volunteers at which special instructions should be given.

4. At stations, volunteers should not all be sent red at one point, namely, where the reception committee should be. But they should be posted at different points in the crowd.

5. Large crowds should never enter the station. They cannot but inconvenience trains. There is as much honour in staying outside as entering the station.

6. The first duty of the volunteers should be to see that other passengers luggages are not trampled upon.
THREE NATIONAL CRIES

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

During the Madras tour, at Berwada I had occasion to remark upon the national cries and I suggested that it would be better to have cries about ideals than men. I asked the audience to replace "Mohammed (Gandhi's Jai)" and "Mohammed Ali Shahakat Ali Jai" by "Bande Matali Jai". Brother Shmakat Ali, who followed, positively had given up the idea. Despite of the Hindu-Muslim unity he had observed that if Hindus shouted Bande mataram, the Muslims rang out with "Allah Akbar" and vice versa. This he rightly said jibed on the ear and still showed that the people did not sit with one said. There should therefore only three cries recognized, "Allah Akbar" to be joyously sung out by Hindus and Muslims showing that God alone was great and no other. The second should be "Bande Matali" (Hind Motherland) or "Bharat Mataki Jai" (Victory to Mother Land). The third should be "Hindu-Muslim Jai" without which there was no victory for India, and no true demonstration of the greatness of God. I do wish that the newspapers and public men would take up the Madras's suggestion and lead the people only to use the three cries. They are all of meaning. The first is prayer and a confession of our littleness and therefore a sign of humility. It is a cry in which all Hindus and Muslims should join in reverence and prayerfulness. Hindu may not fight shy of Arabic words when their meaning is not only totally offensive but even shocking. God is no respector of any particular tongue. "Bande Mataram", apart from its wonderful associations, expresses the one national wish—the rise of India to her full height. And I should prefer "Bande Mataram" to "Bharat Mataki Jai" as it would be a graceful recognition of the intellectual and emotional superiority of Bengali. Since India can be nothing without the union of the Hindu and the Muslim heart, "Hindu-Muslim Jai" is a cry which we may never forget.

There should be no discordance in these cries. Immediately some one has taken up any of the three cries the rest should take it up and not attempt to yell out their favourite. Those who do not wish to you may refrain, but they should consider it a breach of etiquette to interpretate their own when a cry has already been raised. It would be better too, always to follow out the three cries in the order given above. Nor should cries be incessantly shouted. One often hears an incessant yell when a popular leader is passing through a station. I doubt if this incessant noise does the slightest good to the nation except to provide an indifferent, exercise for one's lungs. Moreover it is necessary to think of our hero's service and time. It is a national waste to keep himself occupied in gauging at a crowd and hearing a cry in the praise or any other for full thirty minutes. We must cultivate the sense of proportion.

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OUR MADRAS AGENTS

YOUNG INDIA. September 8, 1926
THE FIJI TRAGEDY

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S DECISION

(To the Editor of the "Young India")

Sir,

After all the Government of India have expressed their views about the Fiji tragedy, Mr. George Bassett replying to Mr. Srinivasan's question regarding the Fiji riots has said: "In view of the very detailed account of the recent riots given in the dispatch of the Governor of Fiji dated the 12th March last, which was published in the Gazette of India of the 17th July, the Government of India do not think that they would be justified in moving the Secretary of State for getting the Colonial Office to appoint a Committee to inquire into the origin of the recent riot and the measures taken to quell them." So the Government of India have concluded that "the very detailed account" given in the dispatch of the Governor of Fiji is quite true, but by what logic have they come to this surprising conclusion, we can only speculate. It is so unfortu-

AUGUST 22, 1920.

YOUNG INDIA.

A MISSIONARY ON NON-CO-OPERATION

The following letter has been received by Mr. Gandhi from Mrs. Anne Marie Pauwels of the Danish Mission in Madras. Most personal references have been omitted.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I cannot thank you enough for your kindness and the way in which you received me and that you felt that meeting was so important to me. I have thrown myself at the feet of India. At the same time I know that it is Christ alone in my abode and I have no hope and I die not to live, my strength and support, and reveal Him for those whom I come to see and feel for to His feet and pray with tears that I may not disgrace Him as we Christians have been doing by our behavior in India. We seek satisfying Christ while we long to proclaim the Power of His resurrection by which He has conquered death and the rights of God. If we who bear His name were true to Him, we would never bow ourselves before the Powers of this world, but we would always be on the side of the poor, the suffering and the oppressed. But we are not, and therefore I feel myself under obligation not only to Christ but to India for His sake at this time of momentous importance for her future.

Truly it matters little what I, a lonely and insignificant person, may say or do. What is my protest against the common wrongs the race to which I belong is taking and what gives me more, which the minority cannot seem to follow. Even if a respected number protest it would not be of any use. Yet when I stand against the whole world, I must follow my conscience and my God.

I therefore write as I feel when I see people saying you should have waited the decision of the National Congress before starting the non-co-operation movement. You have a message for the country, and the Congress is the voice of the nation-at-large and not its master. A minority has no right simply because it is a minority.

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

I myself was in much doubt before I heard you. But you convinced me. Not that I can feel much as the question of the Mahatma I cannot. I see no what source you are doing to India, if you can prevent the Mahasabha from using the sword in order to seek revenge and get their rights. I can see that if you unite the Hindus and the Mahasabha, it will be a matter of course. How I wish the Christian would also come forward and unite with you for the sake of their country and the lessor and equal of their Motherland but of Christ. I may not feel much for Turkey, but I feel for India, and I can see the Indian has an other way to protest against being trampled down and crushed than non-co-operation.

I also want to know that many in Denmark and all over the world, yes, I am sure every true Christian, will feel with and be in sympathy with India in the struggle which is now going on. God forbid that he be the struggle between might and right, truth and falsehood, the spirit and the flesh, there should be a division of races. There is not the same struggle is going on all over the world. What does it matter than that we are a few! God is on our side.

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

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

The non-co-operation movement case started must be worked on to become successful. It is not, I fear, I must think of the consequences. But you cannot expect us to live in a day or two. It must take time and we will not despair if you do not reach your goal in a hurry. For those who have faith there is an oasis.

Now for the withdrawal of the children and students from Government schools, I think it is a most important step. Taking the Government bill, (even if he be money they pay you back) we must submit to its scheme, its rules and practices, and we who love our have come to the conclusion that the education the foreign Government gives you is not healthy for India and can certainly never make for her real growth. This movement would lead to spontaneous action of national schools; let them be a few but let them spring up through self-sacrifice. Only by indigenous education can India be truly uplifted. Why this appeal so much to me? Perhaps because I belong to the part of the Danish people who started their own independent, indigenous national schools. The Danish Free Schools and Folk-High Schools of which you may have heard, were started against the opposition of the State. The organizers won and thus have reorganized the nation. With my true heart! Bath thanks and prayers for you.

Yours sincerely,

Anne Marie

Bridge-breaking—7 men arrested and remanded Wounding with knife—3 men and 3 women arrested and remanded for trial

Unlawful assembly—3 men arrested and remanded.

Indictment—1 man arrested and remanded.

Riot—14 men and 3 women arrested and remanded for trial.

Racist behaviour—two men and 18 women arrested, 125 men and 11 women convicted, 20 men and 4 women cases dismissed, all returned bail.

DENONCIATIONS

(1) Mr. Meartail II, Mrs. Meartail III, Haraj Malhar, and Jy Patel Kans were deported without trial.

Number of the killed and the wounded.

One was killed and many were wounded.

PROCLAMATION OF MARTIAL LAW

A warrant of Martial Law was proclaimed according to the Public Safety in times of Civil Commotions Ordinance. The Government legislated against the Indusians moving to groups of more than five or living of more than seven together under a roof. They were deprived of their staple and it was made penal for them to quit their homes without a warrant.

Accommodated.

The number of persons accommodated is very large. Many Indians who dared to come out of their homes were beaten by the constables Mr. Meartail was assaulted and Mr. George Sahib was beaten.

House burned down by the Mahans.

The military people surrounded the houses of Indians where the supposed roisterer had hid and searched those houses of all persons without distinction of age or sex.

Here is a statement from the despatch of the Fiji Governor: ‘The Indies had been participating in the riot and ran into some houses in the neighborhood of Colonel Golding ordered these houses to be surrounded and seized all social meals to be disarmed and solicited an empty. A party of 150 men and 12 women were marched down to the Police Station under escort.’

ALLEGED ATRIBUTES.

Mr. Manuel wrote: ‘The white special constables entered women’s bedrooms at eight and who were in the prerace against them. Women are beaten and tortured to confess and testify against my father and me, and men and women are exposed in shame andusta their confession under the staring rays of the sun and exposed to be drunk and kept on little or no food. Men are dead or dying—a great many whose lives are lost—few are lying unconscious in the bath, bayonets have passed through some and bullets through the bosom of others.” Indians who have returned from Fiji have said that during their interview many things about the disgraceful cruelty and intolerable behaviour of the white soldiers towards the poor Indian women.

All to those things the arrival of the warships from Australia, soldiers from New Zealand and firing of the military on an unarmed Indian crew and you will realize the seriousness of this second edition of the American drama.

Evidently the Government of India believes that the ‘very detailed account’ of the Governor’s despatch is as true as any thing, for the disappointing and unsatisfactory reply given by Sir George Bartness have no other meaning. What is more unfortunate than the fact, this unapologetic reply of the Government of India will spoil altogether the case of the Fiji Indians, who had been pressing for a Royal Commission. The Colonial Office has now got a ready made excuse. They will just repeat the words of Sir George Barne. ‘In view of the very detailed account given in the despatch of the Governor of Fiji the usual offer does not think that it would be justified in approaching a Commission at all.” The Fiji tragedy may be summed up in this way. A crowd of Indian men and women are attacked, insulted, interrupted, their unarmed crowds are fired upon, and their leaders are deported. After six months the Government of India comes out with an amazingly brief reply that they do not think that they would be justified in pressing for an independent inquiry. It is to be noted that the Fiji report has not said a single word about the Fiji tragedy in his speech. ‘In fact this fact is not a single point to which the report deals within its limits. The ‘fijian’ was quite right when it wrote in its issue of the 6th June: ‘When a Provincial Government in India, with the sanction, or at all events, the concurrence of the Government of India, could treat British Indian subjects as was done last year, it would not be surprising if the Government in Fiji felt the least hesitation in applying similar methods in dealing with more “cooler” And as the Government of India failed last year to exercise its authority in restraining the official excesses in the Punjab we would not be surprised if it has also failed to address inquiries and make representations to the Fiji Government on behalf of the Indian labourers.”

So, the Government of India has failed and failed utterly in their duty towards the Indians in Fiji. But why should we blame the Government of India alone? Have not the people of India also failed in their duty towards the unfortunate Fiji Indians?

What have we done for them?

A resolution by the Indian Association, a telegram by the secretary of the Congress, one meeting to Bombay, the late editorial articles and the like in the ‘Leader’, the Chronicle the Boulevard and some other papers, a question by the Hon. Mr. Barrin in the Council and that is all we have done for our countrymen in Fiji. Not a single Indian leader has taken up their cases in right earnest. Most probably are the letters that I have received from the Fiji Indians. One of my correspondents writes: “Will not Mahatmaji Ghandji take up one cause or get us back from this hell of Fiji?”

What shall we do now?

Some non-official member of the Viceroy’s Council should put forward a resolution before the Government of India requesting them to allow a non-official Commission going to Fiji. The Colonial Office ought to be asked to inform the Fiji authorities that our committee shall be placed in the way of the non-official committee you. If the Government of India “has not thought they would be justified” in doing even this, then we shall know where we stand in the Empire.

Yours etc.,

K. N. Bhadraika.

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THE CONGRESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Never has the Congress been called upon to decide an issue so momentous as the one it was called upon to decide at its special session presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai. Never perhaps has the Congress witnessed such determined opposition as was offered to the non-co-operation resolution. Yet, never within my experience, has a Congress majority listened with such respect and attention to the opposition argument as it did at the last session. Again, never has there been such an unusual opposition shown to a Subsidiary Committee resolution by the noted leaders of the people.

Mrs. Besant has a fine record of services to India. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is a name to conjure with. He has to his credit an unbroken record of many years' brilliant service to the country and an unblemished character. Mr. Das lends a party ever growing in influence and strength. I felt the late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhara Tilak's absence most keenly at such a juncture. Mr. Bapuji led the Deccan Mr. Kasturi Ranga Ayarpur, the talented editor of the "Hindu", led the Maharaja Nationalist party. All these and many other leaders unanimously opposed the non-co-operation resolution. I warn that great audacity against accepting my proposal unless they were prepared to suffer and were convinced that true non-co-operation was possible only through the programme submitted by me. But the audience wanted action, wanted suffering. The voting was elaborately registered. The Congress resolution was cleared for the purpose of voting. Lala Lajpat Rai personally superintended the operation. It lasted for six hours. All the provinces but the Central Provinces and the Assam voted in favour of my resolution. The Central Provinces gave for my proposal 30 votes against 33 for the Simip Chand Pali. I give the figures below.

For Res. For Amendment

Bhopal 593
Madras 161
Bengal 511
U.P. 259
Punjab 284
Amdur 59
Sindhi 36
Delhi 39
Bihar 184
Burma 14
C.P. 30
Bihar 5

13585
373

My resolution adopted the principle of the whole of the Khilafat Programme, even non-payment of taxes, and advised for immediate adoption, boycott of banks and honorary offices, law courts by litigants, schools and colleges and reform of canal. Balip Chand Pali proposed a mission to England to present our demands and meanwhile to establish national schools, formulate arbitration laws and not to boycott the courts. His resolution would have meant in effect making elections to the council and these probably adopting obstructive tactics. This meant a virtual postponement of the real struggle to the next general election. The opposition therefore entirely centred on the boycott of courts. And the Congress has decided by an overwhelming majority that the council must be abandoned. I hope that those who do not believe that boycott of councils would postpone the attainment of Swarajyam (let alone hasten it) will work with all their might to advance the purpose of the Congress.

An analysis of the vote shows that the country wants non-co-operation. Mrs. Besant who consistently, fearlessly and frankly opposed it and very few adherents, I do not propose to examine the merits of the case at the present moment. My argument is before the country in favour of boycott of council schools and courts. Nothing I heard on the Congress platform has shaken my belief in the necessity or the efficacy of these steps. But I would respectfully address a few words to the minority and to the majority.

To the majority I would say: The hour of the greatest triumph is the hour of the greatest humility. The minority has taken upon its shoulders a tremendous responsibility. Every individual voter...
of my proposal has certainly bound me to require a parent, in any way to Government control. Every voter being a lawyer is bound at the earliest opportunity to suspend the practice and promote the cause of settlement of disputes by private arbitration. Every candidate for the Council, who has voted with the majority, has undertaken to withdraw his candidature, every such vote to mean voting at the elections. Every delegate voting with the majority has bound him to suspend hand-spinning and hand-weaving until he is in his own person to use only hand-woven and hand-spun cloth. Everyone of the majority having accepted the principles of non-violence, self-support, and discipline as regards non-co-operation and bound to treat the minority with respect and fairness. We may not use physical or worldly weapons against them. We must endeavor by our nonviolent practices and by nonviolently honorable methods to correct it in our time. Those who voted with the minority were either weak or not really those few demanded the tightest of约束 children from schools for instance, but then they were schools being employed, national schools springing into being, lawyers suspending practice and getting married, and the children scattered at least by the best of nationalists, they will soon begin to believe in the programme, less than a month and they themselves ready to adopt it. We need not therefore be impatient with the minority, because it does not say to us with us.

To conclude, I would say, they have lost in a bare light. Unless now therefore it is a matter of consequence with them, they must come forward to present the programme of non-co-operation as a most rigorous measure. Those who think that the majority has gravely erred are not justified in any campaign of censure of the majority to their views. If, for the largest number to the minority has ever accepted the principle of establishment of private arbitration courts and national schools. They wanted only a postponement of the consideration of the boycott of counsel, a venture to suggest to them that now that the minority has decided in favor of a quickest pace, the minority should accept the verdict and help to make the programme a success.

Boycott of foreign goods finds a place in my resolution. I am sorry for it. I may not state how it came to find a place there. But as it did not conflict with my conscience and in order to show my determination, I undertook to make a resolution in which personal bias was wanted by a Indian boycott of foreign cloth is included in Swedish. Report of all other foreign goods is a complete prohibition. It is for the very reason that it is a virtual impossibility. But if the introduction of the ad custom stimulates us to sacrifice our luxuries and necessities, it would be served a good purpose. It is certainly our right and duty to没收 everything foreign that is superfluous and even everything foreign that is necessary if we can produce or manufacture it in our country.

TEACHINGS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

European nations have been wise after wise shown, that economic policy according to their models. History of England's economic policy is an apt illustration of the great strides taken backward and forward as united the particular needs of the time. The economic policy of England when it was just a building would be more useful to us today than the latter sugar developments.

At first only coarse cloth was made in England, and wool was exported to the Netherlands and also cloth imported in return. From the earliest times England was noted for its wool, and there was a good deal of domestic weaving. The first attempt at protecting English cloth was made by Simon de Montfort during the Barons' War (1264). He forbade any cloth to be worn, that was not of English make, and was the first statesman to maintain that England could live on her own resources and ought to be independent of foreigners.

Under Edward III the idea began to prevail that the country should keep its wool for itself. In 1339 it was forbidden to export wool. About the same time, small cloth was to be worn without a staves from the king. Edward III also imposed duties on the woolen manufacture. The manufacture was also encouraged by imposing heavy export duties on wool, with the view of making it cheaper at home and dearer abroad. This policy led to retaliation on the part of Flanders, and there was a succession of sharp struggles—reduction and reciprocity alternating.

With the growth of the cloth trade, the policy of protection was strengthened. By the end of the medieval period, what has afterwards looked upon us as English laws were passed against the export of wool and wool yarn. In the reign of Henry VII, the export of manufactured silk was forbidden. Henry VIII attempted to encourage English canvas-making by prohibiting the importation of books printed or bound abroad. Houses were built by the Government on the same principles as sheep farms. In the reign of Henry VIII only three could be exported which were below 6d. in value (the average price being 2s. to £ 5). Thus any wool that was about to be exported could be demanded for it.

Thus in this period we find all the elements of what is now known as the protectionist system. It was through such rapid protection of manufactures enforced through the agency of Government that England, and the foundations of French industry, and it will be by means of this system alone it may take a different form here that our industries can be built. We have to work under our various disadvantages as distinguished from the then England or France. We are under an alien Government which is interested in our commercial competitors. It is the million of our purchasers and merchants that have to do the work of Hanns and Cohorts. We have moreover more organized
HAND-SPINNING AND HAND-WEAVING

Some people spins the idea of making, in the age of mechanical hand-spinning and hand-weaving a national industry, but they forget there are millions of their countrymen in this age who for want of suitable occupation are living out a most miserable existence, and thousands who die of starvation and undernourishment every year, whereas only a hundred years ago hand-spinning and hand-weaving were the great national industries. We make no apology for giving some of the facts and figures collected by Dr. Buchanan in the districts of Patna and Belur in a population of 10,42,420, in the number of spinners was 2,90,420. “By far the greater part of these,” observed Dr. Buchanan, “spins only a few hours in the after noontime and upon the average earn the whole value of the thread that each spins in a year is worth Rs. 2 to 3 giving a total annual income of Rs. 2,37,571 and by a similar calculation the raw material in the annual prize will amount to Rs. 1,25,172 leaving a profit of Rs. 1,13,188. For the spinners an Rs. 5-6-0 per spinner.”

In the district of Shahbad, spinning was the chief industry. A 100 women were employed in spinning and spun yarn to the value of Rs. 1,250,000 a year. Deducting the value of cotton each woman had something left to buy food to the amount of which she had been doing.

In the Bhopal district (with a population of 1,4,39,048), where 10,000 women spent a part of their time in spinning and each made an annual income of Rs. 4 after deducting the cost of cotton. This was added to the family income. In the Barabanki district (population 1,380,497) 173,000 women found employment in spinning and made an annual income of Rs. 2 per head. In the Dinagar district (with a population of 500,000) women engaged in cotton-spinning which was the principal manufacture, and the hours of work of all women at higher rank and of the greater part of the farmers’ wives. Three Rs. 4 was the annual income of each woman made by spinning in two and a half hours.

In the Punjab district (population 2,964,338) all parties considered spinning honourable and a very large population of women of the district did some spinning in their leisure hours.

In eastern Mysore as women of all castes except Brahmanas bought cotton and wool at weekly markets, spun at home, and sold the thread to weavers Men and Women thus found a profitable occupation. In Coimbatore, the spinners of all the low class cultivators were great spinners.
The statistics of weavers show that they are as numerous as the spinners. In the Patna
city and Bihar District, the total numbers of looms employed in the manufacture of slubbed and
tabby cloths was 750 and the value of the annual manufactures was Rs. 5,49,600 leaving a profit of Rs.
8,140, deducting the value of thread. This gave a profit of Rs. 105 for each loom worked by three
persons or an income of Rs. 33 a year for each loom. But the greater part of the cloth weavers
made coarse cloth for country use to the value of Rs. 2,908,801 after deducting the cost of thread.
This gave a profit of Rs. 28 for each loom.

In Sheikabad weavers worked in cotton only on 6,025 houses of weavers worked in cotton
and had 7,920 looms. Each loom made an annual income of Rs. 202 a year and each loom
required the labour of a man and his wife as well as one boy or girl. But as a family
would not be supported for less than Rs. 48 a year. Dr Buchanan suggested that the income of each
loom given above was understated.

In the Bhagalpur district some worked in silk
alone. A great many near the town made Jaar fabrics of silk and cotton intermixed, 17,758 looms were
employed that the annual profit of each weaver
employed in the mixed silk and cotton industry was
estimated to be Rs. 35 besides what the woman made.

For the weaving of cotton-cloth, there were 7,979
looms. Each loom yielded a profit of Rs. 29 a year
But by another calculation, Dr Buchanan estimated
it to be Rs. 32 a year.

In the Gorakhpur district there were 3,436 fa-
milies of weavers possessing 6,174 looms and each
loom brought an income of Rs. 294. Dr Buchanan
thought this was too low an estimate and believed
that each loom brought an income of Rs. 88 in the year.

In the Dungapur district "Munda" cloth was manufactured. It consisted of silk warp and
cotton weft. 4,000 looms were employed in the
work and it was said that each loom made 20 Rs.
worth of cloth a month, which Dr Buchanan
considered too high an estimate. About 3,000 looms were employed in making larger pieces in the form of flaxen.

In the Purana district weavers were numerous.
In Eastern Mysore cotton-weavers made cloth for
home-use in silk and cotton mix, producing a strong silk fabric. Weavers who make cloth with silk borders
earn 6 as a day and those who make silk cloth
earned 4 a.

Thus we see that greater sum was earned
by those spinners and weavers by following their
noble and honest calling. The concentration of the industry every village, town, and district
having always at its command as much supply as
was needed and automatically facilitated its distribution
and saved the consumer from Railway Excess and all sorts of taxes, and middlemen's profits that
be as a victim to to-day. If we cannot return to these
days, though there is no reason, except our own bias
and doubt why we should not out our best to organise our industries as to do away without much
delay with the foreign cloth with which our
markets are being dumped to-day?

A CALL TO OUR STATES

A friend from Karantik sent me the following
account:

Writing on national awakening in India a few years ago, a member of the Round Table group
remarked that people in villages had not kept pace
with those in cities. A similar remark may be
made to-day, with greater truth, in respect of
that third of the land which is called Native India
as distinguished from British India. People in our
villages have so long remained idle and helpless
spirits of the manifold waves that have been
passing over their motherland. Differently circum-
nstanced as they are, they have their own share of
responsibility in the building of their nation. The least
they could do was to throw out the national
movements and take up their share in them. They have
not even responded to the call of Swadeshi, perhaps
only because it has a political association. Indeed
the native can do much more than British subjects. The
Rapes and Rebels can easily organise the home-
industries. They by their personal example can do the work of a thousand preachers. Unfortunately
however, they are the worst sinners in this respect.
They adorn their person and palace with foreign
fabrics and mantles. It is then for them to revive the old arts and flood the State markets
with home-made articles.

No doubt now and then we come across inst-
stances where State authorities and people have
engaged themselves in building up home-industries.
One often reads in papers of the enthusiasm of
the Mysore in organising home-industries. The
Mysoreans feel that they have to fight out their way
in face of the organisations that are more for the convenience of foreigners exporting our raw material
than for our own. It is the plague of the whole of
India that raw material sells so dear in the very place
of its production then to distant cities like Bombay.
It was for this reason that the Director of Indus-
tries and Commerce of the Mysore State was asked
by a State order to arrange for the supply of raw
material to the home-workers. The question of raw
cotton will be more and more serious as the schemes
of centralising, raw cotton in Bombay materials. The
States that grow cotton will have to meet this
difficulty. Local sale of cotton, as it disappeared
with the local spinners and weavers, will have to be
revived with the revival of spinning and weav-
ings. The old, honourable class of weavers is fast dying
cold and it therefore needs strong support before it
stands on its own legs. This huge work of orga-
isation the States and British India together
have to shoulder. British India has led the
way and is further pledged to it by the
Congress resolution. Suggestions for successful or-
ganizations are pouring in. Mr. Hisar's Artisans and
Industrial Union in India proposes a scheme which
deserves the earnest attention of all those who have
the cause of Swadeshi at heart. Another scheme on
the lines of co-operative colonies is set up before
the public by Captain Patnaik. Whether these schemes
may prove as successful as he claims they aim at
achieving self-sufficiency in respect of the
necessities of life for the several provinces.
The scheme should also, if put into execution, cultivate
in us the habit of dealing with our neighbouring
villages or purchase in preference to the more dis-
tant one. It is true that we shall inevitably lack to
day, and it is for this reason that a united effort is
necessary on the part of all Swadeshi leaders whose
economic interests are so intricately inter-

Whether the political problems of India affect
both British India and Native India equally or differ-
ently, and whether the latter should join hands
with their fellow-countrymen in British India,
is a grave question which cannot be hastily disposed
of but which needs serious attention from both.
Anyhow, even if it be decided that the State
subjects should be left in order to solve the present
political problems, it is better that British India,
decidedly the more advanced part of the country,
should make a beginning just as in British
India itself according to the Congress resolution,
classes are to give the lead in science and discipline.
It is however necessary that the State subjects
regulate their march so that there be no
such feeling gap between the two parts of
the nation as was noticed by our Round Table Mission
in respect of villages and cities. And for such a
regulation of their march the State subjects should
take up the question of Swadeshi without any delay.

A SCHEME FOR SWADESHI.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. Sabavcoi Pantalei has favoured
us with the following extract from the "Artisans
and Industrial Union in India" by Mr. Haveli, which
we gladly make room for. Our readers may not be know-
ing that the Swadeshi Department of the Satyagrah:
Ashram is being run almost on the same lines as
the scheme suggests.

"It should be understood that though goods
management would undoubtedly receive a fair return
on the capital invested, the first object of a scheme
should be not to secure dividends for the middle
class weaver, but to put a great national industry
upon a sound economic basis—an object which should
surely commend itself to the whole-hearted support
of every Swadeshi reformer. I would fix the
initial capital at one lakh of rupees, a sum ample
sufficient to finance fifty model weaving villages
with an average of one hundred weavers each; it
would equally well be started with half a lakh
of rupees and twenty-five villages. The scheme
should be managed by a Committee or Board of
Directors, located at a suitable centre, where a
depot for the yarn, dyes, and all other raw
materials of good quality required by the weavers
should be established. In charge of each of the
fifty or twenty-five local branches—the weaving
villages—there should be an experienced manager capable
of instructing the weavers in the use of the fly-
shuttle and other simple mechanical improve-
ments such as those now used in Serampore. To
win the confidence of weavers should be the local
manager's first and foremost. At least he should have
himself working on the lines of Mr. Mounsonecha's
scheme, retailing to the weavers as a small profit
the materials supplied from the central depot, advan-
taging real on the scarcity of industrial goods to
help them over the slack season, and assisting them
to dispose of their clothes in the best markets, etc.
Gradually he should show the most intelligent of the
weavers the use of simple labor-saving appli-
cances and supply them free of cost only taking
return after three months trial, a fair percentage
of the increased output which they were
enabled to make by the use of them. Some of
the Members of the Central Board, or Inspectors
appointed by them, would have to visit the local
centres from time to time to satisfy themselves of
the conduct of the local managers.

I believe that in less than three years under a
scheme of this kind, the first fifty or twenty-five
model weaving villages would need little further
assistance. The best weavers, at least, would be
removed from the clutches of the local Sowcar,
and would have realized the advantages of simple
labor-saving appliances. The Directors of the
scheme would then, of course, devote their atten-
tion to other centres. With men of good business
capacity and power of organization at the head
of it, this scheme would do more for India in five
years than all the Technical Schools have done
in fifty. India does not require to create the tech-
nical skill for her great weaving industry, the
skill is already created. It is only recklessly wasted
for want of proper organization.

"The scheme of Mr. Mounsonecha I. C. S. referred
to here is that while he was Collector of Sholapur
in the Bombay presidency, he took interest in re-
viving the local weaving industry by making
arrangements to provide the weavers with raw
materials on reasonable terms, advancing them cash
at reasonable rates in the slack seasons and enabling
them to obtain the best market prices for their
labour. In three years the condition of three hundred
weavers had greatly improved, twenty-five of them
had paid off all their old debts, and recovered
their mortgaged property from the Sowcar, and
at the same time the scheme itself had given a
fair dividend on the capital used."
MR. GANDHI’S CONGRESS-SPEECH

Mr. Gandhi moved his resolution on non-co-operation with the following speech—

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

THANKS IMPATIENCE

I ask you to thank me for the time being, from your consideration. I have been charged with PROPAGANDA, a desire for dictatorship. I refer to my that I do not stand before you either as aサンテ as a candidate for dictatorship. I stand before you to present to you the results of my many years’ practical experience in non-co-operation. I deny that thing that is a new thing in the country. It has been accepted at heart by millions since hundred thousands of men, and has been placed in working order since the first of August by the Mahatmas, and many of the things in the programme are being enforced in a more or less systematic form. I ask you again to be patient in this matter, with the care of the importance of this question, and bring to bear patient and solemn judgment and right. But a more acceptance of the resolution does not set, and the work.

Every individual has to enforce the terms of the resolution so far as they apply to him. I beseech you to prove me a patient hearing. I ask you not to adopt me there. I do so much there so far as I concern, but I know the influence of the flow of thought, speaking and hearing hinder the process of correspondence between a speaker and his audience. You will not like out of your many Anglo speakers. For non-co-operation is a measure of discipline and sacrifice and it demands patience and care and opposite views. And unless we are able to evolve a spirit of mutual tolerance, for diametrically opposite views, non-co-operation is an impossibility. Non-co-operation is an angry struggle. Non-co-operation is an impracticable. I have heard through bitter experience the can when you are not willing to have my ears, and as heat文案 is transformed into anger, even our anger ascended can be transformed into a power which may prove the world. To those who have been attending the Congress, as brothers to me, I ask what can be better discipline than that, which we should exercise between ourselves.

I have been told that I have been doing nothing but wrenching and that by bringing forward the resolution I am breaking up the political life of the country. The Congress is not a party organisation. It must provide a platform for all shades of opinion, and it must look beyond that organisation, but may look forward to translate itself into a majority, in course of time,

of the opinion commanded itself to a country. Only 10,000 seen in the name of the Congress and not to any policy which has been condemned by the Congress. And if you condemn my policy, I shall not go away from the Congress, but shall please with them to convert the minority into a majority.

ENFORCE CLEAR SURRENCE

There are no two opinions as to the wrong done to the Khudkush. Muzzafarnagar cannot remain as a bareweet men and follow their Prophet if they do not vindicate their honour at any cost. The Punjab has been brutally, brutally treated, and inhumely. As soon as the martial law was made, it was used to crush the whole of India cried on her belly and if we are worthy race and daughters of India we should be pledged to remove these wrongs. It is in order to remove these wrongs that this country is uniting itself. But we have not been able to hear the Government to our will. We are not satisfied with a mere expression of angry feeling. You, therefore, must hear a more passionate demonstration of the wrongs than in the page of the President’s address. If the Congress cannot write, justice from us, what exactly how can it vindicate its shame and the honour? How can it be done if it does not order clear repentance, before receiving a single gift, however rich, from those blood-stained hands.

EXTEND THE SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE

I have therefore pleaded before you my motive of non-co-operation to achieve this and want you to respect any other scheme, unless you have deliberately come to the conclusion that it is a better scheme than mine. If the spirit is a sufficient response to my reasons, I make bold to return to my statement that you can give Swarajya in the sense of an end. Not the passage of the resolution will bring Swarajya, but the enforcement of the resolution from day to day in a progressive manner, due regard being had to the conditions in the country.

There is another remedy before the country, and that is drawing of the sword. If that was possible India would not have listened to the gospel of non-co-operation. I want to suggest to you that even if you want to arrest in justice by methods or violence, discipline and self-sacrifice are necessary. I have not known of a war gained by a rabble, but I have known of wars gained by disciplined armies and if you want to gain battle in the British Government and in the combined power of Europe we must train ourselves in discipline and self-sacrifice. I have been becoming impatient. I have seen that we deserve Swarajya today, but we have not the spirit of national aspiration. We have evolved the spirit in domestic affairs, and I have come to ask you to extend it to other affairs. I have been travelling from end to end of the other 56th country to see whether the country has evolved the national spirit, whether at the side of the natives it is ready to dedicate its resources, children, its all, if it is ready to make the initiatory sacrifice. In the country ready. Are the male holders ready to surrender their titles? Are parents ready to sacrifice their education of their children for the sake of the country? Are they not ready? Are the men ready to sacrifice, 26 male holders are not ready, Swarajya is very nearly an impossibility. No nation being under an other nation can accept gifts and look at the reasonable
THE NON-CO-OPERATION RESOLUTION.

Mr. GANDHI'S RESOLUTION

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

And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of the April of 1919 both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish the authors of any sedition and barbarous treatment towards them and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for the most of the actual crimes and has been the sufferer of the people placed under his administration, and that the Duma in the House of Lords betrayed a most uncalled for sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab and that the latest Viceroy's pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab.

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

And inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto considered and represented opinion and measures as Government consolidates its power through clubs and become deserters to the people, through schools controlled by it, the law courts and its legislative councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the promotion of the movement to take the common risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises—

(a) surrender of titles and honorary titles and resignations from nominated seats in local bodies,
(b) refusal to attend Government Letters, Durbar, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour,
(c) gradual withdrawal of children from Schools and Colleges and in place of such schools and colleges establish ment of National Schools and Colleges in the various Provinces,
(d) gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by them and for the settlement of private disputes,
(e) refusal of the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia,
(f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may dispute the Congress advice offer himself for election.

OUR MADRAS AGENTS

Madras, B. Ganesh & Co. (3 Nesamvannam Chatty Street, Triplicane, Madras) are our official Agents for Madras.
(2) The boycott of foreign goods, and insistence on non-co-operation have been considered as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice, without which no nation can make real progress, and unreasonableness or opportunity should be given to the very first stage of non-co-operation to every man, woman, and child. For such discipline and self-sacrifice, the Congress advises adoption of Swadeshi as a principle, and as much as the existing calls of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouraging measures.

MR. PAUL AMENDMENT

Whereas in the matter of the events of April 1919 both the Indian and the Imperial Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish others guilty of unscrupulous and barbarous behaviour towards them and have assassinated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for most of the shameful outrages and killings in the sufferings of the people under his administration and that the debate in the House of Commons and specially in the House of Lords betrayed a want of true sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab.

And whereas the bulk of the European community in India, officials and non-officials, have expressed their sympathy with the said policy of terrorism and frightfulness and are actually raising funds and taking other steps to encourage those who have been proved to be guilty of acts of frightfulness and terrorism.

And whereas the Khalifat question both the Indian and the Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word to them.

And whereas the disfranchisement of the Turkish Empire and its division into vassal states as proposed in the Peace Treaty is a measure of prospective danger to India.

And whereas the only effective remedy against these wrongs and the only guarantee against their recurrence is the immediate recognition of India's rights to full autonomy.

Be it resolved (1) that the Prime Minister be asked to receive a mission composed of representative Indians to be selected by the All-India Congress Committee to lay before the statement of India's grievances compiled with a demand for immediate autonomy, (2) that in case of his refusal to receive this mission or in the event of his refusal to revoke the Reform Act of 1918 by a measure granting full autonomy to India, a policy of such active non-co-operation as he adopted as would leave no doubt in the minds of the British people that India can no longer be governed by dependency, (3) that in the meanwhile this Congress should take the necessary for favours to be obtained and eventual adoption Mahatma Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation with unreasonableness, alterations and additions either for the whole of India or for particular provinces to suit special conditions as may be recommended by a joint committee consisting of (1) twenty representatives of the Indian National Congress, (2) five representatives of the All-India Muslim League, (3) two representatives of the Central Khilafat Committees, (4) five representatives of each of such House Rule Amendments as accept the principle of non-co-operation, with Mahatma Gandhi as the president of the joint committee, (6) that in the meantime this Congress recommends the immediate adoption of the following measures as preparatory to the actual putting into operation of Mahatma Gandhi's programme—(1) the education of the electorate in the principles of non-co-operation, (2) the establishment of national schools, (3) the establishment of arbitration courts, (4) the appointment of officers and such honorary offices as are not conferred by the sufferage of the people, (5) refusal to attend Government levees, dinners, and such other functions, (6) the organisation of labour into trade unions, (7) the general withdrawal of Indian capital from European banks and such other industrial and commercial concerns in India as are controlled by Europeans, and also of Indian labour from such concerns, (8) refusal to take the part of the military, civil and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for services outside India except in the event of foreign invasion, (9) the adoption of Swadeshi, especially in post-office, on a vast scale, and the revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

MR. GANDHI INTERVIEWED

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

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

Mr. Gandhi was now not in favour of a single Indian labourer going to British Guiana. Being asked as to how he proposed to work for Indians abroad now that he had taken up non-co-operation, he said his faith in British standards had been shattered. Till they had obtained complete responsible Government they would bring more prominence than hitherto to the cause of the public in India the grievances of their countrymen abroad, and the volume of agitation of the country would be such that Government cannot resist that pressure and would be compelled to take effective steps, because no wrong brought to their notice would speed the process of non-co-operation and to that extent the process of disintegration of the forces of economy, injustice, and exploitation which dominated the Government of India and its Imperial Government at the present moment. They would continue to call public meetings and frame protests.
SWARAJ IN ONE YEAR

(Hy M K Gandhi)

Much laughter has been indulged in at my expense for having told the 19-crore 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 spoken the 'nu me kapish' and suggested that if 'we' were persistent in argument, any authority could be proved to be a fallacy. My proposition however is based on a mathematical calculation. And I venture to say that true Swaraj is a practical possibility without the 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 Bagdadistan. To-day we feel that we are dependent upon them for our internal and external security, for an armed force between the Sinuses and the Mundas, for our education and for the supply of daily wants, my, even for the supplementation of our religious aspirations. The Rajas are dependent on the British for their powers and the millions for their livelihood. The British know our helplessness and Sir Thomas Holland remarks 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 Central Government who has been brought up in the company of giants found it impossible to feel that he was a hero. As Tolstoy used to put it, national life was laboured under hypnosis. Under its spell com-
The gap of our humanity was filled during the closing scenes of our day. The great event of the Punjab was the resolution passed by the Indian National Congress. The Indian Nationalists of the Punjab resolved that the Indian National Congress should meet and consider the resolutions and proceedings of the Congress of the Punjab. The Indian Nationalists, who are a powerful force in the country, were present at this meeting and the resolutions were adopted unanimously by the members. The formation of the Indian National Congress was a historic event in the history of the country and it was a significant step towards the establishment of self-government.

I do not blame the British. If we were weak in numbers as they are, we too would perhaps have resisted to the same measures 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 spirit of our numbers. The result is that each is dragging the other down in common experience that Englishmen lose in character after residence in India and that Indians lose in courage and boldness by contact with Englishmen. The 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 is 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 in her power to show that she can achieve her destiny by her own self-effort and self-realization. This can be done only by non-co-operation. Non-co-operation is possible only when those who are considered to cooperate begin the process of withdrawal. If we can but free ourselves from the threefold means of Government-controlled schools, Government law-courts and legislative councils, then we can enter into our own admissions, 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 is it such an imperishable 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 sustained services? It can be done only by non-co-operation. Non-co-operation is possible only when those who are considered to cooperate begin the process of withdrawal. If we can but free ourselves from the threefold means of Government-controlled schools, Government law-courts and legislative councils, then we can enter into our own admissions, 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.

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It took us nearly three quarters of an hour to reach the motor car; whereas ordinarily it need not have taken three minutes to walk out of the station to the porch. Having reached the car I was so eager to get into it that I had to be shunted into it in the best manner possible. I certainly received a sign of relief when I found myself in the car, and I thought that both the Muslim and I deserved the ovation we received from the crowd after the dangerous suspense we had gone through. With a little more thought this mobocracy, for such it was, could have been changed into a splendidly organised and educational demonstration. As it was, it could have rendered the trip of all risk to life. The experience of Madras was typical of many. We had an extraordinary experience at Bhopal en route to Salem. I was fairly fagged out. My voice had become husky with speaking. As at many stations there was here too a sun-in crowd. It was thoroughly discouraged, though like everywhere else perfectly good and respectful. I appealed to them not to make all kinds of unnecessary noises, told them to discard an orderly manner as they had always done and told them that if they intended to take their share in the bridle and the Punjab struggle, they were expected to undergo discipline. I was able to reach my voice to the most intelligent men that I suggested that they should quietly return to their stations and that the station entrance until respectfully return. They listened the roar followed and the station was cleared in two minutes time. If the friends, who had men, had handed around, shouted and insisted on shouting, the whole crowd would have done likewise and there would have been a pandemonium throughout the long time that the train stopped there.

I shall finish this description by giving the reverse of our experiences at Jal overlap. We were traveling to Madras by the night train leaving Bangalore. We had been taking mashrabi at Salem during the day, motoring to Bangalore a distance of 215 miles from Salem, taking there a meeting in drizzling rain and thereafter we had to travel. We needed night's rest but there was none to be had. At almost every station of importance large crowds had gathered to greet us. About midnight we reached Jal overlap junction. The train had to stop there nearly forty minutes or stopped this night all those terrible minutes. Muslim Shankat Ali requested the crowd to disperse. But the drugs he argued, the more they shouted "Muslim Shankat Ali's evidently thinking that the Muslims could not mean what he said. They had come from twenty miles' distance, they were waiting there for hours, they must have their satisfaction. The Muslim gave up the struggle, he pretended to sleep. The adorers thereupon mounted the foot-boards to have a glimpse at the Muslims. As the light in our compartment was put out they brought in lanterns. At last I thought I would try. I rose, went to the door. It was a signal for a great shout of joy. These noises bore me to pieces.

I was so tired that all my appeals proved fruitless in the end. They would stop for a while to renew the noise again. I shut the windows. But the crowd was not to be baffled. They tried to open the windows from outside. They must see us both. And so the time went on till my watch took up. He harangued them, appealed to them for the sake of the other passengers. He produced some effect and both there was a little less noise. Praying however went on to the last minute. It was all well meant, it was all an exhibition of boundless love, yet how awful, how unreasonable! It was a mob without a mind. There were no intelligent men of influence among them and no body ordered to any body.

Before we can make real headway, we must train these masses of men who have a heart of gold, who feel for the country, who want to be taught and led. But a few intelligent, discerning, local workers are a dot and the whole nation can be organised to act intelligently, and democracy can be evolved out of mobocracy. This avocation is really the first step to successful national non-co-operation.

SWADESI STORES.
(By H. K. Gandhi)

In a previous issue I endeavored to show how stores for the sale of native manufactures did not advance Swadesi in any way whatsoever, but on the contrary tended to send up the prices of cloth. I propose to show in this article how with a small capital, it is possible to advance true Swadesi and earn a modest livelihood.

Suppose that there is a family consisting of husband, wife and two children, one of whom is five years old and the other five. If they have a capital of Rs. 50, they can manage a Khaddar Bazaar in a small way. They can hire, say, in a place with a population of 20,000 people, a shop with a dwelling room for Rs. 10 per month. If they sell the whole of the stock at 10 p.c. profit they can have Rs. 50 per month. They have no servants. The wife and the children in spare time would be expected to help in keeping the shop tidy and looking after it when the husband is out. The wife and children can also devote their spare time to spinning.

In the initial stages the Khaddar may not sell at the shop. In that case the husband is expected to hawk the Khaddar from door to door and popularise it. He will soon find a custom for it.

The reader must not be surprised at my saying 10 p.c. profit. The Khaddar Bhandars are not designed for the poorest. The use of Khaddar saves at least half the cost and necessarily because the Khaddar is more durable (though it certainly is) but because its use revolutionises our tastes. I know what saving of money its use has meant to me. Those, who buy Khaddar from patriots motives merely, can easily afford to pay 10 p.c. profit on Khaddar. Lastly the population of Khaddar means more care, devotion and labour. And the wear of a Khaddar Bhandar does not buy it at a wholesale shop but he must wander to get the best Khaddar. He must meet the local weavers and induce them to sell
YOUNG INDIA. September 22, 1920.

Puri Distress

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>No. of persons served</th>
<th>No. of villages served</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anstrang</td>
<td>1,422</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balranta</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmanpur</td>
<td>1,251</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debagh Station</td>
<td>1,487</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark Puribha</td>
<td>1,604</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jorab</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prith</td>
<td>1,288</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survedpuri</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8,661</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12% of the total number were men, 39% women, and 49% children of both sexes.

2. As sufficient number of honorary workers (volunteers) could not now be assured for this continued work, they are being replaced by paid workers, as necessary arise. We have received here with great regret the death from anorexia of two of our volunteers, Mr. Krishna Chandra Nain, a lady at Puri, and the death from typhoid fever of Mr. Krishna Chandra Nain, a lady at Puri, and the death from typhoid fever of the latter's brother, Mr. Krishna Chandra Nain, at Balasore.

The Committee offered the Puri District Board to bear the loss they may have to suffer in training their golas at five places in the district, on the condition they sold their rice below cost price, viz., at 4 annas a quarter (cutbeck).
In the end of July last the Committee represented in Government of Bihar or Orissa (1) more work should be provided to give employment to people which they badly need, that (2) diseases existing in Thanes of Satyavadi, Rohil, and Bilanga should be recognised and relieved by Government and that (3) persons being arrested by this Committee should be relieved by Government. None of these requests have been complied with and Government does not seem to be prepared to relieve stagnation that may result from economic pressure as distinguished from diseases due to flood and famine, though these disturbances may and ent present only in death.

The great cry of the people in employment, work, and a living wage.

We appeal to the public to continue the support they have given us. The sum of Rs. 10,000 is needed to feed the same number of starving people as it is at the end of July. Unless we receive the support, the reduced number will have to be still further reduced to distress and mortality.

Puri

September 1720

SECRETARIES
The People's Farmers Relief Committee, Puri

THE LATER MEANING OF MAHATMA GANDHI'S NON-CO-OPERATION

Sir Dwarkanath Tagore, fondly known as Boro Dil, in South America has written down in Bengali an view on non-co-operation under the above heading. We give below the translation prepared for us by Mr. Barsheradev Chattaraj and revised by Mr. C. Y. Andrews.

There has been one more discussion in the papers over the question of non-co-operation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. I have been reading this division and I must admit 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 just and despicable was the reason of Ram being deceived by the Yoga Marga. In our present age, we have been deceived by another Yoga Marga, and we cannot tell what the future has in store for us. As a cow, nothing to drink water at a river bank in the end, remains dry. Many, being in illusion, remain dry by dry with a tear, so we too, being deceived by a measure, are hoping against hope. If we do not wake up in time, it is clear what fate awaits us.

There will be in succession of faith.

It will mean the loss of the very essence of our life and manhood.

The true meaning of Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation, as far as I have been able to understand it with my own conscience, is this. So long as we have not established the ideals of our country according to our own purpose so long shall we be able to stand on equal footing with the foreigners.

If both the parties cannot stand on an equal footing, then the cooperation between them is mere lip expression. This sort of cooperation can mean only two things. Either the weaker party follows the stronger in humiliation, or it causes 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, cooperation can have only one meaning, viz., that the weaker party has habily 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 cooperation 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 heat that is within it. Till it does that, it must occupy the position of a beggar. Therefore till the conditions are equalized, cooperation by the weaker party must be a glaring proof of its worthlessness, inertia, and helplessness.

In this extreme crisis of our country, the manhunt upon the wiser in the land to stand apart from the blood-revenging influence of the authorities, and with their own resources and in their own way to give a full expression to their own ideals. When we are able to do that, then alone will any talk of cooperation become us, and not till then.

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

TERRORISM IN FULL

To the Editor, 'Young India,'

So,

The latest letter that I have received from Fiji shows that the terrorism in that colony is not yet at an end. The Fiji Times of 13th July contains the following news.

Coomat Ram and Mohanlal Hazar arrive after he was found guilty of causing grievous bodily harm to James Brown at Tregak on February 11th, to have been sentenced as follows:---

Ram and Mohanlal Hazar to 18 months and Gommat to 10 months hard labour.

In the Savage case the last and Mohanlal Hazar have been awarded fines of two years each, Nankar two years, Raheman and Bullock (women) 18 months each and Dhagner 18 months. In the well case Mukhtar has been awarded three years.

Other cases are yet pending and we may hear of some other unfortunate Indians being sentenced 5 years or 8 years.

If we add the number of those persons who have now been punished to the large number which has been published in the Despatch of the Governor, we see realize the seriousness of the Fiji-Prigeois. It is to be noted.
GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT

LIGHT ON PUNJAB DISTURBANCES

Mr. Snare asked Government to lay on the table a statement showing the names of officers and the action taken against them to mark the disapproval of their actions by Government in handling the Punjab disturbances.

The Home Member said that before giving the answer, Government considered it desirable to await the delivery of the report of the House of Commons. They had asked to submit their proposals with regard to the officials who were summoned or arrested in the report and the despatches. The consideration of these replies, which in some cases included representations from the officials concerned, was not completed till a few days ago Government had not yet replied, because they desired to take the statement as complete as possible before laying it on the table.

THE STATEMENT

The Home Member then laid a statement on the table which showed that in 20 cases had been taken. The following are the details,

Khan Sahib Ahmed Jan (Amritsar) has been re-instated in his substantive rank of Police Inspector.

The third grade Police Inspector, Ashtif Khan (Amritsar) has been reduced from second grade Police Inspector to the rank of Sub-Inspector.

No action was taken against Sub-Inspector of railway Police, Kasra.

No action was taken against 23 police constables of Faridkot as no evidence was suggested by the Hunter Committee.

Khan Bahadar Muhammad Sultan Abdul, setting Deputy Commissioner, Jhajjarsal, had been restored after a long and distinguished service, but Government assurance has been communicated to him.

"STRONG DISAPPROVAL" AND "RECEIVING"

Lt.-Col. O'Brien, Deputy Commissioner, Jhajjarsal, Mr. Macdonald, Sub-Divisional Officer, Kasur, Mr. S. M. Jacob, Director of Agriculture, Lahore, Brigadier General Campbell, Commanding Batailn Brigade, Captain Devine and Cole, Mores, all of these officers have been informed and in none was it proposed to inform them of the Government's strong disapproval of these others' actions, which were justified and improper.

Mr. Forsyth, (Ms) Extra Assistant Commissioner, was not almost debarred of his power to try cases under Military Law. Local Government had communicated to him their strong disapproval of his actions and the Governor of India had asked the local Government to consider what further disciplinary action would be taken against him.
Massive Kitchin and Miles Irving of America had been referred to that Government considered it was regrettable that these officers failed to return control over the military commander and failed to remain in close touch with the military people throughout the events.

Mr. Caswell Smith proceeded on leave preparatory to retirement at a request to remain on active duty till the spring of 1921 had been refused. The Government of India had asked the local Government to accommodate in this officer their strong displeasure at the conduct and improper action.

General Dyer's case had already been dealt.

General Dyer's action was intended regarding the case of officers transferred to the Royal Air Force Offices to supposed. In this case, the military authorities considered that no more serious action should be taken. Action was being taken to prevent the change for future guidance.

Commander L. R. D. and Major Carbery were not held blame-worthy by the military authorities in view of the extreme difficulty of that position for any bombs from anyplace.

Colonel Frank Johnstone had been transferred to the Territorial Forces and had since been dismissed. No action was therefore proposed.

Mr. Subba asked a supplementary question. An L. R. D. understood that in spite of the district orders contained in the Secretary of State's dispatch, these officers, whose actions were now resumed, were given an opportunity to make further representations to the local Government before they were prosecuted.

The House Member said that some of the officers concerned had made representations to the local Government before the final action was taken.

ARIDICATION OF CIVIL AUTHORITY.

Replying to a further question by Mr. Subba the House Member said that the Government had referred to that Government considered it was regrettable that these officers failed to return control over the military commander and failed to remain in close touch with the military people throughout the events.

In reply to another question by Mr. Subba, the Government said that arrests and detentions of Dr. K. S. and Major Carbery had not been unfounded and were regrettable but no further action was contemplated.

THE PUNJAB DISTURBANCES

Mr. SASTRI'S RESOLUTION

DISALLOWED

After arrival at Simla Mr. Sastri told the press representative. I sent in a revised form of the resolution on the 3rd September, requesting that if it was not acceptable the original form might be allowed to stand'. The revised form was as follows:

The Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that he be pleased to communicate the following to the Secretary of State for India:

(1) The Council affirms its fullest confidence in the Right Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and records its grateful thanks to him for declaring unequivocally in the House of Commons that the connection of India with the British Empire is based on the idea of equal partnership and vindicating the rights and principles that are not only the perfect and final equality of India and the Indian lives and the Indian honour that can only be preserved as British lives and British honour.

(2) This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that with a view to prevent the occurrence of unpremeditated actions similar to those that were committed by certain officers in the case of Muhammad Ali's power by the imprisonment of the Governor of the Punjab, on the part of the officers who have been or may be guilty of improper excesses of such powers or of acts calculated to embarrass India as a case and that such punishment be duly published.

Continuing, Mr. Sastri and his Excellency the President believes that my resolution, if discussed, would be the means of removing unpleasant memories and aggravating racial bitterness and thus rewarding the work of publication in His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in carrying on with eminent zeal and goodwill. No one can fail to understand the difficulty in which the Government of India finds itself, but the time has long arrived when they must openly express adherence to the cardinal principle of rightness, adherence to which the feelings of an outraged and insulted people most prevail over the expect of demands of a small section of overgrown officials. It is to this sovereign consideration that I desired to draw the attention of the Government believing that if they were at all contemplating any notice a debate in Council might strengthen their hands.

But there is another aspect of the question. The House Member, replying to a question during the Delhi session of the Council, in the first part of this year, had expressed the hope that the non-official members would have an opportunity of discussing the report. The House Member's report was not one of the papers, but this would still express the determination of the Government to discuss the report in every reasonable facility for discussing the subject in question. Events of the import and the authority which measures of unprecedented severity to cope with them, a committee report on the great issues involved, the deepest feelings of the people are stirred and give rise, in conjunction with other causes, to a demand for more rapid and more extensive examination for the purpose of exposing and unmasking and clarifying the administration. The Imperial Cabinet makes an important recommendation and the two Houses of Parliament, debate the matter prevailing with great heat. In such circumstances to speak of discussion in the Imperial Legislature by the arbitrary exercise of executive discretion and unless the elected representatives of the people whose honour, welfare and self-respect are in peril, if the matter is to lead to some conclusion or to the question of the Punjab resolution, demonstrated to a striking manner to the great danger in any assumption of putting an arbitrary power of this kind to the hands of the executive who, in order to save the appearance of cooperating with their courtiers, of enacting their own convenience and preserving to the level of complete identity with public interests.
PROGRESS OF NON-CO-OPERATION

BENGAL

In accordance with the decision of the Congress, the following Non-Mahomedan leaders of Bengal have withdrawn their candidature for election to the reformed councils. It may be mentioned that all except the last voted against the resolution for the Congress.

Mr. B. Chakravarty (Kulna), Mr. G. Das (Dacca), Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt (Caldia), Mr. A. C. Banerjee (Calcutta), Mr. Prafullachandra Chatterjee (Calcutta University), Mr. Sasthakshar Ghosh (Ranchpur), Mr. Nisargadatta Noyaj (Myssurjagha), Mr. Mulchand Saik (Barasat), Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta (Chittagong), Mr. Biswarup Karna (Diamond Harbour), Mr. Surya Chandra Chatterjee (Calcutta University), Mr. Sarat Niranjan Chatterjee (Kolkata University), Mr. Satyendra Mohan Mitter (Nabaraj), Kumar S. C. Ghosal (Barasat), Mr. Bhupendra Nath Banerjee (Bengal National Council of Chitpore), Mr. Bepin Behari Ghose (Kalkata), Mr. K. P. Lahiri (Nabagram), Mr. B. K. Sen (Midnapore), Mr. Nirmal Chandra (Calcutta), Mr. Mamata Nath Roy (Kolkata), Mr. R. K. Chatterjee (Santurah), Mr. Satyaditya Ray (Midnapore), Mr. Jyottirasul Banerje (Habibpur), Mr. Parnab Roy (Kolkata), Bhaba Ram Saha, Vakil, High Court, Bhabawabazar.

The following Muslim lawyers of Bengal have suspended practice in accordance with the non-co-operation programme and will devote the whole time for Khilafah work—Four brothers, Muhammed Dyaan, vaki, Burdwan, Syed Aulad Saeed, vaki, Burdwan, Syed Abdul Majid Mubarak, vaki, Syed Muhammad Hossain Mubarak, vaki, Dacca, Dexter Roads, Mohammed Shamsuddin Ahmad, vaki, Calcutta, Vakil, High Court, Bhabawabazar.

Several other well-known Muslim lawyers of Bengal will shortly announce suspension of practice.

Moula Namuddin Ahmad, Chief Deputy Magistrate, has resigned his honorary Presidency Magistrate.

Six more Bengal Non-Muslims have announced their withdrawal from election contest.

MADRAS

Messrs. C. V. Pillay, Chandy, and V. P. Madhavan have withdrawn their candidature for the Indian Legislative Council.

Messrs. K. V. Jayasimha Iyer, Trichinopoly, V. Lakshmanan, Guntur, S. Ethemwanthan Nayanar, Satheur, A. Mudrakkar, Salem, have withdrawn their candidature for the Madras Legislative Council.

The Muslims of Bengal have withdrawn their children from Government or aided schools and started a Muslim National School in accordance with the Khilafah programme.

BOMBAY AND BERAR

The following members of the Congress Democratic Party, who had offered themselves as candidates for council elections on the Deshnak, Karadina and Berar, on behalf of the party. have withdrawn their candidature in the body.

Mysore


Mr. V. R. Patel has resigned his membership of this Imperial Legislative Council and has withdrawn his candidature for the Council of State.

Mr. Venkatesh Mehta, Godhra, has withdrawn his candidature for the Bombay Council.

Messrs. Vailaliyu Patel, Vaidya K. N. Desai has also withdrawn their candidature for the Bombay Council. Mr. Vailaliyu has also suspended his practice.

Mr. G. S. Deshpande and Mr. Mehta of Bengal have suspended their practice. Mr. A. G. Desai of Poona has also suspended his practice.

Mr. H. Desai, Nagpur, has resigned his office of the nominated membership and presidency of the Tafta Local Board of Nagpur in Jaipur.

Mr. J. E. Bhatnagar has resigned his Bombay University Scholarship of Rs. 50 per annum for the post graduate study of Semology.

PUNJAB

Mr. Bakshi Singh and Professor Charan Ram Sahni, who resigned in the title of Ram Sahni, have withdrawn their candidature for the University seat on the Punjab Legislative Council.

Lala Manicka of Ambala has announced the title of Ram Sahni and returned the Kauri blue medal awarded to him. The Punjab Amritsar correspondent writes that the Mahommedi and non-Mahommedi candidates of Amritsar have decided to withdraw their candidature for Council elections in a body.

UNITED PROVINCES

Puccit Murtaza Naqvi has resigned his membership of the U. P. Legislative Council and will not stand for election to any of the new Councils.

Mr. Bhagat Puran Bhargava of Jhansi, also has withdrawn his candidature for the U. P. Council.

Mr. Morar Lal of Gorakhpur has resigned the title of Ram Sahni and has returned the badge and seal to the Chief Secretary U. P. Government. He has also requested the District Magistrate to remove his name from the list of Districts.

Messrs. Syed Mohammad Hossain, and Shah Mahomed, Bareilly, Meerut, have suspended their practice in accordance with the non-co-operation programme.

Mr. Sadeq Mahomed, Barrister, Monghyr has also suspended his practice.

OUR MADRAS AGENTS

Messrs. S. Ganesh & Co. ( 3 Noorvirama Charly Street, Tropilam, Madras) are our authorised Agents for Madras.

YOUNG INDIA
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CONTENTS

FOR SWADESHI WORKERS
The Manager Satyagrahabhram, in his daily
response to inquiries and applications regarding
spinning and weaving. Some want to know how Swa-
deshi factories may be started and how weaving
and spinning may be learnt. Some desire to come
to the Ashram to learn weaving and spinning.
Others ask for teachers to be sent to them.

The manager hopes that the following infor-
mation will obviate the necessity for much cor-
respondence, and that applicants will be saved all
unnecessary inconveniences.

Swadeshi consists in promoting hand-spinning,
hand-weaving and distributing hand-woven yarn
and hand-woven cloth. The first process to learn
therefore is hand-spinning. There is very little
handspun yarn at present available which is fit for
use as warp. The Ashram is therefore conducting a
spinning and weaving school. Weaving may now
be taught until the spinning comes to hand.

All tuition is given free at the Ashram. But all
available accommodation has for the present been
taken up by the existing learners. Intending candi-
dates are therefore requested not to come to the
Ashram for the time being. In fact no candidate
should come without previous permission. We are
endeavouring to provide more accommodation
in due course. Notice will be given as soon as
quarters are ready.

No accommodation is otherwise available. Those
who are permitted to come are expected to bring
with them their bedding and cooking utensils.
There is no arrangement at the Ashram for board-
ing for those who are already provided for.

It is not yet possible for us to send out spin-
ning and weaving teachers and we have too few
peripatetic teaching staff to spare. We are trying
to train more teachers. Meanwhile we may state
that so far as spinning is concerned, in most places
old spinners are still to be found who may be in-
duced to teach. The process is easy to learn. The
chief thing to remember is that spinning can be
said to have been learnt only when standard yarn
is spun. Any thread spun out anyhow ought not to
be regarded as yarn.

Spinning wheels are available at the Ashram.
They are not always ready to stock but they can be
easily provided at Rs. 5-5-0 (salaries extra). The
public are advised not to order many wheels, be-
cause a model being supplied, an ordinary carpenter
ought easily to be able to make a wheel.
SUPPRESSION of material but damaging facts cannot promote friendship but can only make the enmity more deadly for its severity.

In Mr Zafar Ali Khan's case there are two statements which are, so far as I am aware, unquestionable by evidence. These were never set on fire. And there seems to be no warrant for the statement that virgin girls were outraged in Baghdad. I do not know whether Mr Zafar Ali Khan made the two statements imputed to him. I should be sorry if he did. Khulafat workers in particular, and all other workers in general, cannot be too strongly urged to avoid all exaggeration. Facts are always stronger than fictions. The latter hurts a cause in the long run and discredits the speaker. The case against the Government based on proved facts is invulnerable by any means. Public movements will gain greatly when no charge of exaggeration can be sustained against workers.

But the charges that will be and must be admitted by Mr Khan are really from the Government's point of view far more serious, and yet of those charges I am equally guilty with Mr Khan. For instance, the conditions laid down for a hearty reception to H.R.H. The Prince of Wales would be more as they are stated to be by Mr Khan. It is not too true, if the conditions laid down are not fulfilled, that this Empire must perish.

Hitherto the Government has taken no note of speeches advising non-co-operation and containing such demands as are said to have been made or advice is said to have been given by Mr Zafar Ali Khan. And I had begun to think that the Government were adopting the healthy method of allowing such agitation to go on so long as it did not result in violence. I had thought that the Government had ceased to think of persuading a man for expressing his views however extreme they might be so long as they did not incite the people to violence.

But the policy is evidently to be changed. Mr Zafar Ali Khan's speech must have told. He preached against recruiting in the District which provided recruits. And if such preaching is wrong, the Congrat of his speech wrong. Yet surely it is the right of a citizen to warn people against accepting an occupation that is harmful to the people's self-respect or religious honour.

Mr Habib Shah of Baddo had his security forestalled, I suppose, for much the same reason. This kind of repression we must expect as non-co-operation begins to produce its effect. It is clear that success depends entirely upon our ability to carry on our campaign without of repression by way of prosecution of speakers and suppression of newspapers. Such repression must surely come to an end in the near future. And the demands must be repeated not by one man but thousands. Newspaper-men may not feel convinced if their activity is stopped.

Dear to door propaganda, aculets written by the hand and multiplied after the snow-ball process by...
voluntary workers will result in a more concentrated work than newspapers. When the struggle reaches the effective stage even in spite of peace reigning in the land, we must be prepared for provocations and interferences and the like. And the victory will be ours only when the struggle succeeds the repressive stage and makes non-co-operation more popular than ever. For will it not be a conclusive proof of the necessity of non-co-operation with a Government that will suppress even the legitimate aspirations of the people, a legitimate and truthful narrative of facts however disastrous they may be to the Government?

Only we dare not be impatient. Sentiments like the following do not impress me:- 'I have heard that in Bengal a father and son were in the Indian army. They were fighting against the Turks. The son was killed in action, the father carried his body to Bengal. In the way he was told that his son's face had turned into that of a pig.' These sentiments have been put into Mr. Kher's mouth. It is an appeal to superstition. I hope this.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan did not appeal to the sentiments of his audience. The Khilafat agitation is a religious movement. It must be free from all treachery, exaggeration, violence of speech or action, and separation or prejudice. The same itself is truthful, and truth, when self-sacrifice and courage have been applied for vindication has never yet been known to fail.

THE HALLUCINATION OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Much is being said and written against the proposal bycott of Government-controlled schools and colleges. The proposal has been described as most showy, harmful, 'opposed to the best interests of the country' &c. But it is not by any means among its most uncompromising opponents.

I have been trying myself to the best of my capacity in order to discover my error. But the effort has resulted in deepening my conviction that it is sinful to reserve any education under the control of the present Government, no matter how high its quality may be, even if it would be the reverse. When it is tainted with poison, I ask myself why some see the truth of the proposition quite clearly whilst others the accepted leaders, condemn it as an error. The answer I have been able to find is that the latter is not considering the present system of Government as an unmixed evil in the form of do. In other words, the opponents do not sufficiently realize the significance of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs. They do not feel as the others do that these wrongs show conclusively that the sum total of the activity of the present Government is injurious to national growth. I know that there is a serious statement to make. It is much to the fact that Malvanyal and Shastri cannot feel the wrongs even as I do. And yet that is precisely my meaning. I am positive that they will not put their children in a school where there was any likelihood of their becoming degraded. Instead of being elevated, I am equally positive that they would not send their children to a school managed, controlled or even influenced by a robber who had robbed them of their possessions. I feel that the nation's children suffer degradation in the Government schools. I feel that these schools and colleges are under the influence of a Government that has deliberately robbed the nation of its honour, and therefore the nation must withdraw its children from such schools. It may be that some learning even in such schools may be able to resist the progress of degradation. But it cannot be said that government-subsidized schools are going on as schools because some have risen above their environment in my opinion it is self-evident that the honored leaders of the nation to-day do not realize that the Government-controlled schools are tainted in the manner described by me.

It may be urged that the schools are no worse today than they were before the Punjab wrong or the Khilafat breach and that we tolerate them before these events. I admit that the schools are not much worse now than before. But so far as I am concerned, the knowledge of the Punjab and the Khilafat b warp has revolutionized my view of the existing system of Government. My ignorance of its inherent wickedness made the system tolerable to the extent of my not raising against the schools. And that is just the reason why I fear that those who oppose the proposed boycott of the schools on the ground of its harmfulness do not put the same valuation on the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs that I do.

And so I congratulate Messrs. S. B. Thakur, Patel, Thapa, and others on their having given up their colleges even as they were on the point of finishing their education. That is also why I congratulate Messrs. Desai and Patel for their having left their high school. It is perhaps not generally known that these high-spirited girls left the schools of their own accord as a protest against the establishment.
THE MEANING OF THE EMPIRE.
(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following circular has been issued by the Education Department:

"Teachers and Educational officers of this Presidency should be asked to co-operate in bringing about a right understanding of the meaning of the Empire and in dispelling the idea that the Empire is based on force and militarism, by encouraging the parties concerned to look upon each other as brethren in advancement of the liberal arts and mutual friendship and sympathy particularly in India, where a contrary feeling is gaining ground.

It is dated at Poom, the 1st instant.

The circular in my opinion is a triumph of non-co-operation. We have been often told authoritatively that the Empire is based finally on force. When an attempt is being made to isolate this force and to show by not meaning it by force that it is utterly useless when it is not backed by the co-operation, conscious or unconscious, of the people, we have a circular coming upon this teachers to co-operate in showing that the Empire is based not on force or militarism but that it is based on mutual friendship. Thus I consider a triumph of non-co-operation because force resides into the background. Sir Michael O'Dwyer flouted his brute force in the face of the nation, and terrorism was enunciated for a time. It did not answer. Now it is to be covered under soft-sounding phrases. It has been mutilated.

The circular is hypocritical. To talk of friendship and sympathy between conquerors and their victims is to add deception to tyranny. The way out is through non-co-operation.

It is a vain attempt to expect to secure friendship by false pretensions. The honest and only way to secure the real friendship of the people and to prove to them that the Empire is not based on force and militarism is to withdraw the superfluous military force even at the risk of losing the Empire to trust the people, and for Englishmen in general to regard us in every way their equals in thought and in deed. This presupposes the right of the Khilafat wrong in accordance with the Mussalmans sentiment and to give full reparations regarding the Punjab.

But this seems impossible for the general body of Englishmen to do. They have been brought up to work upon us as mere slaves. I write the attention of the reader to the account of the treatment of our countrymen in New Zealand. I cannot conceive anything more wantonly brutal than the dealings of the whitemen of New Zealand. It is not so if the colonists are a depraved people. They are brave, generous, charitable and cultured in their own sphere. But they are thrown off their balance immediately they come in contact with us. We are their natural prey. And culture is no bar to their maltreatment of us even as culture is no bar to the killing even ay of snakes by the majority of mankind. I have not need a far-fetched illustration. Thousands of Englishmen cannot bear the idea of an Indian claiming or living on terms of equality with them. White superiority, as Mr. Andrews has shown, has become a religious. President Kruger used to say that God had ordained Assizes to be white men's slaves. He even introduced this idea in his statute book. He was not the one to be revered. Others believe it, practice it, but would feign break its force by using euphemistic language or words.

It is not possible to blame anybody but ourselves for this badge of inferiority and we alone can remove it by supreme effort.

MR. PENNINGTON'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.
(By M. K. Gandhi)

I gladly publish Mr. Pennington's letter with its appendices just as I have received them. Evidently Mr. Pennington is not a regular reader of 'Young India,' or he would have noticed that no one has condemned mob-outrages more than I have. He seems to think that the article he has objected to was the only thing I have ever written on General Dyer. He does not seem to know that I have endeavoured with the utmost impartiality to examine the Jallianwala massacre. And he can see any day all the proof adduced by my fellow-commissioners and myself in support of our findings on the massacre. The ordinary readers of 'Young India' know all the facts and therefore it was unnecessary for me to support my assertions otherwise. But unfortunately Mr. Pennington represents the typical Englishman. He does not want to be unjust, nevertheless he is rarely just in his appreciation of world events because he has no time to study them except superficially and that through a press whose business is to our only party views. The average Englishman therefore except in personal matters is perhaps the least informed though he claims to be well-informed about every variety of interest. Mr. Pennington's ignorance is the typical of the others and affords the best reason for securing control of our own affairs in our own hands. Ability will come with use and not by waiting to be trained by those whose natural interest is to prolong the period of tutelage as much as possible.

But to return to Mr. Pennington's letter I can only state what he has been brought up to do. He has been brought up to regard his language as a medium, and, it is not the result of his own will. It is the result of his own will. It is the result of the whole action of the Englishman. I have pointed out that there are three main causes of the violence of my language. If truth is violent, I plead guilty to the charge of violence of language. But I could not, without causing violence to truth, refrain from using the language I have, regarding General Dyer's action. It has been proved out of his own mouth or his active assistance.

(1) That the crowd was assuaged.
(2) That it contained children.
Mr. Pennington writes me to publish an exact account of what happened on the 16th April. He can see it in the reports, and if he will patiently go through them he will discover that Sir Michael O'Dwyer and his officials geased the people into inhuman fury—a fury which nobody as far as I am aware has condemned more than I have. The account of the following days is summed up in one word: 'peace' on the part of the crowd disturbed by indiscriminate arrests, the massacre and the seizures of official arms that followed.

I am prepared to give Mr. Pennington credit for seeking after the truth. But he has gone about it in the wrong manner. I suggest he read the evidence before the Hunter Committee and the Congress Committee. He need not read the reports. But the evidence will convince him that I have understated the case against General Dyer.

When I wrote I had described to myself an "I. R. M. Inspectorate of Districts in the South of India before reform, by assassination and otherwise, became so fashionable! I despair of his being able to find the truth in the very thing he wants to examine. It is Parliament's job to make him incapable of finding it. And Mr. Pennington is evidently both wise and 'sensible'! He does this by saying, 'before reform by assassination and otherwise became so fashionable? Is it becoming him to talk of assassination when the school of assassination seems happily to have become extinct? Evidently, he will not see the truth as long as they pretend their vision to be blinded by arrogant assumption of superiority or ignorant assumption of infallibility.'

MR. PENNINGTON'S LETTER

To Mr. GANDHI

Dear Sir,

I do not take your scheme for "buying out" the Government of India under what seems to be the somewhat less offensive (though more cumbersome) name of "non-co-operation," but I have always given you credit for a genuine desire to carry out revolution by peaceful means and am astonished at the vivacity of the language you use in describing General Dyer on page 4 of your essay of the 16th July last. You write by saying that he is "innocent of the worst offences," and so forth. I am inclined to agree, though there has been no proper trial of anyone it is impossible to apprehend their guilt, but then you say "his brutality is unmitigated," "his neglect and self-indulgence was quite apparent," "he has failed in a hundred cases of men and children mostly murderously killed, a rebel army." He believes himself to be the master of the Punjab in that he was able to show down like rabbits men who were feared in no one area, such a man is surely to be considered a colossus. There was no bravery in his sequel. He can run no risk. He shot without his eightineight opposition and without warning. This is not an act of judgment. It is an act of treachery in the face of armed occupation. It is proof of extreme cowardice and heartlessness."
was present at a revellers' Bahr on that dreadful day and dreadful evening for General Dyer for whom you show so much sympathy, and therefore cannot know for certain whether the crowd was or was not 'massed'. That it was an illegal, summary, a 'prohibited', assembly is evident, for it is absurd to suppose that General Dyer's 10 hours march, through the city that very morning, during the whole of which he was waving the red flags against the danger of any sort of gathering, was not thoroughly well known. You say they were 'most unkindly disabled men' that gave no proof and the idea of holiday gatherings at Amritsar just then is incredible. I cannot understand your asking such a suggestion; General Dyer was not the only officer present on the scene and it is impossible to suppose he would have been allowed to go about, into so tumultuous a crowd of holiday makers. The Residency has to carry out what might have been better and certainly a more sensible way.

I mean that you never even allude to the frightful brutality of the mob which was immediately responsible for the punitive measures reluctantly adopted by General Dyer. Your sympathy seems to be only with the murderers, and I am not so much inclined to suppose that my view of the man will have much influence with you. Still I am bound to do what I can to get at the truth, and develop a way or some reason I have had occasion to make. If you can promote as good account of what happened at Amritsar on the 10th of April, 1919 and the following days, especially on the 13th, including the demonstrations in favor of General Dyer, (if there was one) I, for one, at much more after the truth, should be very much obliged to you. More especially is it not very strange you so often observe in your generally reasonable paper.

Yours faithfully,
J R Pennington
15 Victoria Rd, Worthing
374A, C.P., Calcutta
3rd May (29)

IS INDIA WORTH KEEPING?
(By Mr. J R Pennington)

That depends on how we govern India, and Mr. Balfour's account of how we govern it is one approximately correct is not so much a question of 'how' we govern India, but whether we have any right to go on governing (or ungoverning) it at all. Neither Mr. Balfour nor the Lord Chancellor has any first hand personal knowledge of the country and its peoples, and one who spent the best years of his life in India and has studied the subject over more than 20 years ago, I should like to make it quite plain that we should not dare to keep the country on the 'provisional' method and could not keep it on any such terms. I will also admit that there is a great deal too much material in ordinary things, but I altogether deny that such methods have been commented on by our Government over more than the days of crying when equal justice for both races was refused as the red men of all. We are all as anxious for the good name of England as Mr. Balfour is, and most of us agree that Indians and English are fellow-subjects of the King-Emperor and absolutely equal before the law, but unfortunately, there are still some racial discriminations prevailing, and not every Englishman is prepared to reserve his Indian fellow-subject on anything like equal terms. And yet, unless he does so, the new reforms cannot possibly work and may in the middle.

What we want is justice and good government all round for both, as for Indians for General Dyer as well as for his opponents. So far it seems he said that he has been either acquitted or convicted, and the only literal impartial jury has been very imperfectly considered in this case, the two Houses of Parliament, have been almost equally divided in opinion; I think, because the facts have never been fairly and fully laid before them. It is true that his opponents thought he had committed a grave error of judgment and was not fit to be employed again, but I doubt if any jury would have come to that conclusion if the case had been properly tried. What the Indians had to expect was clear from the demonstration to his honour at Amritsar itself immediately after the very drastic treatment of the crowd by the Jallianwala Bagh.

This has been made of the General's unquenched remark that he had determined to teach the people of the Punjab generally a lesson, and too little attention has been paid to the Government the Government has received, of which he was the representative.

It has been argued indeed that after the outbreak on the 10th April the men of Amritsar were quite for two days, the 11th and 12th, but it must be remembered that General Dyer arrived with his small force on the afternoon of the 11th and the rebels (for it was a rebellion, not a semi-riot, would naturally have had to reconsider their position). Mention the news of their rebel leaders at Amritsar on the 15th had spread to Lahore and the surrounding neighborhood, and on the 11th (or 12th) a most important passion was issued in the Capital itself as follows:

When the news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest reached Amritsar, the Dandia Punj (hedgehog Army) of the brave Sikhs, angered by the Hindu to the Bank of England, and Eastern Power House, I say out the telegraph wires and the railway line. The Dandia Punj of Amritsar bravely killed a number of European monkeys and their Sikh members have been cleared of desertion. O Hands, Makanwali and Nak Jatt were shot at once in the Dandia Army and fight with horsemanship against the English monkeys. God will grant you victory.

The very general effect of this proclamation would be to encourage the rebels in Amritsar who had by this time discovered the weakness of General Dyer's force. Hence the childish (crying, etc.) with which his proclamation was received, and the rebels counter-proclamation to the effect that he would not dare to fire on the crowd and that a more likely would be held in the ill-conceived Jallianwala Bagh that very afternoon in spite of him. That was nothing less than a declaration of war, and surely justified the rule's drastic procedure. General Dyer had spent six hours in the meeting parading the town and Destroying people that every sort of meeting was absolutely prohibited and would be disapproved by force. Any further
parlaying with much a dangerous ordeal as that of the
Julias's trial. Both evidently was, would certainly have
been taken as an act of weakness and might easily have
resulted in the destruction of his small force, by the mere
weight of numbers, and for greater loss of life than in an
American riot, to say nothing of the loss of the city
and other barracks.

That was evidently the view taken of the case by the
sorcerers and loyal constituents, obviously sticks, when they
demonstrated in favor of General Dyar immediately after
these tragic events and when everyone was familiar with
the facts of the case. Whether the army continued longer
than was absolutely necessary or not is a question it
is impossible for anyone to answer except those who
were face to face with the mob and able to judge of its
demise and the surrounding circumstances. Briefly
all those present agreed with General Dyar, or some
one, (even the native troops,) would have objected to
being infected in what might in that case be un-
fairly called a massacres.  *

When it is objected that General Dyar thought too
much of maintaining the lawless elements in the Punjab
usually it seems to be forgotten that the immediate
object was to make sure of the capture of a still dangerous
element in Amritsar itself and to prevent any riot
from further violence.

Lastly, punitive measures, however severe, are not to
be confused with massacres such as that of Guleria, at
Bartholamew, and the massacre of the labourers at the
National Congress party 1 Indian 1 previously confused
them.

ANTI-INDIANISM IN NEW ZEALAND.

A correspondent from New Zealand who has himself
gone through similar experiences there and has been in
that colony for a number of years, has sent to
"Navjivan a graphic account of the Indian condition
there. As it is a telling account and bears
intentional evidence of truthfulness, we give below
the substance of the account from the pages of
"Navjivan.---

There is a population of nearly 1,990 Indians in
New Zealand, 75 are from the Sarat District of
Saratg, the rest from the Punjab. Among a few
traders the majority are labourers. Till recently the
condition was tolerable but difficulties have now
commenced. From the beginning of this year to
the time of writing, 1400 Indians have entered New
Zealand. Of these 600 are from Punjab and 171 Indians.
More are still coming to the Chinese pay a poll-tax of
500 each, Indians being British subjects are
exempted. The incoming of the Amritsar provides
daily food for the newspapers. They meet the
white people by all kinds of anti-Indian writing.

The result is that the White Colonists look
down upon the Indians. They cannot secure labour
and when they do, difficulties are put in their ways.

Last week seven Indians entered Auckland. They
took up a contract for road repairs in Christ's
Church. They commenced operations in due course.
The white labourers on seeing them working on
public roads struck work. The white engineers also
decided to suspend the Indian work and agitated
for the cancellation of the contract given to Indians
and for a stipulation that no Indian would be given
such work in future.

A Gujarati young man was working in a hotel in
Christchurch. The manager acted in such a
barbarous manner that the poor man had to leave.
He became a newspaper vendor. The first day passed
peacefully enough. On the second day appeared a banner
placard containing the head line Bombay comes as a paper boy. The article severely criticized the employment of the youth. On the third day the
manager decided to sell him the newspapers.

Last Thursday eight Indians were employed in
another town for trimming hedges. After finishing the
work they went in search of other work to Masterton. They could not find a landlord who would let a house to them. So the poor men went to Carterton. With difficulty they were able to hire a
village cottage. But hardly had they been in it for half an
hour when from 70 to 80 Europeans went there and
asked them peremptorily to vacate it. They used the
most abusive language against them which is
unmentionable, called them all sorts of names and
told them if they did not voluntarily leave the
house, they would be forcibly ejected from it.

The poor men remained still. Upon this the Euro-
peans were further enraged and fell upon them.

At last two Police came and asked the Euro-
peans to desist, told them not to harm the Indians
and warned them of the legal consequences of the
act. The mob retired. We will brave any danger
in order to drive these Indians out.
INDICTMENT OF MR. ZAFAR ALI KHAN

COFY.

In the Court of the District Magistrate, Campbellsport, Aboye.

King Emperor Versus Zafar Ali, son of Sirajuddin Ahmed, some Minto Regut, resident of Khambhaloo, District Gejwana. Charges under Sections 124 A and 153 I.P.C.

Complained by Hafiz Ismail-ul-Haq, Deputy Saphi of Ela. The complaint of the above-named complainant respectively.

1. That on or about the 14th August 1920, the named Zafar Ali, then a native of Aboye, District Aboye, gave utterance to a speech, in the course of which the following words or words to the following effect were spoken, namely:

(1) We are those Muslims who are Muses to Europe and we feel that God has made us the conquerors of all the non-believers.

(2) If the Peace of Versailles is coming to India, it should be done without our consent, as it is our delivery.

(3) Refuse to intercede with Khilafat.

(4) We shall not go to the English Missionaries.

(5) Bengalis and Hindostanis should remain in their own post.

2. That on or about the same date, in the course of the same speech, the following words or words to the following effect were spoken, namely:

(1) All Europe will be ours.

(2) We are going to make a speech to the English Missionaries.

(3) We are going to make a speech to the English Missionaries.

3. That the above words were spoken in a manner calculated to cause the feelings of enmity between different classes and different races of the nation.

4. That the order of the Local Government under Section 156 of the Code of Criminal Procedure is attached.

To be therefore prayed that the accused be dealt with and punished accordingly, to be

Deput Campbell, S.D. Ismail-ul-Haq,
15th day of September 1920.

WITHDRAWING FROM COLLEGE

We last received the following for publication.

To,

The Principal,
Gujarat College, Ahmedabad

Sir,—We, the undersigned, beg to state that we have been fully convinced of the doctrine of non-co-operation passed unanimously by the National Congress to get the justice to the Punjab and Khilafat quarters by obtaining full self-government. The action has been taken, and now becomes a national duty to carry out its programme. We, therefore, see no longer excuse or persuade ourselves to receive instructions or degrees through Government colleges. It is no longer honorable to receive any favour at the hands of a Government which has done everything to humiliate and degrade India in every way possible. Therefore, we desire that our names should be removed from the college register.

We beg to remain,

Yours obediently,

PETER LEHMAN
S. B. A. History & Economics (Hona)
TRAVEL AMBALAT PRAMIL
S. B. A. History & Economics (Hona)

We have been asked by Swami Satyadev that he has returned from the self-imposed solitude and is now free to undertake preaching non-co-operativism. This present address is as Satyageb Ashram, Saurashtra, B. B. & C. L. By.

At the time of going to the press we received the important news that both Bas Bahadur Babu Dutt Shrikant and Jamnabai Bajaj of G. F. had re-announced their titles as a protest against the Punjab and Khilafat regulations.

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YOUNG INDIA
Published Every Wednesday.
(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

NON-CO-OPERATION IN GUJARAT
Withdrawals from School and Colleages
In addition to the list of withdrawals from election and protest, the following is a list of students and teachers who have withdrawn from their respective colleges and schools:

Withdrawals from the Gujarat College,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Number of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B A Class</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jr. B A Class</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter Arts Class</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Arts Class</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More resignations are expected to follow.

Withdrawals from the Baroda College

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Number of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B A</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter Arts</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Model High School of Ahmedabad, having on its rolls about 1700 students has announced the withdrawal of all government control on it.

A large number of the students of the Proprietors' High School of Ahmedabad, with a roll of over 2000, have requested the authorities of the school to annul their enrolment, and have left the school from government influence, and instead, Mrs. Bapulal K. Shah and Bandrat N. Patel and teachers in the Municipal School No. 6 of Ahmedabad have founded themselves as volunteers.

Volunteers of the Gujarat Students' Mandal have endorsed the non-co-operation resolution and invited the Mandal to free its schools from government influence. The Mandal is seriously considering the matter. The volunteers are very soon starting a new school.

The scheme for a national University is rapidly evolving. It shall go to press in a short time. In the mean time enrolment is being collected for a provisional Arts College which will open its classes in the third week of November.

To
The Director of Public Instruction

Through The Principal, Gujarat College.

Sir,
I have long been thinking of resigning my services as a teacher in the Gujarat College because I felt that the system of Education now in vogue is far from satisfactory. If I did not do so before this, it was only because I did not know how best I could serve my people after resigning my present services. To view the varied injustice done to my countrymen in the Tweeds and the violation of the solemn pledges to the Masudi, I could no longer serve a Government that was not being run in the best interests of my country.

I, therefore, hereby tender my resignation and hope to be released from my duties immediately. Pray allow me to record here my appreciation of the kindly way in which I was treated by my colleagues throughout my service.

I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient servant,

M. S. Patel

To
The Secretary,
Joint Examination Board,
University of Bombay.

Sir,
In deference to the resolution of non-co-operation passed by the special session of the All Indian National Congress, I have the honour to withdraw my application for registration.

I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient servant,

R. H. Latkari
Manager

To, The Editor, "Young India."

Sir,—You will kindly oblige us by publishing the following in your paper.

To, The Principal Baroda College.

Sir, In pursuance to the Congress resolution with regard to non-co-operation, we the undersigned beg to withdraw ourselves from your college. We deem it a national duty to have any co-operation with the British Government and with the hands bloody with the Punjab massacres, and our hearts hardened with total disregard of the religious sentiments of the Muslim world.

Hoping that this will be put on the notice board for the information of other students.

We remain,
 Yours faithfully,

Pundit Ram Prasad Valmiki,
Sr. B A Class, (Librarian, Sanskrit).
THE HALLUCINATION OF LAW-COURTS

By M. K. Gandhi

If we were not under the spell of lawyers and law-courts and if there were no tools to twist us into the unquestioning of the courts and to appeal to our baseless passions, we would be leading a much happier life than we do to-day. Let those who frequent the law-courts—the best of them—bear witness to the fact that the atmosphere about them is fetid. Pitying witnesses are ranged on either side, ready to sell their very souls for money or for friendship's sake. But that is not the worst of these courts. The worst is that they support the authority of a government. They are supposed to dispense justice and are therefore called the palladium of a nation's liberty. But when they support the authority of an unrighteous Government they are no longer palladium of liberty, they are reducing houses to crush a nation's spirit. Such were the martial law-courts and the summary courts in the Punjab. We had them in their darkness, and they were even in normal times when it is a matter of dispensing justice between a superior man and his tenant. This is so all the world over. Look at the trial of an English officer and the farce of punishment he received for having deliberately tortured我名的 negroes at Nurcoo. Has a single Englishman suffered the extreme penalty of the law or anything like it for brutal murder in India? Let no one suppose that these things would be changed when Indian judges and Indian prosecutors take the place of Englishmen. Englishmen are not by nature corrupt. Indians are not necessarily angels. Both succumb to their environment. There were Indian judges and Indian prosecutors during the martial law regime, who were generally guilty of just as bad practices as the Englishmen. Those who tortured the innocent women in Anantapur were Indians, if it was a Boxworth Smith in Mussulman who insulted the women. What I am attacking is the system. I have no quarrel with the Englishmen as such. I honour individuals among them to-day as I did before my discovery of the unsoundness of the existing system. If anything, Mr. Andrews and other Englishmen I could name, are nearer to me to-day than before. But I could not tender my homage even to him who is more than a brother to me, if he became the Viceroys of India I would have shown no rancour if he accepted the office. He would have to administer a system that is inherently corrupt and based on the assumption of our inferiority. Satan mostly employs comparatively moral instruments and the language of ethics, to give his aims an air of respectability.

I have digressed a little for the purpose of showing that this Government, if it was wholly manned by Indians but worked as it now is, would be as intolerable to us as it is now. Hence it is that the knowledge of Lord Shah's appointment to a high office fails to fill me with a glow of satisfaction. We must have absolute equality in theory and in practice and ability to do away with the British connection if we so wish.

But to revert to the lawyers and the law-courts, we cannot gain this desirable state so long as we regard with superstitions awe and wonder the so-called palaces of justice. Let not individuals who get satisfaction of their greed or revenge or their just claims, blind us to the ultimate aim of these courts the perniciousness of the authority of the Government which they represent. Without its law-courts the Government must perish in a day. I admit that under my plan this power of subjugating the people through the courts will still remain even when every Indian lawyer has withdrawn and there are no civil servants in the law-courts. But then they will cease to deceive us. They will have lost their moral prestige and therefore the air of respectability. It is strange but it is true that so long as we believed in the gradual transference of the power of the English to the people, appointments to high posts in the law-courts were hailed as a blessing. Now that we believe that the system is incapable of being gradually melted, every such appointment by reason of its despicableness must be regarded as an evil. Therefore every lawyer, suspending his practice to that extent underlines the prestige of the law-courts and to that extent every suspension is a gain for the individual as for the nation.

The economic drain that the law-courts cause, has not been considered. And yet it is not a trifle. Every institution founded under the present system is run on a most extravagant scale. Law-courts are probably the most extravagantly run. I have some knowledge of the scale in England, a fair knowledge of the Indian, and an intimate knowledge of the South African. I have no hesitation in saying that the Indian is comparatively the most extravagant and bears no relation to the general economic condition of the people. The best South African lawyers—and they are lawyers of great ability—are not charged the fees the lawyers in India do. Perhaps 100 rupees is almost a top fare for legal opinion. Several thousand rupees have been known to have been charged in India. There is something evil in a system under which it is possible for a lawyer to earn from fifty thousand to one lac rupees per month. Legal practice is not only a remunerative occupation. The best legal talent must be available to the poorest at reasonable rates. But we have copied and improved upon the practices of the English lawyer. Englishman find the climate of India trying, The habits acquired under cold and severe climates are retained in India, ample margin is kept for frequent migrations to the Hills and to their island homes and an equally ample margin is kept for the education of an exclusive and aristocratic type for their children. The scale of their fees is naturally therefore pitched very high. But India cannot bear the
heavy drain. We fancy that in order to feel the
effects of these English lawyers, we must charge
the same killing fees that the English do. It would
be a sad day for India if it has to sustain the
English scale and the English tactics so utterly unsu-
suitable to the Indian environment. Any lawyer
looking at the law-courts and the profession of law
from the new points, I have ventured to suggest
cannot keep coming to the conclusion that if he
wants to serve the nation, to the best of his ability,
the first condition of service is suppression of his
practice. He can come to a different conclusion
only if he successfully changes the statement of
facts I have made.

HOW THE VICEBOY DISCHARGES
HIS TRUST
(By M. K. Gandhi)

The reader will find reproduced elsewhere the
Viceroy’s cablegram to Mr. Montagu in relation to
Shrimati Sarojini Naidu’s allegations regarding the
ill-treatment of women in the Punjab during the
Martial Law period as well as Shrimati Sarojini’s
supposed reply. It merits that every responsible
statement made by Her Excellency only strengthens the
opinion of the public that she is totally unfit for the
great trust which has been reposed in her. I do
not wish to add one word to Shrimati Sarojini’s
words in condemnation of the Viceroy’s attitude,
but I would draw the reader’s attention to the
ignorance of some very material allegations that
were made by the Shrimati. Even assuming the
propensity of rejecting the evidence of prostitutes
because they are engaged in an unfortunate traffic
that has Her Excellency so regarding the evidence
of the many women of Muzaffarnagar against
whom, to my knowledge, not a word of reproach
has been whispered, I give below in full the
statement of Gurdev, the widow of Mangal Jat.
That statement was corroborated by several other
women. This is the statement:

One day, during the Martial Law period, Mr.
Besworthy Smith gathered together all the males
of over 18 years at the Jassu Dhub Bungalow, which
was some miles from our village, in connection with the
investigation that went on. Whilst the men were
at the Bungalow, his college and his anubanis,
sent their women to the Bungalow. Mr. Smith
ordered all the women to come out of those houses,
individuals forcing them out with sticks. He made us
all stand near the village Dhar. The women folded
their hands before him. He beat some with his
stick and spat at them and used the foulest and most
unmentionable language. He hit me twice and
spat in my face. He forcibly uncovered the faces
of all the women, brushing aside the veils with his
own stick.

He repeatedly called us bitches, whores, sluts,
and whom’ and said: "You were in the same beds
with your husbands, and why do you not prevent
them from going out to do mischief? Now your skirts
will be locked into by the Police Constables." He
gave me a kick also and ordered us to undergo the
torture of holding our ears by passing our arms
round the legs, whilst being bent double.

This treatment was meted out to us in the ab-
sence of our men who were away at the Bungalow.

If the facts set forth are true can anything be
more brutal or more loathsome? And yet the per-
secutor of the same will probably receive a pension
from the Government Treasury. The curious reader
will find in the evidence collected ample material
in proof of the depravity of the abuser concerned.
The evidence was first collected by Mr. Andrews.
Mr. Lathubar’s M. A. Bar-at-law was specially de-
puted to go to Muzaffarnagar to see the ladies en-
countered, He held a kind of public enquiry which
any body was free to attend.

Mr. Montagu had his attention drawn to these
statements when he hastily reprimanded Shirmati Sarojini
for her so-called recklessness of speech. And it was
due to this that Mr. Montagu promptly ordered an
inquiry. The Viceroy seems quietly to have
ignored the instructions issued to him and has held
an inquiry. He has laid down a new canon of evi-
dence, hitherto unknown and the law upon it that
the evidence of prostitutes is not to be trusted. In
other words, the legitimate corroboration to be drawn
from the sexual pronouncement of prostitutes may
not get justice done to them, unless their com-
plaint is supported by other evidence. Any way
Mr. Montagu has evidently accepted the Viceroy’s
explanation, and we have strengthened the cause
of non-co-operation in India for one man at least
associate himself with a Government that endorses
offences of a most barbarous nature committed
against his own folk by its officers.

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY
(By M. K. Gandhi)

There can be no doubt that successful non-
co-operation depends as much on Hindu-Muslim Unity
as on non-violence. Greatest strain will be put upon
both in the course of the struggle and if it survives
that strain, victory is in certainty.

A severe strain was put upon it in Agra and it
has been stated that when either party went to the
authorities they were referred to Shri Poonish Ali and co.
Fortunately there was a far
better man at hand, Hakanjun Ajaslanah, a devout Muslim who commands the confidence and the
respect of both the parties. He with his band of
workers hastened to Agra, settled the dispute and the parties became friends as they were never before.
An incident occurred nearer Delhi and the same
volunteers worked successfully to avoid what might
have become an explosion.

But Hakanjun Ajaslanah appears to everywhere
appearing at the exact hour as a signal of peace.
Nor can Maumun Shaoakt Ali or I go day after day
And yet perfect peace must be observed between the
two communities in spite of attempts to divide them.

Why was there any appeal made to the authori-
ties at all at Agra? If we are to work out non-
co-operation with any degree of success we must
be able to dispense with the protection of the Government when we quarrel among ourselves. The whole scheme of non-co-operation would break to pieces if our first refusal is to be upon British intervention for the adjustment of our quarrels or the punishment of the guilty ones. In every village and hamlet there must be at least one Hindu and one Moslem whose primary business must be to prevent quarrels between the two. Some times however, even blood-brothers come to blows. In the initial stages we are bound to do so here and there. Unfortunately we who are public workers have made little attempt to understand and influence the masses and least of all the most turbulent among them. During the process of misunderstanding ourselves in the estimation of the masses and until we have gained control over the unruly, there are bound to be exhibitions of hasty temper now and then. We must learn at such times to do without an appeal to the Government. Had we a wise, strong, and just man as a Prime Minister then we might have won the necessary support of the masses.

The union that we want is not a patched up thing but a union of hearts based upon a definite recognition of the indissoluble proposition that Swaraj for India must be an impossible dream without an unsealable union between the Hindus and the Moslems of India. It must not be a mere truce. It cannot be based upon mutual fear. It must be a partnership between equals respecting the r
t

The world is looking to us to show a firm indication of the right line. The French and the English have been looking to us to show the right solution of the Hindu-Moslem problem. The world is looking to us to show our true faith in India.

We would all learn our history if we concluded that because we have quarreled in the past, we are destined to continue unless some strong power like the British keep on by force of arms from flying at each other's throat. But I am convinced that there is no warrant in Islam or Hinduism for any such belief. True it is that religious precepts in both religions have set the one against the other. It is equally true that Muslim rulers like Christian rulers have used the sword for the propagation of their respective faiths. But in spite of many dark things of the modern times, the world's opinion today will be little tolerant for such conversions as it will tolerate foreign charity. That probably is the most effective contribution of the scientific spirit of the age. The spirit has revolutionized every idea notion about Christianity as it has about Islam. I do not know a single writer on Islam who defends the use of force in the proselytizing process. The influence exerted in our times is far more subtle than that of the world.

We believe that in the midst of all the bloodshed, clashes and fraud being reported to on a colossal scale in the west, the whole of humanity is intensely but surely making progress towards a better age. And India by finding true independence and self

development through an indissoluble Hindu-Muslim unity and through non-religious means a unaltered self-sufficiency can point a way out of the prevailing darkness.

RACE-PREJUDICE IN NEW ZEALAND

We published in our last issue a translation of a letter from the New Zealand Government to the New Zealand Times. Another letter from a Gentile Hindu who has been staying in New Zealand for the last four years confirms the general account in the letter published last week and says that the Indians are the best workers of the New Zealand Wintemen in each and every walk of life. The despairs under the clasons' regime the greatest, the bickering union, in fact, a very minor of traders, shopkeepers, and labourers have passed resolutions asking for Anti-Indian exclusion. The resolution was sent to the Government, and many of them have sent deputations to Parliament to urge legislation excluding the Asians.

The correspondent has read a batch of newspaper cuttings on which, we are sorry to observe, there is no indication of the name and date of the paper from which one can have a clear idea of the hight to which anti-Asian feeling has reached.

The general allegations against the Indians are that they invaded the Dominion whilst the soldiers had gone to the front and that having done so they were starving out not only the returned soldiers who have to work without employment but the existing shopkeepers and traders by underselling them. A deputation of Chinese shopkeepers of Auckland waited upon the Deputy-Mayor, and telling him that owing to the way the Hindu traders had cut the prices, it was impossible for them to compete against those coloured people, and the Deputy-Mayor advised them to get the members of Parliament to take up the question with the view to legislation against the unfair competition of Hindus or Chinese store-owners.

They objected to "men being allowed to have shops on wheels at the principal street corners for a penny-a-cent rum, while shopkeepers had to pay heavy rates and taxes." At a meeting of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers' Association, various speakers tried to prove that the Hindus and the Chinese were a menace to New Zealand. A speaker said that the Moslems had taken fruit and naked and exchanged business out of the hands of the men who had come from the East. Another speaker said that owing to Hindu competition returned soldiers were being forced out of the fast-selling industries in the Auckland province. A speaker from Auckland said that his district was overrun with Hindus who were working on farms. Another asserted that a serious organised attempt was being made by the Chinese to capture the fruit and vegetable trade in Christchurch, as it had been captured in Wellington and Auckland, and returned soldiers were asking for protection.

There is however no truth in the allegations about the economic menace. The Indians and Asians are few and far between, and they have not influenced the fate of the returned soldiers. Much of the agitation is due to the insistence of
The Wintome on the principle of a "White New Zealand" more than on anything else as some of the speeches reported in the evening show. "We ought to desire definitely for a White New Zealand, and a speaker at the Conference of the Returned Soldiers' Association, Australia did it, and she never went back. She ought to keep continually urging for a White New Zealand," said Mr. T. Long of the meetings of the Auckland Returned Soldiers' Executive, that it was one of the principle of the original political plank of the Returned Soldiers' Association. But the speech of the Chairman of Auckland Provincial Conference of the Returned Soldiers' Association was more candid and expressing of the true state of things. He said:

"It would not be wise to press the economic side of the argument. It ought not to be influenced by economic consideration against these foreigners. The country has not treated them and the farmers badly. The main point is the overwhelming desire to keep the country white.

And it's the name—born of the term—to keep the country white that is at the back of the Indian law that was in operation against the unfortunate Indians and Chinese in New Zealand. They are refused all employment, all accommodation, or even permission to rent houses. As a result hundreds of Indians in Auckland and Wellington are without homes and work, and on account of great shipping difficulties they are not able to return to India.

THE ARMY COMMITTEE REPORT

F. T. Hughes

The report of the Army Committee appointed last year is now before the country. The Committee was appointed to inquire and report, with special reference to pest control conditions, upon the administration and working of the organization of the Army in India, including all relations with the war-commission and the Indian army, and the relations of the two bodies to each another, to consider the position of the Commander-in-Chief in this dual capacity as head of the army and member of the Legislative Council and to make recommendations, and to consider and report upon any other matters which might be deemed relevant to the inquiry besides summarizing the subjects already above the committee has discussed and made recommendations upon questions relative to the control of the military forces, the control of the administration of the army in India, the regiment and non uniform personnel and duties. The recommendations may be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) Practical Transfer of control of the military policy in India to the Imperial General Staff.

(2) The appointment of the Commander-in-Chief to be virtually the head of the Imperial General Staff.

(3) The abolition of the independent of the Imperial Military Department at the India Office and its subordination to the General Staff.

(4) The creation of the Military Supply Department with a civilian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to firmly operate the proposal balance of rat the Indian members.

(5) The creation of a Defence Committee on which there will be an Indian.

(6) The creation of a military Council with a resident member of the Indian Army to be under the Financial adviser whose may or may not be an Indian.

(7) The creation of four Army commands in India instead of two as at present.

(8) Multiplication of Divisional and Brigade Command.

(9) The leadership of the Indian Army with a great increase in the salary of British officers with salary increase in the case of Indian officers.

(10) Changes in conditions of Army life in India and propaganda of public opinion to make attempts to temper with the loyalty of the troops.

We have related on a previous occasion, in connection with another subject, the history of the military expenditure in India and we need not repeat it here. Suffice it to say that it has been within a breach, a record of foreign aggression and an assertion to satisfy the Imperialist zeal of the British policy in Asia at the cost of the poor Indian tax-payer thereby making it easier and surer for the Imperialists to loot India and "lead her white".

And the main theme of the recommendations of the Army Committee which we have summarized above is to lighten further the burden on India by a more scientific, organized and therefore expensive display of the troops. Viz, the sum of these Imperialists are multiplying so as to bring about and accelerate its own destruction.

THE PROFESSION OF LAW AND WHAT IT MEANS.

[We are indebted for this article to Babu Rajendra Prasad, M. A., M. L., one of the leading members of the Patna Bar, and a member of the Senate and Syndicate of the Patna University. He presented this year's session of the Bihar Provincial Conferences. Needless to say he has decided to resign the membership of the Senate and Syndicate and to withdraw from practice. His impassionate article is a result of his own experiences as the bar—Ed. Y. L.]

Instruction in India is a very expensive affair. The whole system of Law Courts and the method whereby one is enabled to obtain justice requires enormous expenditure—often by the time one gets the fruit of one's action, one has had to spend more than the property in such an amount.

To begin with, the so-called legal charges come to a high figure. The litigant has to pay a pretty heavy court fees for getting justice, and surprising, though it may seem, it is a fact that in some provinces at any rate, judicial stamp is a profitable source of revenue to the Government. In the next place every law court is infested with a number of...
The fee which lawyers charge is out of all proportion to the amount of work done as also to their ability, with that of many compared to other professions. Some lawyers have been known to charge as much as fifty thousand rupees as personal fee that is, for reading the papers of the case which they have to argue. A personal fee of Rs. 5 to 5 per page of the paper is usual as usual charge for first-rate practitioners. In some cases the servants of practitioners who have occupied estate in the High Court Branches have been regularly put to motion for condoning litigants to bid for. Over and above the personal one some lawyers also charge what is called a consultation fee, i.e., the fee which the lawyer in question gets for consulting with other lawyers engaged with him on the same side and for enabling him to clear his own demands and saving his own time by taking notes of cases and precepts set by the junior. The usual fee is Rs. 5/7/- per hour of consultation and in some cases even more. All this is before the case is actually taken up for argument. As the argument a daily fee is usually charged by those who have attained a high standing in the profession & fees of Rs. 610/- per day of 8 to 10 hours’ work in court is now the usual fee. It is also the common practice to charge a full day’s fee even when the case is partly heard for only an hour or less. It very often happens that a lawyer is engaged on the bid of an opponent to the High Court and having argued the case for the opponent, he does not in the Court to listen to the argument of the other side but goes to another Court to argue another case for another fee. And if the party does not hear him in the Court while the adversary is arguing, he is required to pay Rs. 10 per day. It is not an uncommon occurrence that a lawyer engaged by a party is unable to attend the case, as he is engaged in some other court at the time when it is taken up. Some lawyers in such a case refund the fee, but, there are others who would tell the client that what he (the client) engaged for the money he paid was not their service but their chance of appearing, which means in other words the chance of their not appearing on the other side. But this fee becomes really fabulous when a high Court lawyer is taken to a special station. The usual charge with some lawyers is Rs. 500/- for the first day and Rs. 1500/- for each subsequent day. In particular cases even the figure has been exceeded. Even in cases where a lawyer has been engaged by the court the fee has been Rs. 50,000/- & Rs. 60,000/-.

It should not be supposed that the fees charged are at all commensurate with the ability or the labor of the man who is fortunate enough to command it. The difference in ability between one lawyer and another is not as great as to enable one to argue the case to Rs. 1500 and the other to Rs. 150 or less. Even in cases of junior practitioners the disparity between the fee of one man and another is too great to be justified by any standard of comparison of their abilities.
But the worst feature of the system of administration of justice now prevalent in the whole area denominates the people. The Law Courts are largely responsible for the constantly diminishing respect for truth. The law of evidence insists on a standard of proof which can very seldom be satisfied unless it is to lead to prejudice. The habits of the people are not business-like and what they do not take care to perfect in the beginning has to be remedied when the matter goes to a court of law by suborning false evidence. In some parts of the country, every village has its tomb whose sole business and means of livelihood is making people the care of one another. His shifty schemes in getting up false cases, his skill to position in society lies in his capacity to work mischief. The law courts are full of this class of people. If you go to an out of the way village and try to settle a dispute between two parties, you are usually told by witnesses whom you may examine that they will tell the truth as they are not appearing before a court but before a prakas. It may be that respectable lawyers do not actually coach witnesses in false documents, but there can be no doubt that advice on evidence amounts to nothing less than advice to the client—"let this particular class of witnesses, true if you can, but how get them to prove this and that." There is no denying the fact that by suggestion instigation, and inducements, the lawyer indicates what he wants to enable him to plead the case successfully and the client with the help of the court preserves what the lawyer wants. In organizing causes the only limit to which even a respectable lawyer puts, which under professional etiquette he is required to put himself is absolved from false or untrue statement of facts. He is free to put the more absurd interpretation on documents or law provided he can do so with impunity on account of the weakness of the judge or his adversary. And the higher the status of the lawyer the greater the impunity with which he can bamboozle the judge.

Then again, the law and the judge are not free to deal with a case on its merits. The judge can disregard the facts as he likes, but for the law he has to depend not on the acts of the legislature alone but on a large mass of decisions which are not always illuminating or reconcileable. And the greater the number of decisions which a lawyer can skillfully fling in the face of the judge, the greater is his appreciation by the ignant public and the greater are the chances of his confounding the judge.

To add to all this, there are appeals, second appeals, appeals to the Privy Council and so forth, and not infrequently the decisions of true-betters are reversed by the High Courts and again restored by the Privy Council. The frequency of reversals, the want of ability in judges, the presence of ability in lawyers, never leave a litigant without a chance of success and hope eternal springs in human breasts.

He sometimes wills no doubt but he was wise when he has lost all, his money, his honor and his character.

Rajendra Prasad.

MINA NAIDU RETURNS HER MEDAL
Mrs. Naidu has addressed the following letter to the Indian delegation:

COPY.

6, Governor Place,
S W L.
31st August, 1920.

To the Members of the Indian Delegation.

Dear Friends,

Now that the Indian Delegation has added its mission in Europe and in a word, washed, set me to wash you all goodnight, and to thank you for extending to me a Naidu woman—his privilege of sharing your brave and conscious task.

May I beg you to complete your kindness towards me by returning to His Excellency the Vicereine as my behalf the Kaiser-i-Hind Decoration, which I wore with pride for more years, but which, as you are aware, I have always maintained to represent in token of my profound admiration and great at the great betrayal of India and the tragic suffering of the Parsees at the hands of a Government that is made of justice, honor and humanity, existing in the supremacy of a pyramid of broken pledges and bleeding hearts.

Will you convey to the Mussalmans of India the assurance of my loyal devotion that has not faltered through good or evil report, and charge them to remember that the award of Israel can never be blessed inasmuch as the obsequies of a Governmental haram may be in the blood of her holy martyrs shall spring the full harvest of our national freedom.

For myself I have indeed been a dedicated and devoted ambassador, but you have proved yourselves devout and fearless ambassadors of your faith.

Believe me,
Your sincere friend and comrade,
(Signed) Sarjum Naidu.

The following letter was enclosed in the above:

COPY.

6, Governor Place,
S W L.
31st August, 1920.

To His Excellency Lord Chelmsford,
Viceroy and Governor-General of India,

Sir,

I have ventured to depute the Indian Naidu Delegation to convey back to your Excellency the Kaiser-i-Hind Decoration which I am now to wash, but for which I have long felt impelled to resign as one more good and then of my profound admiration and sorrow as the bitter wrongs and sufferings to which my country and my comrades have been subjected.

The history of our years has been an almost unbroken record of pledges wantonly violated, representations cruelly scoffed, and humiliation ruthlessly inflicted on helpless nations, and has now reached its climax in the dual crime of our country to the Indian Mussalmans and bloodguillotees towards the martyred people of the Parsees.

It is therefore incompatible with my conception of honour and humanity able to accept upon the nation and policies of a Government that has put its hand upon the hearts of India, and brought into mockery the high traditions of British justice and liberty.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) Sarjum Naidu.
Dear Sir,

Your Secretary's letter of 24th August, pinching at your discretion the preface of the Government of India's telegram, has only just reached me. I can't return from the country, or I should have answered it there before.

I note that it has also been communicated to the Free Press, but apparently not without being accompanied by the previous correspondence between us, which is essential to a proper understanding of the whole matter.

I can hardly believe that the Government of India's telegram is a mere preface to a refutation of charges against the government's conduct of the Indian administration, for it seems to us that your previous correspondence with the Free Press, in which we have already expressed our opinion, is sufficient to enable you to write a proper letter.

I am surprised that such an omission is left unexplained by the Free Press, who have been so brutally honest in their treatment of the Indian Government. No doubt, it is not the Indian Government's conduct that is at issue, but the manner in which the charges have been made and the evidence adduced in support of them.

With regard to your request to see the true document, I am afraid it is impossible to do so. I can only say that the charges are not true, and that the evidence against me is weak and unreliable.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) Sambhunath Mitra.

COPY FROM VIGILANT, HOME DEPARTMENT,
12th August, 1909.

J. & F. 0381.

Debts of the Government of India to the Bank of England. The amounts of debt due to the Bank of England are not as large as they appear to be, for the Bank has been consistently charging high interest rates. The real amount of debt is much less than the figures published.

On the other hand, the Indian Government has been consistently paying high interest rates to the Bank of England. The real amount of debt is much greater than the figures published.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) Sambhunath Mitra.
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Young India

Published every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

New Series

Vol. II No. 41

Ahmedabad Wednesday, October 21st, 1930

Page Two Anna

For Copy.

CONGRESS LEAD

MERCHANDISE AND NON-CO-OPERATION

The following appears in the Congress Report:

To move in the course of the resolution of the Special Session of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, we bring to your attention the instructions of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, for the formulation of a new constitution, whereby the power to elect a representative be given to the Provincial Councils and the Legislative Assembly, and all those who desire to seek election through the Provincial Councils, to withdraw their candidatures and if they do not do so, we inform them hereby that they will not be our representatives. We do not desire to be represented in any great number of Assam.

(End of Signature of 88 names and four Assam)

TRIGGON GRADUATES MANIFESTO

The following manifesto appears in the Hindu:

We, the undersigned graduates of the Madras University, residing at Trichinopoly, hereby declare our willingness to extend the franchise to the University Senate of the Madras Legislative Council in view of the resolution on Non-Co-operation by the Congress passed by the recent Special Congress and request all the Congresses for the election to withdraw their candidates and also request all the other Congresses to refrain from voting.


The following resolution has been passed by the Madras District Congress Committee:

Wholly supporting the Non-Co-operation Resolution passed by the Special Session of the Congress in September 1930, the Committee would urge that a separate vote shall be taken immediately for waging out the following items of the program:

1. Boycott of the Councils
2. Striking of all national goods, by stopping their production and using the goods of the community, etc.
3. Striking of National Schools

CHARAKHA PRIZE

We are told to announce that a prize of Rs. 100 (five hundred) will be awarded to the maker of the best charakha wheel. All the competitors should bring their wheels at the Satyagraha Ashram a few hours before the date fixed by the committee.

1. An abstract person making on that day the wheel shall be able to give 30 2 4 minute action per eight hours.

2. The wheel must not exceed 48.

3. It should be not unlike in size to the possible of a Satyagraha material.

4. A village wheel shall not be able to win a prize.

5. The method of the wheel shall have to be fixed by the judge in favour of the public.

6. Any candidate who thinks that the winner shall be more over and above the price, the price of the

Manager Satyagraha Ashram.

THE SHINNING WHEEL COMPETITION

On October 10, 1920, 5 candidates had arrived at the Satyagraha Ashram to compete for the prize. A day later, on October 11, a gentleman from Lucknow with last name also was admitted as a candidate. Another artist from Saraband, Mr. Chandran, had written to say that an accident of the wheel he made improved upon his handicap and therefore the time limit should be extended. The boys of Satyagraha presented the following grating.

1. Mr. Upadhyaya Radhakrishna, a self-made artist.
2. Mr. Chakravart, Marginal Business, New Delhi.
3. Mr. Mandal, Radhakrishna, Madras.
4. Mr. Chakravart, a self-made artist from Saraband.

The six competitors were divided into two groups and were divided into two groups. Each group then had to make a wheel and the one that was closest to the original design was declared the winner. The prize money was Rs. 100, but the winner was not able to claim the prize.

A Bengali craftsman had brought a wheel, presented by Prof. D.C. Mallick of the Hindu University. It was an imitation of the wheel of a jute mill, but it had to be improved. The invention of Mr. Lalit ESTEEM, a drawing-board, was modified to be only an imitation of the jute wheel, and hence it was incomplete.

The two remaining wheels, however, were more successful attempts and the former they underwent closer examination by the commissioners. One of these was made by Mr. Mistry of Gujar. His wheel consisted of 2 parts and the look of a miniature mill-machine in a hub. It produced 3 strokes of yarn.
Young India.
Ahmedabad, November 1, 1920

IN CONFIDENCE

(To H. K. Gandhi)

I receive so many letters questioning me regarding my stay in London and the impression thereupon. It is, however, true that I have never visited London in my life, and all my impressions of the city are derived from the writings of Young India.

The world in Satyagraha corresponded to the beliefs of Brahmacharya in its spirit and the latter means much more than charity. But in my means perfect control over all the senses and organs. For a perfect Brahmacharya nothing is impossible. But it is not an easy state which can be realized in a short time. It is almost like the Englishman’s ideal, which exists only in imagination, not as a definite state.

In my perfect Brahmacharya I exist only in imagination, but it is not a state which can be realized in a short time. In my perfect Brahmacharya is the greatest perfection. And for the future I propose to confine myself to Brahmacharya in the sense of celibacy. I hold that a life of perfect continence in thought and action is necessary. I am constantly in search of spiritual perfection.

And a nation that does not possess such men is in the poorest for the worst. But my purpose is to plead for Brahmacharya in the present stage of national evolution.

We have more than an ordinary share of disease, famine, and starvation—seven million lives were lost in one great famine. We are being ground down under slavery in such a subtle manner that the blind of us refuses to recognize it as such, and make our state one of progressive freedom in spite of the triple curse of economic, mental and moral drain. The overgrown military expenditure and the immense need for public money to benefit Landshofter and the British interests, and the extravagant manner of running the various departments of the state constitute a tax on India which has deepened her poverty and reduced her capacity for national survival. The burden of administration is too heavy for the masses to bear, and the result of apathy for the intolerable attitude of the public is the result of apathy.

We are not to be found in the conditions of our correspondents that are willing to make Brahmacharya a mouthful that is not to be understood by the people, as we shall accordingly communicate it to the public.

M. G. S.
S. G. Shastriwala

November 1, 1920

Young India.
I now place before the reader a few simple rules which are based on the experience not only of myself but of many of my associates.

(1) Boys and girls should be brought up simply and naturally in the belief that they are and can remain honest.

(2) All should abstain from lusty and stimulating foods, and from sweets and concentrated foods such as fritters, sweets and fried substances.

(3) Husband and wife should occupy separate rooms and avoid intimacy.

(4) Both husband and wife should be constantly and healthily occupied.

(5) Early to bed and early to rise should be scrupulously observed.

(6) All maid-servants should be avoided. The multitude of maids reflects on thoughts.

(7) Theatre, cinema etc. which tend to stir up passion should be avoided.

(8) Natural garments should be worn and no unseemly note should be given.

A cold bath, every time, in a fairly strong person is the finest preventive to such excesses. It is wrong to say that moderate indulgences is a safeguard against extravagant actions.

(9) Above all one must not consider any woman even as between husband and wife to be so difficult as to be practically impossible. But the contrary self-restraint must be considered to be the ordinary and natural practice of life.

(10) A heart-felt prayer every day for purity makes one progressively pure.

ENSLAVING THROUGH SLAVES

In one of his recent speeches Mr. Michael Alli told us in an Egyptian hotel in London, who was equally informed of the massacres at Jallianwallah, and the Punjab atrocities we are made angry and anxious. Verily India deserves all that, for she is helping the British in imposing slavery on us. We wonder if the Egyptian was quite satisfied to reproach a whole nation in the way he did, when we remember that a slave nation as we are we have been known and unwilling agents in the task of humiliation and sinlessness. But now that the whole nation is awakening to a consciousness of its strength and we know of the bloody tragedy that is being enacted in Mesopotamia, it would stand to us never declaring slavery and humiliation if we continued for a moment longer to be party to such brutality.

The Nation received by the list must have an article the contents of which must make us hang down our heads in shame in as much as a number of our countrymen in Mesopotamia, who are either combatants or non-combatants are helping in what the paper calls an act of ‘perjury’. For perhaps it is to promise a population its freedom and then to hang and shoot men for refusing until you have the whole country in a state of war. In a few clear and direct statements supported by weighty authority, the Nation accuses us of the wondrous acts of murder and humiliation, and of the monstrous ‘sacrifices of life, fame and treasure’ in Mesopotamia. In helping to organise the Arabs’ political and economic life, the British officials ‘have

what relations make it a religious duty to teach innocent children that they are to be married when they reach a particular age. They are brought forward when they are infants or even before in many cases. The dress and the food of the children are also used to stimulate passions. We dress our children like dolls or for their beauty and vanity. I have brought up children by the score. And they have with them difficulty taken to being delighted in any dress given to them. We provide them with all kinds of heating and stimulating foods. Their minds are kept on the most vivid imagery of their capacities. The result undoubtedly is an early adolescence, an immature pregnancy and an early grave. Parents furnish an object lesson which the children easily grasp. By repressed indulgence in their passions they serve for their children as models of unrestrained licentiousness. Every unnecessary addition to the family is desired as a means to gratify the pleasure of joy and fancying. The wonder is that we are not less restrained than we are, not withstanding these surroundings. I have not a shadow of doubt that the married people if they wish well to the country and want to see India become a nation of strong and hardy full-formed men and women, they would practice perfect self-restraint and pass to prosecute for the time being I tend this advice even to the newly married. It is easier not to do a thing at all than to cease doing it, even as it is easier for a life habitant to remain teetotaller than for a drunkard or even a temperate man to abstain. To remain erect is infinitely easier than to rise from a fall. It is wrong to say that excesses can be safely preached only to the initiated. There is hardly any meaning in preaching continence to an unchaste person. And my point is that whether we are young or old, satisfied or not, it is our duty at the present moment to suspend bringing forth heirs to our slavery.

May I point out to parents that they ought not to fail into the argumentative trap of the rights of partners. Consent is required for indulgence, never for restraint, and this is an obvious truth.

When we are engaged in a death struggle with a powerful government, we shall need all the strength physical, mental and moral, and spiritual. We cannot gain it unless we husband the one thing which we must prize above everything else, with out this personal purity of life, we must remain a nation of slaves. Let us not deceive ourselves by imagining that because we consider the system of government to be corrupt, Englishmen are to be despised as contemporaries in a race for personal virtue. Without making any spiritual parade of the fundamental virtues, they preserve them at least physically in an abundant measure. Among those who are engaged in the political life of the country there are too nobles and squatters than among us. Spinetists among us are practically unknown except the men who have no impression on the political life of the country. Whereas in Europe thousands stand gallery as a common virtue.
been so successful in that task that seven times as large a force as the Turks kept in Mesopotamia is found to be too small to maintain order. To keep Africa we are spending on this war against three millions of Arabs more than we spend on the education of the British people. Thousands of lives British and Indian, will be sacrificed, and every death in Mesopotamia has directly at the door of Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues. These methods of conduct on a war footing are a stain both against the British & the Indian nations in as much as they have never been used by either of the two. But they also are a stain against humanity and Christianity, as the Vice-Consul Lawrence, who knows the modern Arab of the Middle East better than any other European man, declares that these methods have brought the methods of General Dyer quite again from Col. Lawrence articles in 'The Times', the 'Nation', 'The Times', have been in use ever since we have been told, one administration more bloody and inhuman than the public knows. It is a disgrace to our imperial record and any soon be too ill-defiled for any ordinary cure. There have been, the Nation goes on, 'Hunions known impostors enough -through and the Legation of Khartoum, but even one-handled. I would be a little shocked to learn that Arabs were actually deported from Mesopotamia in order to secure a base for Great Britain.'

The Congress rightly included in the Resolution of Non-co-operation, inhuman usage of a contingent as soldiers, civilian and labourers in Mesopotamia. Cirencester as we are it is impossible for us to withdraw the soldiers, civilians and labourers that are already there helping in the righteous task of gunning from a proud and noble race. It is impervious that in accomplishment of so-invaluable an if for nothing else, we must stand as brother to brother with the Mussulman in their fight for the honour of Islam which is a fight for the liberty of the Arab, and for the religious liberty of the whole Moslem world. And having named we may not add to our store of sin by hinting in or even suggesting the wording of recourses that unfortunate lack for any purpose whatever.

THE BRITISH GUIANA COLONISATION SCHEME

(By Mr. H. A. Chatel.)

So far, no public announcement has been made of the personal of the Deputation, to be appointed by the Government of India for the purpose of making a report to the Select Committee of the Indian Legislative Council, on the subject of introducing the scheme for the settlement of Indians in British Guiana. It would seem that there has been a need for some such investigation to view of certain facts that have appeared in the local press. It might be noted, in the first place, that Mr. J. A. Lockhart, the principal Indian Member of the Colonisation delegation to India, has resigned his Fellowship of the British Guiana Indian Association, whose headquarters are at Georgetown. It will be remembered that Mr. Lockhart and his Indian colleagues issued a pamphlet purporting to be published under the auspice of the British Guiana Indian Association, in which the Colonisation Scheme was strongly recommended. Most serious objections were taken by the Association to the wrong use to which its name had been put. It passed a resolution, which was circulated in India in which the pamphlet was disapproved of and condemned as being not a genuine Scheme of colonisation because of Labour importation, which is a quite different matter altogether.

Upon Mr. Lockhart's return to Georgetown, it would seem from newspaper reports that I have received that, he informed, in his capacity as President, a meeting of the Association that he took an active part in the task for this resolution. He informed the meeting that unless the resolution was rescinded he would have no option but to resign his office as President. After an animated discussion, however, the Association decided that it would not withdraw the resolution, by which it was prepared to stand and as a result, Mr. Lockhart has been replaced in the Presidency by Mr. J. V. Greaves, a well-known local Solicitor, who was the Senior Vice President.

From this episode, it seems, fairly clear that Indian opinion in British Guiana remains hostile to the Scheme so eloquently advocated by Mr. Lockhart, and I may add that I have independent evidence, both from British Guiana and from this country, that the Association's view of the real character of the so-called Colonisation Scheme is well based.

From certain incidents that have occurred in the Colony of late, one is justified in drawing the deduction that everything is not so very clear as it has been represented to be said that the economic situation is far from being as bright as we have been led to believe. For example, on the 17th July, 500 Indian immigrants returned to India by one steamer. It seems a disproportionately large number. Then, too, writers to the 'Daily Argus' draw particular attention to the number of houseless and destitute beggars in Indian route now seen about the streets of Georgetown, and local Indians have started a subscription list to erect a shelter for these destitute people. The 'Daily Chronicle' of July 1, reports that the whole of the Indian Labourers on one estate went on strike for increased wages. They complained that they were shipped into working for a miserable weeklyittance of 1-25 Bol. ($144 Bol) and when they rebelled against this, their wives were assaulted by the overseer. It seems very improbable that Indians, coming to the Colony under the Colonisation Scheme, will fare appreciably better than their countrymen and women already there, and having regard to the way in which the latter are apparently treated, it would seem very desirable that India should institute long before sending any more of her children to the Colony.
PANDEIT MOPILAL ON LAW COURTS

A SPEAK LINDON

Last week we published, from the pen of Pandit Ramaswami of Madura, an able and thoughtful article on the functioning of Indian lawyers and the need for reform. Pandit Mopilal Nataraja, our respected president of the Indian Bar Association, has now written a article in the same vein. He has dealt with the question of the law courts and the need for reform. His article has been published in the Madras Law Journal. There is no difference of opinion as to the desirability of having well-drafted laws and having the advice of learned men in all matters affecting the public interest. You may be in favor of the policy of non-co-operation but it is impossible to support it in all matters affecting the public interest. You may be in favor of the policy of non-co-operation but it is impossible to support it in all matters affecting the public interest.
time and experience show as the width or un-

Meanwhile let us combine our energies and make

a united and determined endeavor to achieve what

we are all agreed is worth achieving.

The increase of litigation is one of these things

which we are all interested in combating, against

I am unable to give any assurance of all shades of

political opinion to you as a holy war against

that will very specially appeal to our constituents

of all grades to take their rightful places at the

head of the instrument and the campaign

within their respective spheres of influence. By

just as they would be uplifting the best tree

from the forest, being those whose profession to which they

belong. But these activities must be kept

from the best tree from the forest, by being those whose profession to which they

belong. But these activities must be kept

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among the best trees from the forest, by being those whose profession to which they

In still moisture enough in the earth for the need to germinate. If there is too little moisture the seed will germinate and after coming up will either before the growth of the seedling do or cut away by the wheats means. If the results will last the seed will be dormant in the earth and another culture and sprouting up when it is the less for it to make proper growth, will be injured by the winter months. Consequently, after having a summer crop or in the vicinity of the farms of the upper hills will eagerly for the rain which, coming, in the early month, makes possible the sowing of the wheat and barley crops; and as soon as they expand all these efforts in getting the work completed before the harvest has ever started, be absolutely done this take up their time that the vast have to be gathered by moonlight and all sorts. The other farmers of the family is doubtless left after their supply glut in the market and the impossibility. This makes it largely employed before the frost sets in after the winter snows, the winning qualities. Other important things to people at which no can be enumerated but which render each individual present at the meeting of the welfare.

4th 113

This was the time which the Famine Party in the country of the friend, and the following were the results. When the government was in a condition to work, and every one was ready. The result would be good and will be before winter and there was seriously the prospect of plenty of stock and barley in the spring. They came to the market for the winter's needs, and to the land I was to help.

I believe, on account of this country at the still under the control of. I have appointed the Hon. Mr. and the get to work many hired hands. up the line. Yes, there are more men from each house, in the whole community along the line from 12 to 15 miles, ready to get the work done and many men to have to have the hands of the bosses are requisitioned and kept at the same time, measured with the waiters. At the end of the winter I was informed there were still another queue, in addition to the hired hands, which the farmers were required to furnish from their houses. One of the farm men, whose farm survived, was about a month behind me with some other boys who had been determined for about eight days when the parties were in rush. I was expected to the another two days in preparation for their return and I should.

I have been asked whether my pay was the first thing I did? Yes, it was. I have been asked whether I was paid. Besides, it was not asked in this question. I put to 550 thirty men along the route from Neal to Lake in the wagon was used by all of them that thought the brick had given up, was a case of the money received was uncertain and I feared also of numerous acres where the ploughing and moving had come to a standstill.

DEMETRIUS VILCICH

In Kansas the same conditions prevailed, but the demands on the time and services of the people were greater and a heavy fine was exacted from these families which would not send them. About 300 farmers were kept away from their fields in Arkansas in ensuring the comfort of the Famine Party from damage.

I was not personally at Bogota but had made careful arrangements for people to meet with the arrangements. Apparently one man from each house in Texas and Arizona had to be present there to counter to the National Party. I ask that at this time many of the farmers are kept from their work. The report is lost but none of them have made the number of the families they where then those there in the end. The letter of course below, as the other, and were very probably being paid for, but the farmers are in receiving no compensation for the hard labor which they supplied and the complaints were deep in the Congressional farmers and it is C. A. A. T. and C. A. N. and C. A. N. and C. A. N. The people, though few, have decided to make their lives and the area, are still capable of the news. It may be well to tell all that the facts do not lie with it remained on the hands of the states in which the damages to the cotton industry. It is the right of the home state to control the land. The real states in a complete race. It was put natural with the federal government and responsibility in each state. But in the history of the country I believe the people in those states in this reverse. If they have not returned all I have at his name and the hands of the people.

THE OIL LADY CALIFORNIA

The image of his mind bore the burden of the state without the same. It was natural that they could control it. In the larger states the problems were many, if only for years. The oil of the old state was a long time after felt begin responsibility in the hands of the public, and the land. The Smiths were the most highly public in the world. If they could for a moment in the public, they could not legally do it. Also, they could not. It is well to see the scenes of the public, from the town up to the city, and move on past them. I believe I have to do so. It is important that the public is not frightened to correct the case and select D. U. and his other officials higher up.

The system of oil in the oil well, and someone to use the asphalt to relieve such evils as others for officials and permission, the District must go into and get once. It is that which is responsible for the system of asphalt of thousands of poor people forced to rely on the comfort and pleasures of them, to whom the asphalt have been extracted, at the cost of their own distress and loss.

I desire to impress upon the government that in this matter they do not what they have long acknowledged to be their duty, the way will be found to bring this kind of system of asphalt, for the air, and for the officials and for all others to the amends. It will be done constitutionally and there will be little more delay.

Printed by Shankarali G. Banerjee at Nav Jivan Madrasalaya, Chandi Chh., Pankdoor Naka, Ahmedabad, and published by Mahadeo S. Desai at the same place.
MALAVIYAN'S DECISION

We can congratulate our revered leader Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya ourselves and the country for the momentous announcement Pandit has made that he would not stand for Mysore to any of the Reformed Councils, but would remain in the service and energy to serve the nation from outside. The reason for his taking up this decision is that the bulk of the countrymen are refusing to boycott the Councils. Pandit thought he could not effectively non-co-operate with the Government as a member of the Council. But this was not the whole reason why he has decided not to enter the Councils, we describe it in Pandit's own word—

The main reason is that the country has been growing stronger and stronger within me that the highest national interests and honour demand that full responsible government should be established at India at the earliest possible date. This requires a greater national, well-digested and sustained effort. We have to implant the conviction of the supreme necessity of Duties, and to strengthen or foster it where it already exists in the minds of all our people, young and old, men and women, to create or strengthen the belief in our capacity to achieve it and to maintain it and to establish national unity of thought and action and every other condition which are necessary for the realization of our object. The necessity and the difficulties of the task are obvious. But I think that the time has come when we must undertake it and what is more, I feel that our efforts are properly directed and must succeed. To my view, consider it my sacred duty to revitalize the whole soul and energy, I am commissioned for this great national object. I have, therefore, decided not to enter the new Council. I have not been well, of late, so I am going to the Himalayas for ten days I hope to return to Benares on the 27th, and to start on a tour in pursuit of the object stated above on the 1st of November next.

As I could achieve nothing without using the weapon of non-co-operation, Pandit replied.

I do not think so. I feel we shall have to use some extreme forms of non-co-operating before we achieve full responsible government. But the time and form of them will require the most careful consideration, and practical experience among all thoughtful men in the country. Thus, however, lie matter for the future. We must not go more fully into it at present.

We hope Pandit will soon be able to resume his work with fresh energy and enthusiasm.

PALLADIA OF BRITISH JUSTICE

Our readers will remember an instance of mock trial quoted by Mr. Gandhi in his article on "The Homicide of the Law Courts," in which an English officer was sentenced to the exemplary punishment of two years imprisonment for having deliberately tortured a Negro named Necchi, and caused among other things stillbirth in the case of a woman and death in the case of a grown up lad. We are indebted to the East African Times for carrying to the notice of the case the news of another instance of the horribleness of British Courts and British Judges—scalding and infamous torture punished with a caning and without any apology of 8 months imprisonment. We are not lovers of fines and long imprisonment for others nor do we think they repay for the wrong or injury done to the aggrieved parties. But having regard to the enormity of the violence the sentence in the case removed, 'scalding, and floggings' would be very mild indeed. As to the story, we shall let the "Chronicle" describe it—

Another ex-army captain named H.M. Harrison has been brought before Mr. Justice Shirodkar at Mokurn, charged with "causing grievous hurt to a dumb native boy by flogging him, so that he had to be carried by the friends to hospital on a stretcher and lay there for six weeks". The captain in his own evidence said—

On June 10th the boy was brought before him and was told he would get 20 lashes. He then told him to a weapon, but after two strokes he was unafflicted and lay on the ground. He (Harrison) then gave him 17 more and then noticing the skin was breaking stopped. The boy sat down and afterwards stood up—the whole beating took ten minutes at the most. He had no intention of causing grievous hurt and the beating was perfectly normal. He had never known a beating have such an effect.

The native evidence was that the boy was flogged by Harrison all over the head, face, and body with a khaba, a whip, and he mounted a hundred lashes. The jury brought in a verdict of 'simple, not grievous hurt' and added a rider that Harrison remained extreme provocation. The judge, regretted as he could not give effect to the jury's verdict, as his opinion the beating was brutal and excessive. He exonerated Harrison in three months his case imprisonment.
Young India.
Annalakshmi, Wednesday, 30th October, 1930

FROM RIDICULE TO—?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It will be admitted that non-co-operation has passed the stage of ridicule. Whether it will now be met by repression or respect remains to be seen. Opinion has already been expressed in these columns that ridicule is an approved and artificial method of opposition. The mere rejection of ridicule as expressed in unnecessary impudent terms was not open to exception.

But the testing time has now arrived. In a civilised country, when ridicule fails to kill a movement it begins to command respect. Opponents meet it with respectful and cogent argument, and the mutual behaviour of rival parties never becomes vulgar. Such party seeks to convert the other or draw the uncertain element towards itself by pure argument and reasoning.

There is little doubt now that the boycott of the canteens will be effective if it is not complete. The students have become disturbed. Important institutions may any day become truly national. Pandit Motilal Nehru's great resignation of a legal practice which was probably second to none by itself is an event calculated to change ridicule into respect. It ought to set people thinking seriously about their own attitude. There must be something very wrong about our government-to warrant the step. Pandit Motilal Nehru has taken. Post-graduate students have given up their fellowships. Medical students have refused to appear for their final examination. Non-co-operation in these circumstances cannot be called an empty movement.

Either the Government must bend to the will of the people which is being expressed in no uncertainty terms through non-co-operation, or it must attempt to crush the movement by repression.

Any force used by a Government under any circumstances is not repression. An open trial of a person accused of having advocated methods of violence is not repression. Every State has the right to put down violence by force. But the trial of Mr. Zafer Ali Khan and two Muslims of Pune shows that the Government is seeking not to put down or prevent violence but to suppress expression of opinion, to prevent spread of disaffection. This is repression. The trials are the beginning of it. It has still not assumed a virulent form but if these trials do not result in stifling the propaganda, it is highly likely that severe repression will be resorted to by the Government.

The only other way to prevent the spread of disaffection is to remove the causes thereof. And that would be to respect the growing response of the country to the programme of non-co-operation. It is too much to expect repentance and humility from a government intrenched with success and power.

We must therefore assume that the second stage in the Government programme will be repression growing in violence in the same ratio as the progress of non-co-operation. And if the movement survives repression, the day of victory of truth is near. We must then be prepared for persecutions, punishments even up to deportations. We must evolve the capacity for going on with our programme without the leaders. That means capacity for self-government. And as no government in the world can possibly put a whole nation in prison, it must yield to its demands or abdicate in favour of a government suited to that nation.

It is clear that abstention from violence and non-co-operation in the programme are our only and surest chance of attaining our end.

The government has its choice, either to respect the movement or to try to repress it by barbarous methods. Our choice is either to succumb to repression or to continue in spite of repression.

NECESSITY OF DISCIPLINE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have already remarked upon my experiences of want of method and discipline in Madras. The same want is being noticed during the tour in the Allahabad. Everywhere there is chaos and disorder not for want of men but because of want of discipline without training. They are called upon to handle a situation and crowds that are unprecedented. This in more noise and bustle than work.

Maulana Shaukat Ali is the indefatigable organiser. He wants to satisfy all parties and therefore packs too many events in any programme he arranges. To take only one instance. He accepted for one single day a motor ride from Aligarh to Hathras, then to Allahabad and from Allahabad to Kasganj with the prospect of a slow night journey from Kasganj to Cawnpore. The motor ride covered a distance of 90 miles. After a trying meeting of workers at Aligarh early in the morning, we got into our motors at 9.45 A.M. and reached Hathras at about 11 A.M. The sun was burning
hot and stuffy. The inevitable noisy procession was there. It was followed by a huge meeting involving an intolerable strain on the voices of the strongest speakers and we had great difficulty for our pains of resignation of three honorary magistrates we motored thence to Etah. There was a little more order there than at Allahabad. Soon after plumbing Etah we motored to Kangra. We had accidents during the journey, the care refusing to move. With difficulty we reached Kangra. Maulana Shaukat Ali and his companions got reaching in time for the train. We had several resignations at Etah. The meeting at Kangra for severe action was well managed but not without difficulty. Touching the fact has become an uncontrollable passion causing much waste of time and involving danger when it is resorted to in the midst of a large crowd.

But the worst experience was the night journey from Kangra to Garspore. It was made most uncomfortable by crowds attending at every station. They were everywhere maintained assertive. The noise they made in order to wake me up was paralyzing and heart-rending I was tired. My head was reeling and was badly in want of rest. I went, daud Mrs. Ghandhi and others plied with the crowds for self-control and silence. The more they defied, the more aggrieved the crowds became. It was a tug of war between the crowds and the letter. The letter would put on the light as often as she put it off. She pushed up the shutters the crowd immediately put them down. I was expecting did she want to do a premature death? The answer was they had come many miles to have cakes and somehow they have must have. I had hardened my heart and refused to move till it was daybreak. But there was not a wink of sleep for any of us during the whole of that night. It was a unique demonstration of love and anger. An expected and behaving people groaning under misery and insult believe that I have a message of hope for them. They come from all quarters within walking reach to meet me.

As we believe that I have a message of hope and certain deliverance hence?

Yes: It is big BUT there is no deliverance and no hope without sacrifice, discipline and self-control. Men sacrifice without discipline will be miserable. How to evolve discipline out of this habitual indolence? Not certainly by the British boycott or the British hypocrisy. The British think we have an attention for time loving and personal demonstration of a peaceful and peace-loving people. They would put it down if they could, by barbarous exhibition of force even as Sir Michael O'Dwyer tried and ingloriously failed.

But if the demonstration cannot be put down by force, it cannot also preserve safety for India unless regulated and harnesses for national good. There are in it all the elements of success as well as of self-destruction. It cannot lead to the promised goal if the nation in extravagant affection wastes its servants by overworking upon their hour of needed rest. We must therefore come to hold nocturnal demonstrations. We must have consideration for the feeling of the lowest of our fellow beings. We must not disturb the rest of a train load of passengers. We must learn to transmute our love for our heroes into unceasing energy and useful action. Love that is satisfied with touching the foot of its hero and making noise at him is likely to become parasitical. Such love ceases to be a virtue and after a time becomes a positive indulgence and therefore a vice. The greatest task before the nation today is to discipline its demonstrations if they are to serve any useful purpose. Non-co-operation is not designed to create hatred but to purify the nation to the point of rendering it proof against injuries aggression whether from within or from without. Non-co-operation to be effective must be prevented by co-operation between all the races composing this great and ancient people. Let us begin by co-operating with our dear ones.

THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE AND "INDIA"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I gladly reproduce in another column an open letter sent to me by Miss Normanton. I do not know the lady save by her writings in India whilst it was being edited by her. Her views on non-co-operation are refreshingly strong and her unqualified support of the boycott of the reformed Councils ought to prove consoling to the waverers. But I would ask any reader not to overweigh the effect of the boycott on the British public or the League of Nations. It is better for us to meet our attention on our own duty irrespective of the effect of its performance on outside opinion. We have overestimated the effect of our action on British public opinion and in doing so have often damaged the true interests of the action. At the same time Miss Normanton's argument appears to me to be perfectly sound.

What will however interest the public more are perhaps her views on the British Committee. I do not know the merits of the controversy she discusses. But apart from the merits, her views on the constitution of the Committee would appear to be original I entirely amass and with her remark that a British Committee, to be true to the name, should be composed exclusively of the British people and financed by them. It is then more likely to exert influence on British public opinion than now.

In any case we would then have a great index of the British interest in Indian affairs. I endorse Miss Normanton's views about the newspaper India. She is not a more than it is worth. Its influence on English opinion is practically nothing and it is an indifferent vehicle of English opinion for India's enlightenment. Its only value therefore consists in its parliamentary reports which can no
reserved and distributed by the All India Congress Committee with very little loss. An enterprise newspaper could take over that duty any day and make it a paying venture. And now that we have embarked on non-co-operation and are determined to become self-reliant, it would be more consistent for us to disestablish the local Committees and stop 'Jutus.' It would save a useless waste of public money and turn our attention more toward our salves.

It is not easy for me to reconcile myself to the alternative suggested by Mr. Nairn, viz that we should have a body of an advisory commission or an editor or resident in London to help the proposed British Committees with suggestions. I would far rather concentrate all our attention and all our best work on work in India. The interest in India is truly rich and the labourers few. We can ill-afford a single writer for foreign work. It will be time for us to consider the propriety of sending a representative staff after we have created a permanent impression in India itself by substantial and solid work.

We are in no position for further evidence, which we have received from another esteemed correspondent in London in connection with the very unsatisfactory condition of the newspaper India. The total circulation of India, our correspondent tells us, is 5,500 and 2,200 in Great Britain, the rest in India. Last year's run was 5,470. 15 per cent was only the expenditure for the current year is estimated at £23,600. This is how our correspondent puts it.

For the well-being of India we pay—that is the poor people in India 1,500. £1,500 a year out of which Mr. Myer Blumenthal at £800 a year is the only one who has seen India. And he has been nothing more than a secretary to that propaganda point of view. It has never had a constructive policy. To spend £1,500 on a 3d. weekly with a circulation of 500, and to spend another £1,500 on establishment charges, £2,500 a month, looks like reckless extravagance.—Ed Y I.

MINISTERIAL SUBTREGUE.

The visit of the Prince of Wales having been postponed, for reasons of health, the King's uncle, the Duke of Connaught will arrive early December next to carry out the work of inauguration of the reformed Council of the Dublin Government. The loyal feeling of the people of Ireland is no hollow sound intended to form the formal opening. The British ministers and the Government of the Irish are determined to carry out the work of the Government in a way that will be acceptable to the people. The expected visit of the Prince of Wales will be received with great enthusiasm by the people of Ireland.

As a divine institution, a sacred office, whereas, says that writer, they in England regard the King as the hereditary president of a commonwealth. To our ignorance of this British notion of royalty, all our loyal demonstrations, made in and out of season, are attributed. It will be an exhibition of a sad want of reasonableness and courage in us if we receive or fail to receive the Duke of Connaught with hospitality. Let us be bold and let us be frank. Let us be unshaken in our determination to carry out the work of the Government in a way that will be acceptable to the people of Ireland.

You ask for my views regarding the visit of the Prince of Wales. To reply I desire to say that the motives of the Government are limited to an inspection of the country and to an expression of the goodwill of the people of Ireland. The Prince is not expected to receive the people of Ireland, but to express the goodwill of the Government.

We too, feel sure to repeat what Mr. Nairn said of the countrymen. On our part also, having been treated with much kindness and respect, we will respect the Prince and his party and do our utmost to make his visit a success. We are grateful for the hospitality of the people of Ireland and we wish to express our appreciation of the efforts that have been made to make his visit a success. We are grateful for the hospitality of the people of Ireland and we wish to express our appreciation of the efforts that have been made to make his visit a success.
MADRAS LETTER.
Non-Co-operation

The Sournathras of Madras city are the biggest and most important among the communities. One's attention is called to Mr. Konan K. Reshamvary, one of the many public spirited voluntary workers among them, for the following noteworthy statement. The Sournathras of Madras have divided the Sournathras quarter of the city into 14 divisions, each division being in charge of a committee of twelve persons including a president and a secretary. The duties of the Division Committees include an inquiry into every grievance, arbitration in all disputes of a minor character and disposal of all money claims. A central court of sixty members has been constituted, out of which branches of ten members are chosen by lot to serve in turn, with a view to settle disputes among local gathering of the Sabha. The Police has arrested 300 members. Every branch of 12 who have to settle a dispute and the whole Sabha is in the order of the Sabha. The Sarva-Dharma Sabha, the Police has arrested 300 members. Every member pays an annual contribution of one Rupee. The Sabha has been held in the courts. The Sabha's proceedings are carried on a vigorous and continuous program.

Elections

The Non-co-operating have raised the electorate fund to hold a full meeting, and judging from the huge gathering at the Non-co-operating meetings, it is clear that it is only a question of time when the electorate will answer the question of a National Hindu, Hindu-Muslim fraternity, and Swadeshi, or fraternity with the government, has initiated the greatest wrongs and transgressions. Government, Ballot box or no-ballot declaration.

AN OPEN LETTER

FROM

MISS HELENA NORMANTON
(Ex-editor of "India")
22 Mecklenburgh Square W C
September 10th 1920

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

As a son of the father apposite to Non-Co-operation, I venture to send you a few observations upon that policy, and to speak out the form of an open letter to you, because it has been my high pleasure and satisfaction, possibly until recently, to strive for "India", the spiritual organ of the Indian National Congress. Hence it is possible that the reasons by which I have been led to you, may have some little interest for believers in Indian Self-Government.

At last in December 1918, I was upon the whole a breathing relief in Indian co-operation with the Government of India Act. Its grave inadequacy had been borne in upon me in the course of sedulous attendance at all the Joint Select Committees on it, and the Debates on Commerce and Industry by a sense that it would continue the world as a great and a moral and social crusade for the ultimate political life. When, however, the news of the Punjab Tragedy was released on December 12th last, after long months of confidential consultation, it became obvious that India would only coop with any dignity upon those conditions, viz:

1. That Britain should redeem her own honour and make amends by formally proportioned measures of justice upon the Punjab offenders.

2. First as an assurance of good will and appeasement towards all the educated Indians India should use her unblemished position to frame the Supreme Council to obtain its consent terms as possible to vanquished Turkey. It was a special cession for special treatment. It was the numerically greatest autonomous power dealing with the spiritually supreme ones.

Neither of those conditions has been observed. The Punjab non-offenders have not been pardoned and the Governor is still Secretary of State for India. Turkey has been harshly dealt with.

It has become therefore the duty of every loyal Indian to do whatever he can to prove that he will use in every mood the band that has lacked hope. A zeal to work the reforms, which lead to the Central Government unimpaired in the tyrannical power that has been held over the greater portion of the Blasphemy, the moral rule to Parliament of a Quater of a Century, and the degradation of the Khilafat, would be disgrace to the very soul of India or of any nation fit for liberty. It is quite possible that India's Non-co-operation will be misrepresented and misunderstood for a time, but that is a risk she must take. The penalty of political courage has ever been true construction.

A terrorist, however, a greater risk than misunderstanding. It is that you will have followers who will cause confusion in the state of exacted submission, by accepting the many and less vital elements in your policy in order to camouflage their non-adoption of the one essential thing. The crisis of the whole matter is obvious from the speech of the Prime Minister under the Government of India Act. I write to you in ignorance of any detailed knowledge of what part or parts of your policy the Special Congress has yet adopted, but I believe you have formed that the non-seeking type of political reform would be willing enough for others to renounce the army as Police—be he self should hardly mean that such a man is so vehement that it would be enough for any sort of non-co-operation which will not interfere with his personal advancement. If there be any such, those would be the men who would make the part to the enemy's heart. Why I believe in political strategy, you must always consider what the enemy desires and do not, also what the enemy does not desire and do it. It is obvious that Britain's fear would be bestowed by even little a loose pronouncement of Congress who would accept the Lashkar-e-Muhammad. I therefore earnestly urge that until the conditions noted above are fulfilled, an Indian march the name will sell his country for a part or two of power.
THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION
AN INTERVIEW WITH MP C. F. ANDERSON

The following interview with Mr. C. F. Anderson was taken by a representative of the "Young India," which has been publishing over the Indian political situation.

Q: What do you think of the present political situation?
A: I am not a politician, and always make more of a stowaway in every political meeting. However, my views have been on the subject of Indian politics, which has been studied by me for some time. I believe that the present political situation is not as bad as it may seem. But I have wondered if there is a reason that the British government is so concerned with India's affairs. I believe that a careful study of Indian politics is necessary to understand the situation.

Q: Can you tell me more about your views on Indian politics?
A: I believe that India should be governed by Indians, and that the British government does not have the best interests of India at heart. I believe that a British government would be more concerned with the welfare of the Indian people, and that this would be reflected in their policies.

Q: What do you think of the present British policy in India?
A: I believe that the British government's policy in India is quite successful, and that it has been able to maintain a strong presence in the country. However, I believe that there is room for improvement, and that the British government should be more transparent in its dealings with the Indian people.

Q: What do you see as the main current issue in India?
A: I believe that the main issue in India is the relationship between the Indian government and the British government. The British government has been in power for a long time, and the Indian government is not as strong as it should be. I believe that a stronger Indian government would be able to make better decisions for the country.

Q: What do you think of the future of India?
A: I believe that India has a bright future, and that it will be able to overcome any difficulties it faces. However, I believe that the Indian government should be more transparent in its dealings with the British government, and that this would be reflected in better policies for the country.
A - What has being a foreigner been like to you since the future Government of India? What will happen to us and for all, to this rule by naked force over 300,000,000 people.

I - Personally, after spending some time in the Parsee family and investigating what has happened and after seeing the treatment of Indians in almost every part of the British Empire where they reside abroad, I have come to the final conviction that India has a longer and more honorable place within the British Empire. She must, in the near future be more free and independent than Egypt. It would be quite ridiculous for Egypt to be free and independent, and India to be subject and dependent.

FRANKSONS

Q - What has been the result of the British treatment of India and the future Government of India? What has happened in the British colonies as a whole?

A - The results of British rule have been very serious, but there is something even more serious. It is the growth of a new world religion, the religion of the White Race. At present it is not very widely accepted in the British colonies and America, but it is very widely spread in Europe and other countries.

Q - What are the main features of this new religion, the religion of the White Race?

A - The main feature of this religion is its racism. It teaches the superiority of the 'white women' over all others, and it is based on the idea that the White Race has a divine right to rule over all others. It is a dangerous and poisonous religion.

Q - How can you combat its effects?

A - I have been to Australia where thousands of people are being moved away. I have also been to the Indian-aboriginals, and I have seen that the treatment of Indians is very bad. They are being forced to leave their homes.

Q - But will not this state of things within the British Empire soon change for the better?

A - Impossible. It is growing rapidly worse from day to day, and worse every Englishman who comes out from home is infected with this cruel passion. I have been against it for ten years, and I have been stopping it for a long time. I cannot tell you how often I have been against it. I have been talking for twelve years, and I have been talking for a long time. I cannot tell you how often I have been talking for a long time.

Q - How do you account for this?

A - The war has been unjustly started, and the British Empire is being treated with great brutality. I have been talking for a long time, and I have been talking for a long time. I cannot tell you how often I have been talking for a long time.

Q - But what are the main things of this new religion of the White Race?

A - Yes, I have been to India last year. In that part of India the language of the White Race is being taught and learned. I have been to India last year. In that part of India the language of the White Race is being taught and learned.
The growth of this religion has been the almost notional attitude of Europeans in India towards General Government and the American attitude I cannot speak of. I have gone beyond words.

Q. If there have been in this past, then what of the future?

A. Whenever the religion of the White Race spreads there is no possibility of equal treatment to Indians. They will indeed always be welcome within the empire, if they will submit to be foreigners and in certain hot climates the empire can hardly be carried on without them. Again if Indians care to despondentize them selves completely and wear English dress and speak English, and sit in English places and copy English noon man with meticulous accuracy, they will be tolerated by a large number of Englishmen, but still there will be some way to meet them in the spirit of equality on account of their complete despondentization, but this does not help, it rather burdens the Indian National problems. Such men are really lost to India.

Q. Can you name any for her proof that the situation has become impossible?

A. Only consider one or what it all means these frantic and reckless efforts on the part of Englishmen to get Indians as educated labourers to the colonies. They shall own land and to do things, because there is money in it. Just as there is money in the oil wells of Iraq. But for Indians it be with the Empire as with capital and capital, no, that is price they will never pay. When Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa pursue their own Asiatic immigration laws into the waste paper basket, then and only we might talk of equality with the empire.

Q. What about the Reciprocity Agreement?

A. A hankering a welching hankering South Africans themselves are laughing at and we have looked.

Tan: Arya

Q. Then your idea of the future is Indian independence?

A. I think definitely I cannot imagine another problem which will give self respect. I am a Christian and the golden rule which Christ himself gave many times over was this: "Whatever you wish that men should do unto you, even so do unto them."

Next let us take that rule. I am an Indianman. I value above anything else my Indian freedom and independence. I apply that rule of Christ to India. What does it imply? Does it mean simply that I ought to seek for Indians the very same freedom and independence which I value so highly myself?

Q. But do you think that England will now yield to such freedom and independence?

A. Yes, certainly does the one understanding that Indians must demand it with firmness and steadfast moral purpose, and return to be satisfied with anything else. If any large sections remain unconvinced that this is the final goal, I fear and think alone Indian independence will be endangered.

Q. What large sections are you thinking of at this moment?

A. I am thinking of the 50 to 50 millions of unchristianized Indians themselves who are not aware of equality. Now that the Indian Muslim problem has been solved, this problem remains India might have taken care tomorrow, if the communal problems were solved.

Q. Will you explain that point?

A. I am through the analogy of I would say.

A. I have thought it over the past year, and I think it not only in India, but in relation to the Indian position abroad. You will remember the golden rule wheresoever you would wish that men should do unto you, even so do unto them. If we wish to have our own respect and be respected abroad and to have the self-respect of those whom else, we are obliged to yield by the bestial sense of civilization, though they are our own brothers and sisters, our own land and fellow countrymen.

Q. What we can do you the importance of this question?

A. I heard the most terrible scenes of self-consciousness uttered by another Indian gentleman in Johannesburg. He said to me, "Sir Andrews, these white men treat us Indians "untrustworthy". Never knew what two to be untrustworthy till I came out to this country. I can see now that this is the lesson for our own men to show our own brothers. The love of freedom is working themselves out.

Q. Are you hopeful that Indians themselves will give this to their own countrymen?

A. Most definitely. I can see the change coming everyday and the old evil theory of "Puncta" and "untrustworthy" will soon be swept away. But I cannot tell you how urgent it is that the change should come as soon. I believe so recently in the younger generation. I am no longer so happy as when among Indian students. There is a field of freedom among them, which could sweep away all these evil customs tomorrow. Our own students at Shanti-Nikhan have left the way themselves and carried their parents with them. They are enthusiastic about the future as well as. A miracle has already happened. The Hindu-Moslem gulf has been bridged over. The Hindus-Muslems have been brought to the same level and God, it will come to pass. The second miracle is the breaking down of the barriers of intolerance. When that has been accomplished, India will have gained the full moral strength of a united caste.

SEGREGATION IN EAST AFRICA

Following cable dated July 26th has been received from East Africa:

It is understood that the proceeds of the sale of these freed Mr. Vizian and two Indian members of the District Committee are reserving their seats. Bonded protest from India against segregation is necessary. East African Indian Congress is fixed for middle of November. Mr. Vizian has been offered chairman of the Republican Committee. Mr. N. A. T. Amambo of the Congress message.

The Indian Association East Africa has called the Viceroy:

The enforcement of segregation based on Indian's scheme carried. Goes far as isolating every private headland, resulting reservation made, belonging to the then Vizian in Mombasa Island for European use. Despite that Other Asians had taken Indians' effect. Indian Association respectfully urges His Excellency to represent in case of Indian. Repealing a number of unreasonable tributes current amongst peaceful and law-abiding community bound to follow.
To Every Englishman in India.

Dear Friend,

I wish that every Englishman will see this appeal and give thoughtful attention to it.

Let me introduce myself to you. In my humble opinion, no Indian has cooperated with the British Government more than I have, for an unbroken period of twenty years of public life in the face of circumstances that might have divided any other men into a rebel. I ask you to believe me when I tell you that my cooperation was not based on the fear of the punishments provided by your laws or any other selfish motives. It was free and voluntary cooperation based on the belief that the sum total of the activity of the British Government was for the benefit of India. I put my life in peril four times for the sake of the Empire—at the time of the Boer war when I was in charge of the Ambulance corps whose work was mentioned in General Buller's dispatches, at the time of the Zulu revolt in Natal when I was in charge of a similar corps, at the time of the commencement of the late war when I raised an Ambulance corps and as a result of the strenuous training had a severe attack of pleurisy, and lastly, in fulfillment of my promise to Lord Chelmsford at the War Conference in Delhi, I threw myself in such an active recruiting campaign in Kharkhoda in cold weather and trying marches, that I had an attack of dysentery which proved almost fatal. I did all this in the full belief that acts such as mine must gain for my country an equal status in the Empire. South, c. 4th December

I pleaded hard for a truthful co-operation. I fully believed that Mr. Lloyd George would redeem his promise to the Muslims and that the revelations of the official atrocities in the Punjab would secure full repentance for the Punjab. But the treachery of Mr. Lloyd George and his pretense by you, and the condemnation of the Punjab atrocities have completely shattered my faith in the good intentions of the Government and the nation which is supporting it.

But though my faith in you and resolution is gone, I recognize your bravery, and I know that what you will not yield to justice and reason, you will gladly yield to bravery.

So what that the Empire means to India—

Exploitation of India's resources for the benefit of Great Britain,

are increasing military expenditure and a civil service the most expensive in the world,

Extravagant working of every department in utter disregard of India's poverty,

Dissatisfaction and consequent insurrection of a whole nation left an armed nation might imperil the lives of a hundred of you in your midst.

Treachery to accommodate Imperialism and the purpose of sustaining a top-heavy administration,

Progressively repressive legislation in order to suppress an overgrown agitation seeking to give expression to a nation's agony,

Degrading treatment of Indians residing in your dominions, and

You have shown total disregard of our feelings by glorifying the Punjab administration and healing the Muslim soul unstained.

I know you would not mind if we could fight and wrest the sceptre from your hands. You know that we are powerless to do that, for you have ensured our incapacity to fight in open and honourable battle. Bravery on the battlefield is thus impossible for us. Bravery of the soul still remains open to us. I know you will respond to that also. I am engaged in evoking that bravery. Non-co-operation means nothing less than training in self-sacrifice. Why could we not cooperate with you when we know that by your administration of this great country we are being daily enslaved in an increasing degree. This response of the people to say appeal is not due to my personality. I would like to say to you, and for that matter the Ali Brothers too from your
News and Notes.

Mr. Gandhi's Yarn.

New India still writes us of Mr. Gandhi's newest yarn woven into dullest coloured cloths. We have seen against the revival of native handicrafts in this country. The hand-spun movement is not intended to replace the manufacture of any really Indian attire but textiles or other products. It does not compete with the revival of any of the handicrafts for which our country was once famous. The conflict is not with true art, but with false fashion with the waste of human homes among poor classes, with poverty and enforced outdoor occupations among women or the poor classes, who would remain in their homes but for their hunger, it seeks to replace the import of piece goods and yarn from foreign countries, and the high prices of Indian mill-made yarn and cloth. The conflict is with the apotheosis of clothes and polished surfaces and machine-made uniforms that now govern fashionable fashions. The battle against the creation of shivillat is to suit underprivileged foreign manufacturers on the terms of beautiful but in products, and in whose leisure hours they should return the debt to the nation by spinning some yarn for the poor. This must be the fashion among female nobles.

LEADER'S PROTEST—PEOPLE'S DOUBT

An Indian correspondent sends us a very interesting account of a co-operation meeting in Brajput which turned into a non-co-operation one, without any disturbance or violence. A public meeting was announced by a local non-co-operationist to be held in Sir Saghor Bhojpat Hall on Sunday last, where Mr. N. N. Anjum, a candidate for the Provincial Council, was to speak on "Political Co-operation" (Rajkalya Sabah). Another public meeting was announced, on the same day and the same time, outside the Brajpat Hall where the principles of non-co-operation were to be explained. Messrs. Vallabhbhai Patel, Balvantara Thakore, Mr. Kanuga and others specially went down from Ahmedabad, for the occasion. On the Ahmedabad party arriving there, a notice by the District Magistrate under section 43 of the District Police Act was served on the party and the public in general, prohibiting them from holding any public meeting within a radius of 400 yards from the Brajpat Hall. An armed police party was stationed around the hall and the city magistrate was also present there. The committee of the open-air meeting, however, decided to move on the hall which was soon filled to overflowing. On the arrival of the lecturer with Khan Sahib Adanje, and the Hon. Mr. Gokaldas Parikh who had specially come down from Bombay, Mr. Thakore proposed Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel to the chair. The proposal being duly seconded and supported. Mr. Vallabhbhai took the chair, but the lecturer would not begin with his lecture, for the


DEPRESSED CLASSES.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Vivakarma need to call the Panchmahal 'suppressed classes.' There is a doubt that Vivakarma's is a more accurate adjective. We have suppressed them and have consequently become ourselves depressed. That we have become the 'Pariah of the Empire' in Golaknath's language, the redistributive justice cast out to us by a just God. A correspondent indignantly asks me a pathetic letter reproduced elsewhere, what I am doing for them. I have given the latter with the correspondent's own heading. Should we, the Bhilis, wash our bloodstained hands before the English to wash them? That is a proper utopia reasonably put. And if a member of a dilapidated nation could list the suppressed classes from their slavery without being my all from my own I would do so. But it is an impossible task. A slave has not the freedom even to do the right thing. It is right for me to prohibit the importation of foreign goods, but I have no power to bring it about. It was right for Musulmaans Mahomed Ali to go to Turkey and to tell the Turks personally that India was with them in their righteous struggle. He was not free to do so. If I had a truly national legislative I would answer Hindu demands by creating special and better wells for the exclusive use of suppressed classes and by erecting better and more numerous schools for them, so that there would be not a single member of the suppressed classes left without a school to teach their children. But I must wait for that better day.

Meanwhile are the depressed classes to be left to their own resources? Nothing of the sort. In my own humble manner I have done and am doing all I can for my Panchmahal brother.

There are three courses open to these down-trodden members of the nation. For their importance they may fall in the ascendency of the slavering Government. They will get but they will fall in the frying pan into the fire. To-day they are slaves of slaves. By seeking Government aid, they will be used for suppressing their kith and kind. Instead of being armed against, they will themselves be the slaves. The Musulmans try this and failed. They found that they were worse off than before. The Sikhs did it unwittingly and failed. To-day there is no more discontented community in India than the Sikhs. Government aid is therefore no solution.

The second is rejection of Hinduism and wholesale conversion to Islam or Christianity. And if a change of religion could be justified for worldly betterment, I would advise it without hesitation. But religion is a matter of the heart. No physical inconvenience can warrant abandonment of one's own religion. If the inhuman treatment of the Panchmahal were a part of Hinduism, its rejection would be a paramount duty both for them and for those like me who would not make a fetish even of religion and condone every evil in its service. But I believe that non-cooperation is no part of Hinduism. It is rather its expressness to be removed by every effort. And there is quite as many of Hindu reformers who have not their heart upon ridicing Hinduism of this blot. Conversion, therefore, I hold, is no remedy whatsoever.

Then there remains finally, self-help and self-dependence, with such aid as the non-Panchmahal Hindus will render of their own motion, not as a matter of patronage but as a matter of duty. And here comes the use of non-co-operation. My correspondent was correctly informed by Mr. Rajagopala and Mr. Hanumantha that I would favour well-regulated non-co-operation for this acknowledged evil. But non-co-operation means independence of outside help, it means effort from within. It would not be non-co-operation to insist on voting prohibited areas. That may be civil disobedience if it is passively carried out. But I have found to my cost that evil disobedience requires far greater preliminary training and self-control. All can non-co-operate, but few only can offer civil disobedience. Therefore, by way of protest against Hinduism, the Panchmahal can certainly stop all contact and connection with the other Hindus so long as this spiritual aversion is maintained. But this means organized intelligent effort. And so far as I can see, there is no leader among the Panchmahals who can lead them to victory through non-co-operation.

The better way therefore, perhaps, is for the Panchmahals heartily to join the great national movement that is now going on for throwing off the slavery of the present Government. It is easy enough for the Panchmahals to see that non-co-operation against this and government presupposes cooperation between the different sections forming the Indian nation. The Hindus must realize that if they wish to offer successful non-co-operation against the Government, they must make common cause with the Panchmahals, even as they have made common cause with the Musulmaans. Non-co-operation when it is free from violence is essentially a movement of intense self-purification. That process has commenced and whatever the Panchmahals deliberately take part in it or not, the rest of the Hindus will not reject them without hampering their own progress. Hence though the Panchmahal problem is as dear to me as life itself, I rest-satisfied with the exclusive attention to national non-co-operation I feel sure that the greater includes the less.

Closely allied to this question is the non-Brish run question. I wish I had studied it more closely than I have been able to. A quotation from my speech delivered at a private meeting in Madras has been torn from its context and misused to further the antagonism between the so-called Brahmins and...
With the knowledge we have of British intentions, it is unwise—unIndian for us to accept even a portion of our own money through hands stained with the blood of the innocents at Jallianwala. We may as well accept gifts from a robber who has robbed us of our property. This Government has robbed us of our honour and put one of our religions in peril. In my humble opinion, it is a sin for the nation to receive education in schools financed by or under the influence or control of the Government.

I have therefore no hesitation in advancing this doctrine that these institutions are all costs.

But if the teachers, the schools and the parents or the boys will set in motion, there is no cost to be paid and everything to be gained. I am asking for the funds to be changed, I do not ask to destroy the soul. Even as we leave bodies when we have outgrown, so must we leave the institutions which we have outgrown, and bring into being others, more in accord with our needs. How can obsolete institutions which represent the youth of a nation, lag behind when the nation is marching forward? Several High Schools have a more or less distinguished record; have thrown off the yoke of control and almost in Gujarat. They are some of the voice for it. They are all the purer for it. The principals and the trustees can train the youth under their charge in a free atmosphere.

Economic considerations deter those who do not want to work. Our institutions will collapse if the teachers or the trustees are false to their trust, or the nation really does not want them. The progress of non-co-operation is based on the belief that the nation is tired of the present government and wants to change it without resorting to methods of violence. The experience so far gained shows that the nation does definitely change the change if there is an urgency or delay, it will be due to want of workers.

OUR LATE TOUR.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

My experiences are becoming so much clarified by every tour that it is difficult for me to cope with and present the results to the reader. I must therefore content myself with adding to the stock on the necessity of discipline and organisation. I have dealt with our experiences upon the journey to Cawnpore. I was driving our approach to Cawnpore—the Cawnpore of Maulana Hamid Ahmad and Din Ahmad. They are both great workers. The arrangements at the station were perfect. A large crowd awaited us at the station. But the discipline observed was so good that we were able to make our way through two solid rows of men without a single member moving before we had taken our seats in the train. What might have meant a waste of thirty minutes was finished within five. The programme was happily abandoned. The programme was as business-like as the reception at the station. We reached at
about 5 o'clock. We had only a day at our disposal, but during that time there was a meeting with the workers, a private interview with Mr. Frazier Hunt of the Chicago Tribune, a visit to the Wabash Home, opening of a national Agaresh School, a meeting of the Agaresh Ladies, (a crowded ladies meeting), opening of a national arbitration court, an open-air meeting, and finally private calls with visitors. This all was finished without any undue rush and stress. There was at hand a little confusion at the open-air meeting. It was discovered that no previous instructions were given to the volunteers. But after a little effort, there too perfect silence reigned, and the audience listened to three long speeches amid perfect silence. It is my conviction that as soon as we have organized and disciplined ourselves, a society will be established. An organized refusal to be ruled by any foreign power is all that is needed in our country like ours. Lucknow was a contrast. There was utter confusion at the station and the soothing sense of humanity it was a demonstration of undisciplined love. All were pressing forward to get at us. Not one of them realized that it was an impossible task. At last I refused to move unless the crowd had regained self-control. In ten minutes the crowd understood what I had to say, and made way for us. There was a trying procession. We were all privileged to stay with Maiwallah Ah Ali Bhai Sahib. He had engaged a Buddhist cook and made special arrangements for the Hindus of the party. The water was not tellable that it was born in Maiwallah Lutf-Allah, a cultured blastus斧 of the same character was arrested. I was not far from Lucknow that Mr. Willoughby was murdered. There was at right a vast meeting. The crowd listened with rapt attention. I wish I had time and space to give the gist of the speeches. We all referred to the Kurna Murder and showed how it had taken place inspite of the vigilance of the Khusfet Committee, and how it had ignored the name of the Khusfet by creating a necessity of force and covering the local communities with suspicion. I am sorry to have to note that the leaders were conspicuous by their absence. They think that the movement of non-cooperation is harmful. Thus alone will show. We must be patient with them. They belong to the same and will march with us as soon as their distrust is dispelled.

I will reluctantly omit the starting events of Amarnath and Lahore and hasten to Bomman. At Amarnath there was a huge but unorganized crowd at the station. We avoided it by alighting at another platform. The demonstration at Lahore I avoided by motorizing there.

The night journey to Bomman was perfectly delightful. Crowds gathered on the platform. One man suggested that Bomman needed no rest and that it was their duty to give durbar. Some were really angry that we all wisely refused to move out of our beds. Another remarked that we must be highly inconceivable to respect the wishes of the people and get up to give durbar. At length tired and sleepy we reached Bomman. Probably fifty thousand people had gathered from surrounding villages. I was therefore afraid that we would be crushed to death. But to my great surprise, I found perfect order there. There was no rush or noisy battle at the station. All kept their respective places. The procession was comfortably managed by a member of the Durbar. Order observed at the Durbar was still more striking. It was a large aristocratic but non-pretentious structure. There was not a single chair—not even for the President. Distinguished visitors were seated on a substantial and comfortable platform erected in the middle of the room. Although there was accommodation for 1,000 people, the Durbar appeared to be roomy. The approaches were wide. The ground was excavated to slope towards the centre. All therefore had a perfect view of the centre. The only suggestion I have to make is that a semi-circle is a better arrangement. There should be no seats at the back of the platform. The Durbar arrangement, referred to 10 the colonnade of the Taj, is a very excellent idea. It is therefore better from an audience point of view.

Let us now turn to Hyderabad. (Smith) presents a lesson to the approaching Congress. The Resentment that we shall have a few thousand rupees and more spares if they will dispossess with charges on the platform or below. We must escape more and more for the masses and their leaders. We, the educated few, hope to control them only through the leaders of the masses who are as simple as the masses themselves. It is cruel to impose charges on the many, because the few seem to want them. I hope now that the Nagpur volunteers will be traced from now for their respective design so that we may have perfect arrangements regarding every little detail.

To The Trustees of the Aligarh College.

Gentlemen,

I know you are about to meet in order to give your decision on a most momentous issue for Islam and India. I hear that you are calling in the aid of the Government and the police for the occasion of your meeting. If the rumour is true you would be making a grievous mistake. In a matter which is purely domestic you need either the intervention of the Government or the protection of police. Neither the All brothers nor I are engaged in a fratricidal war. We are engaged in a war in which our own weapons are forces of public opinion and we shall reckon ourselves beaten to the battle if we do not carry the public with us. In the present dispute the best of public opinion will be in the first instance your majority. Therefore, if you after a full and free discussion decide by a majority, that the college and school students may not remain in the college ground either as students or even as boarders if they persist in their demand of disestablishment and the rejection of the Government grant, they will be peacefully withdrawn.
THE EAST AFRICAN SITUATION.
A Letter from

(By the late Mr. F. Andrews)

The great struggle in S. Africa has already begun. The E. A. Government has not lost a moment in taking advantage of Lord Milner's return to aggregate Indians. The enforcement of racial segregation is in accordance with Professor Simpson's scheme, which has already been tested by the Indian public. This question is one in the mind of all as far as India is concerned. As for me, I must say that I have not the time to write this letter, but I will bring it to your attention when I return to England. I believe that the British Empire is threatened, and this has shown me the futility of my efforts and personal expediency. I am moved upon the situation by the very nature of the case. I am not going to say anything about the Indian situation, but it is what the British and Indian Governments have both failed to do by the claim which is finally accepted in the East Africa.

Fortunately, for India, the instrument of East Africa is not capable of being used for the very thing which will unite all Indians. If there will not be a single Indian to the end of East Africa, who will be an obstacle in the future. The most beneficial and important is the Afric, who is the only one for forty years, for Mr. Abdul Rashid, I have no respect for him. He is spending more time at his own home than in the East African Government.

I am not in the East Africa, but I am looking to it and to other places.

I do not understand anything from the East Africa, but I am looking at it and considering the East Africa.

I do not understand anything from any but Europeans, but I cannot understand the new European situation. I was told that by the new European Government. Then I was in the East Africa, and I was looking at it and considering the East Africa. I am not in the East Africa, but I am looking at it and considering the East Africa.

With humble apology,
Your faithful Servant,
M. E. Gandhi.
cleanliness. Yet it appears that Mr. Abdul Rasul and his firm friend Mr. Bahugun will now like to vacate this spot in Nairob, purely and simply to satisfy the race prejudices of the Europeans. There is no other case whatever but rather the case which accounts for this European snobbery. Mr. Abdul Rasul and Mr. Bahugun are both most honest and rare people, for geniuses in their habitus in the European, and have never gone without kindness. Yet simply because they belong to another race this law of segregation is in their case unfairly invoked.

It will be seen clearly in what I have said what a terrible blunder the last Afghan Government has committed in attacking the National Congress of Indians in last year's meeting on November 15th at Bombay. Mr. Abdul Rasul will most probably not be Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Mr. A. Bahugun will be the President. It appears to me practically certain that the action of the Indian community to accept these three Congresses leading to Indian Agitation, will be unanimous. Already we have seen that Mr. Abdul Rasul and two other members of the District Committee have resigned their seats as a protest.

I have never taken part myself in Congress proceedings in India. But I cannot help asking at this juncture whether the treatment of the Indians abroad does not rank even with the question of the Punjab and the Khyber as a third vital issue leading on to Swaraj.

In Defence of Malaviya and Shastri.

To The Editor, of "Young India."

Sir,

Malatras Gandhi in his article headed "The Half-Wit emotion of Schools and Colleges" while discussing the "No-Co-operation" programme of the withdrawal of students from schools and colleges, admitting that the movement has been called "half-wit" and opposed to the best interests of the country, says that he is rather of the view that Gandhi is not the most uncompromising opponent. Then he says to himself to find the reasons for this attitude of Fieling. We quote Mahatma Gandhi: "I am the answer I am have been able to find is that the latter do not consider the present government as an excelled even as the former do. In other words the opposition does not sufficiently realize the significance of the Punjab and Khyber wars'". And further on he proceeds to say it as he must have been read the picturesque and humorous note of Malaviya and Shastri cannot fail to realize this wrong even as I do. And yet that is precisely my meaning.

We assure Mahatma Gandhi that we have the most profound and sincere respect for him, but that would not blind us to the errors of others. We hold no brief for Messrs. Malaviya and Shastri. They can take care of themselves. Fieling's brililant speech in the Council, his teaching appeal for funds for the "Jallianwalla Bagh Memorial" and his recent stirring speech at the Empire Theatre, Bombay, are a case in point. To the suggestion that Malaviya and Shastri cannot fail to realize this wrong, we say that the contrast between the views expressed by Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Fieling is sufficient to persuade us that the latter is not the man we are looking for.

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GREAT HOPES & GREAT PROMISES
Mr. L. W. Ritch, Bar-at-Law of Johannesburg who was one of Mr. Gandhi’s colleagues in the South African Famine Remittances Movement and rendered valuable help to it, has addressed the following letter to the Editor of Indian Opinion:

There are times when plans are golden and others when schemes are cowardly. To refrain from speaking at present, however little weight one’s words may carry, would, I feel, suffice of cowardice.

I have recently been reading a little book "Three Years of War for Peace" by Basil Matthews, written in 1919, while the War was in progress. Here is one quotation: "The call of such an umpire to-day in the face of our new experiences of unity, is not so much to initiate as to enable, not to follow precedents but to make them not to rule merely the track of the pioneers but to share their sacrificial spirit and go beyond them, not to start where they left off. Their foundations are supererogatory: we should disapprove them if we built no greater than they dreamed.

The words were written before the final phase of the World War—the War that was to complete the destruction of the high-handed privilege, that was to make the world a better place for democracy. I wonder if the recall of this year—what was it that caused the world to shake the self-satisfaction of ite peoples and generally, to pluck the flag of freedom and drive in behind it to the gates of its force, the wail of the oppressed?

One of the late Jack London’s chief works is styled "When the Levees Break". My own conception of the Duty precludes the idea of liberty or self-interest as applicable to God, but, if there be any substance to the belief in a personal Devil, he—or it—precedes or precedes some have heard. He must be positively rocking with Sinners' Monica. Scarcely two short years and already a consciousness of insurrection, repression of hope and aspirations inspired by far greater truths that the agitators of all that stands for liberty and freedom of expression.

Let me quote from the little work already referred to, Speaking of India's contribution to the fight for emancipation from German tyranny the author wrote:

"The greatest conflict of the Imperial service given by the inferior to the English nation was in India. It was more than a half of the native army. . . The failure of India was first halted with policy in a way and, when the Indian troops—several of them—were used to help when the Indian troops captured New Zealand from that day to this in Calcutta and Bhopal, in Palestine, Mesopotamia and in Africa, India has given of its best in the great war and the alliance against the 'black water sufficiently high testaments.' And what may be regarded as progress, that right to the right of the enemy may be expected in the natural corollary of the war, the works of the high hopes inspired.

The feeling of Musumane sensation, British translated to the Parseh, the blackening and imprisoning of Frenchmen's, as one sees again the betrayal of principles in the interests of expediency."

Satyagraha and the Depression:

(CLASSES

To the Editor "Young India"

Mr.

Now that the most advanced and vociferous section of the middle-minded classes have adopted Non-co-operation (unanimously, as yet rat!) under your leadership, the mass of the population known in this part of India as the backward and the depressed classes are filled with hope and are yielded by you such method to get the more-long, long, immense social disabilities which they still suffer, and compared with which the Punjab tragedy itself was but a passing event, removed as soon as possible.

I am writing this letter to you in order to sound your opinion on this matter and, if possible, to be favored with your advice. It is an open secret that you have advocated such direct action as the part of the depressed classes more than once. Your devoted disciple Mr. G. D. Deshpande has expressly advocated it to his presidential address to the Madras Provincial Social Reform Conference which met in Trichinopoly last year. Further I have it on the authority of Mr. D. B. Ramachandran, formerly a member of the Ramakrishna Mission, who has long been in close touch with you, that such a step will meet with your cordial approval as these circumstances one would have thought that you yourself would, one of these days, start such a movement for the removal of certain indigenous social injustices which are some centuries older than any British injustice, and it goes without saying that you are the person best fitted to lead such a movement.

But for some wonderful reason, known only to yourself, you have started it at the wrong end for the rights of certain political wrongs of yesterday. But this is a matter which our community will certainly care to make sure.

What will your advice to us be? There is a growing volume of opinion among the Nandas and others, for instance, to resist direct action (with strict regard to Satyag, and Ahimsa) against such abject slavery as dos presses, the denial of the right of entry to certain public duties, the refusal of equal educational opportunities such as free access to all State-aided schools and the refusal to shut up of public walls, public banks and (sometimes) public tape so far as these people whose few millions are concerned.

I have talked the matter over with some of the leading men of the community and they are anxious to know your views on this subject. That is why I am writing this letter. I felt it incumbent on us to ensure such educational rights of humanity to our fellow-country men by Satyagraha before we set out to win the elementary rights of British citizenship for ourselves by the same method. I am yours truly, S. N. Michael
To the Parents of Aligarh Boys

Dear Parents,

I am writing to you to express my concerns about the education of your sons at Aligarh. I believe that it is important for me to share my thoughts with you as a parent of a young man who has also experienced the same issues.

I understand that you all have high expectations for your sons, and I respect your desires for them to receive a good education. However, I believe that the current system of education is not serving our children well. The government is not providing the necessary support and resources to ensure that our children receive a proper education.

I have spoken with many of my colleagues and we have come to the conclusion that the education system needs to be reformed. We are seeing a lack of infrastructure, inadequate funding, and a lack of experienced teachers. This is not the kind of education that our children need to succeed in the future.

I urge you to take action and demand better for your children. They deserve a quality education that prepares them for the world they will face. Please consider signing a petition or reaching out to your local representatives to voice your concerns.

I believe that our children are the future of our nation, and we must do everything in our power to ensure that they receive the best education possible. I hope that you will join me in this important cause.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

[Note: The signature is not visible in the image provided.]
Notes.

I have seen the reproduction by the Punjab Government of a statement made at a public meeting in Lahore that Maulana Zafar Ali Khan was reported by his son to be confined to a dark small room and that, although he was under trial, he was given only prison food. The Government communiqué does not mention the name of the speaker at the meeting in question. I must confess that I was the speaker, and I made the statements now contradicted by the Government. I was careful, I stated—cures of my information and said that if it was true the treatment was illegal and inhuman. I am glad that the Government have repudiated all three statements. I could have no desire further to disturb the already disturbed Government of the Punjab by a single exaggerated statement. I know that the name of India can only suffer by a single wrong statement. At the same time I must be forgiven for having spoken upon all government conductions. I have had more than enough experience of such contradictions during the dark days in the Punjab. The majority of these contradictions were simply lies. I therefore ask the reader to reserve his opinion till Maulana Zafar Ali’s son has given his explanation. He gave me this information with great deliberation and I have, and had, no reason to doubt the accuracy of his statement. I am in communication with him.

Meanwhile let the reader join me in congratulating Maulana Zafar Ali Khan in receiving the sentence of five years’ imprisonment and 1,000 fine. Let the reader realise that he has had this sentence for holding opinions. I have already analysed the indictment in these pages. Thus has repression begun in the Punjab. There is also the notorious meeting-prohibition. The strong speeches are strong if called a spade a spade to strengthen a demand for full and complete peace, to cease the Government do not repeat, but strong.

Only, the repression need not worry us. It should strengthen our resolve to throw off a yoke which is intended to humiliate us and keep us in perpetual servility. The one indispensable condition of success is that we must act on any account has our heads in the midst of repression. We must not relax either way. We must bear the repression steadily and make efforts to strengthen our resolve to oppose it. Let all association with the Government cease. Everyone must resist the government. I am sure the British connection is possible, and even without it it necessary.

If the Punjab Government have been active in repressing expression of opinion, the U P Government have been as bad as the Punjab. On the other hand, they have been sentenced to two years’ imprisonment and 1,000 fine, or two months’ more if the judge fails to pay the fine. More arrests are promised. On the top of this comes the suggestion that my activities must be left unpressed. My activities are open to the scrutiny of the Government. The majority of these contradictions are simply lies. I therefore ask the reader to reserve his opinion till Maulana Zafar Ali’s son has given his explanation. He gave me this information with great deliberation and I have, and had, no reason to doubt the accuracy of his statement. I am in communication with him.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

To the Editor of Young India

Dear Mahatma,

In reference to your article on this subject, may I venture to ask you to give an answer to the following question:—

"Will all National Schools and Colleges be open to the Depressed Classes?"

I have no personal doubt in the matter, but I feel that the time has come for a public declaration.

Yours sincerely,

E. F. Alcock

[In order to give an authoritative reply the letter was referred to the Senate which has passed a resolution to the effect that, in accordance with the constitution of the Senate, no institution of a special class specifically excluded the depressed classes could be affiliated. I had personally no doubt about the meaning of the constitution—M. K. Gandhi]
LUCKNOW SPEECHES
(by M. K. Ghosh)

The recent meeting in Lucknow, held under the
auspices of the All-India Brotherhood, was
attended by a large number of people. The
speeches were delivered by Mr. Mahadev Desai,
Mr. M. K. Ghosh, and Mr. K. M. Panah. The
speeches were well received by the audience.

Mr. Mahadev Desai, in his speech, spoke
about the need for unity among the
people of India. He said that the
people of India should work together
for the betterment of the country.

Mr. M. K. Ghosh, in his speech, spoke
about the need for education. He said
that education is the key to
progress and development.

Mr. K. M. Panah, in his speech, spoke
about the need for justice.

The meeting was a success and
received a warm welcome from the
people. The speeches were well
received and the audience was
impressed.

November 3, 1920.

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 3rd November 1920

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people of India. He said that the
people of India should work together
for the betterment of the country.

Mr. M. K. Ghosh, in his speech, spoke
about the need for education. He said
that education is the key to
progress and development.

Mr. K. M. Panah, in his speech, spoke
about the need for justice.

The meeting was a success and
received a warm welcome from the
people. The speeches were well
received and the audience was
impressed.

November 3, 1920.

Young India.
Maulana Shaukat Ali was still more unexceptionable. He said no one could regret more than he did the murder of Mr. Willoughby. Had not Khalifat Committees so assiduously tried their best to prevent violence there would certainly have been not one but many such murders. But it was their duty, for the sake of their own religion and honour, to prevent them as long as they accepted non-co-operation. He declined to identify himself with tawdry resolutions regarding the murderer.

I observe too that I have been misunderstood. I never said that we would give cause when we undertook to draw the sword. I condemned the murder with the emphasis I could command and said that the honour of Islam would be injured if there were any condonation of the murder of an innocent man when an assurance of safety was issued by authoritative religious bodies in Islam. I said further that my own personal religious forbade me to take the life of my enemy in any case what sense. But I added that I recognized that Islam and for that matter laws of Himma, believed that killing one's enemy was considered lawful under certain circumstances. And I said that when the Musalmans of India wanted to draw the sword, they would be honourable men declare themselves in unequivocal terms and give due notice.

And I repeat what I have often said that the noblest and the most fearless among the Mussalmans (and I count Maniioo Bai Sahib and the Al-brothers as such) are trying their utmost to prevent violence. I verily believe that but for strenuous efforts of such men violence would have broken out in this land. I admit that it would have done me no good to Islam or India. It would only have provided occasion for ruthless repression without delay any honour to Islam or India.

THE CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The belated report of the Congress Constitution Committee has now been published for general information and opinion has been invited from all public bodies in order to assist the deliberations of the All India Congress Committee. It is a pity that, small though the Constitution Committee was, all the members never met at any one time in spite of efforts, to have a meeting of them all. It is perhaps nobody's fault that all the members could not meet. At the same time the draft report has passed through the searching examination of all but one member, and the report represents the mature deliberations of four out of the five members. It must be stated at the same time that it does no pretend to be the unanimous opinion of the members. Rather than present a detailed minute, a workable scheme has been brought out having each member free to press his own views in the several matters in which they are not quite unanimous. The most important part of the constitution, however, is the alteration of the count. So far as I am aware their is no fundamental difference of opinion between the members. In my opinion the altered creed represents the exact feeling of the country at the present moment.

I know that the proposed alteration has been subjected to hostile criticism in several newspapers of note. But the extraordinary situation that faces the country is that popular opinion is far in advance of several newspapers which have hitherto commanded influence and have undoubtedly moulded public opinion. The fact is that the formation of opinion to-day is by no means confined to the altered creeds but the masses have taken it upon themselves not only to formulate opinions but to enforce it. It would be a mistake to belittle or ignore the opinion, or to ascribe it to a temporary upheaval. It would be equally a mistake to suppose that this awakening amongst the masses is due either to the activity of the AI Brothers or myself. For the time being we have the ear of the masses because we voice their sentiments. The masses are by no means so foolish or unintelligent as we sometimes imagine. They often perceive things with their intuition, which we ourselves fail to see with our intellect. But whilst the masses know what they want they do not know how to express their wants and, less often, how to get what they want. Here comes the case of leadership, and disastrous results can easily follow a bad, hectic, or what is worse, selfish lead.

The first part of the proposed creed expresses the present desire of the nation and the second shows the way that desire can be fulfilled. In my humble opinion, the Congress creed with the proposed alteration is but an extension of the original. And so long as it is not decisively with the British connection is attempted, it is strictly within even the existing articles that define the Congress creed. The extension lies in the contemplated possibility of a break with the British connection. In my humble opinion, if India is to make unambiguous progress, we must make it clear to the British people that whilst we desire to retain the British connection, if we can rise to our full height with it, we are determined to dispense with, and even to get rid of that connection, if that is necessary for full national development. I hold that it is not only derogatory to national dignity but actually impedes national progress, superstitiously to believe that our progress towards our goal is impossible without British connection. It is this superstition which makes some of the best of us tolerate the Punjab wrong and the Khalifat result. This blind adherence to that connection makes us feel helpless. The proposed alteration in the creed enables us to rid ourselves of our helpless condition. I personally hold that it is perfectly constitutional openly to strive for complete independence but lest there may be dispute as to the constitutional eberrors of any movement for complete independence, the double-fold and highly technical adjective "constitutional"
November 2, 1928
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MORE ABOUT THE FIJI TRAGEDY
Mystery of Missing Wives & Children
(By L. A. Auden)

Much has appeared in the Press about the recent happenings in Fiji which has shown beyond doubt that our countrymen in that unhappy island have had to pass through a reign of terror no less terrible and severe than the martial-law regime in the Punjab. But I have some fresh and more startling facts to reveal to the public. These are the depictions of three of the batch of the Returned Immigrants who came down to see Mahatma Gandhi at his Ashram and to relate their troubles. In his absence, however, I saw the men, and took down their statements after putting them to a thorough and searching examination.

My first informant was a man by name Chehaju, son of Martuji, and resident of a village near Agra. He returned to India after an absence of over seventeen years.

How he and his two companions Ums Dutt and Ram Avtar were lured to Fiji on the pretence of being sent to Champare, and how they passed over five years of indentured period are sufficiently distressing accounts. Suffice it to say that after serving their full period of indenture respectively, Chehaju and his companions refused to go back to it in spite of high promises of better and brighter prospects. Ums Dutt and Ram Avtar joined another estate as fore labourers, while Chehaju began to serve as cook, and was able to save some money and invest it in renting a piece of agricultural land from one Mr. Surata on the estate of Pokotoko in Nawa, 40 miles away from the place where he was employed as cook. He gave this land on a leasehold contract to two other indentured men for farming purposes. Soon after, he bought a house on the estate where he left his family—wife, daughter and son. Chehaju was looked after their interests in the land, while he himself kept visiting the place off and on. He lived in the smaller hut October last when his house was valued at about £100, and his wife's ornaments and other property at about £40. His son and daughter were then ten and six years old respectively, the former having passed his first English book.

In December, January, and February last, as one knows, there were in Fiji strikes and riots, street fighting and shooting. Chehaju, however, was not able to give a clear detailed account of these. He says, the place he was serving at was mostly free from ferment and was 40 miles away from Nawa and so far from Suva and Rewa. The strikes were due to an agitation for higher wages and for a cheaper supply of rice. But since his occupation was different from that of the great bulk of his countrymen, and he was comparatively well to do, he did not in any way participate in the strikes. Yet as things seem to have transpired, Chehaju has come out as perhaps the worst sufferer. In February last, says Chehaju, he was casually informed that
TREATMENT OF INDIANS ABROAD

We reproduce below from the New Times full text of Mr. Andrews speech at Kennebunk on the treatment of Indians abroad. Mr. Andrews has just completed his tour in Northern India, where, among other things, he has been describing in his own words the humiliating condition of our countrymen abroad, and the grave situation arising in East Africa as an outcome of the treatment of Segregation laws. We understand that Mr. Andrews has stated so far as the treatment of Indians in South Africa is concerned, after which he expects the Indian Congress to take some definite steps in the matter.

Y I
A DISCOURAGE AND AN INQUIET PERSON

I am speaking to you tonight, not of those, I have heard, but of those whom I have seen with my own eyes. I am giving you the first-hand information about things which I have investigated on the spot in the different parts of the world. And I want you earnestly to face the question for yourselves, whether Indians should remain within the British Empire or not. The treatment of Indians abroad is to-day the most serious and the most important question in India.

The treatment of Indians is in the greater world of men and things may be judged by this test: if they are welcome to every part of the Empire as brothers and equals and sacred, then the Empire is for them.

Communalism in the true sense of the word Indians might, then, if they so wished it remain within such an equal Commonwealth without loss of self-respect. At least it might be said, that in that case, the position would not have become, from any descent steadfast, intolerable and abominable.

But if, on the contrary, the social position of Indians in the world today is in the very reverse of this, if the British Empire throughout the world does not welcome Indians, except under servile conditions, if the British Empire does not treat Indians as equals, equal to all other members of that Empire, if it does not offer the right hand of brotherhood and fellowship and comradeship to Indians, as Indians have always given and thrown their outside, with every possible indulgence and humiliation, then to me, at least, as an Englishman, the logic is irresistible that Indians must not remain any longer in that Empire, which necessarily reduces them almost in actual, practical life, to the most degrading terms. To remain in such a humiliating position is only to become more and more subservient. I have, in
my own Christian religion, a golden rule which is as simple as it is true, and as true as it is profound. It is this: "Whatever ye would that men do unto you, even so do unto them." No Englishman would, for a moment, submit to such treatment as I have seen Indians abroad obliged by brute force to submit to every day of their lives. No Englishman would stay in an Empire where he was not wanted at all except as an inferior. If then, this golden rule were to be applied, no Englishman, who is also a Christian, would wish, for one moment, that Indians should remain in an Empire under conditions that they would never submit to themselves. No Englishman, who is a Christian, ought to wish Indians to remain dependent and subservient, while he himself remains free and independent.

FARAWAY INDIANS

Let me take you to the thought of British India, where I have lived day by day with Indian housemen. On every side out there the Indian is marked by the hyde of inferiority, although he was the pioneer settler in the country. Things have come to such a pass that contact with Indians is regarded by many English men and women as contaminating. The Indian is not allowed to sit in a public place in which a European has sat. The Indian is not allowed to travel in a railway carriage in which a European may travel. The Indian is kept out of railway station refreshment rooms as far as possible, where any Europeans may be taking their meals. The Indian is discriminated against in the railway station bungalows and not allowed to occupy rooms in which Europeans may wish to sleep. The Indian is not even allowed to live in a European quarter, he will not be allowed to live there. Such a policy of the Ghettos is to be strictly earnestly cut, as much as is the order of the ruling White Race in East Africa, but by the direct order and pronouncement of the Colonial Secretary of State in London, at the Colonial Office Whitehall, Lord Milner, for Lord Milner himself has just formulated his ultimate decision, that such discrimination must be cut out, not only in residential quarters in East Africa but as far as possible in commercial quarters also. Remember, please remember, that this decision cannot be reversed.

The Law of Karma

An Indian gentleman, in that very joke of Johnnie Shandy in India, said to me one day: "Mr. Andrews, now when is it to be an unchangeable?" We have been treating with our fellow-countrymen as unchangeable. In India itself and now we have been made to feel what it is to be an unchangeable survivor. The Law of Karma as work itself out. It appeared to me that the hope here again was irresistible.

Segregation means Degradation

I wish to tell you emphatically, for a fact, that segregation means degradation. I have lived in such segregated areas called Indian refreshment, and have seen men from the degradation and the humiliation and the dis-enfranchisement from the very members of the British Empire at Whittingham that it must be segregated.

The Curse of Slavery

I will tell you another incident. In 1895 in South Africa, and had been working among the Indian poverty-stricken labourers. I was a young man of twentyfive years of age, and I was working among the Indian poverty-stricken labourers. In those days, we were asked what we thought of the situation, and I said we were against segregation. It is a very great relief to me now to see that the Indian is being treated as a fellow-countryman.
the sugar curates. They came round me at every Cooch Looch and implored me to send them back to India. They were honest and amiable. They had sunk lower and lower into slavery and misery, but through their but through the spirit of that benighted native indenture system, which had brought them out. They were in their misery actually going by thousands back again into indenture, because they were hardening and would get no worse, and their children were becoming more and more skinny. I felt the shame of it in India, that Indians were again being sold into slavery. I felt the shame more terribly still when I found on the truth that the Indian merchants in Cooch Looch, where the plan had been profiteering to ruin and selling to slavery. I felt every other problem and thought, and day over day that surely these Indians going back into slavery was a terrible thing. Oh, the shame of it. This humiliation of it. At last I agreed to the proposal that these enslaved Indians might find any right of descem they liked, which was almost worth less to them, as the terms of a once passage home and a small sum of money in their push to a star trek in India, I did not see what it would lead to. I asked the South African Government to take them at once at the opportunity I gave them. They chose the thin end of the wedge of repatriation. They came back on the repatriation, not of these helpless Indians, not, but by the Indians of all classes, including them in every way, short of emancipation, to leave the slavery. Only too late did I see that this would bring upon India a greater shame and humiliation than the shame and humiliation of these poverty-stricken Indian laborers going back again under the yolk of indenture.

"We will not forebear.

And now I will ask you a question: I have given you as faithfully as I am able, the present of India is a treatment over one large part of the British Empire, which I have seen and visited, I do not wish to be misunderstood. I have found comparatively many Indians in iron shoes, I have found Indian empires in iron shoes, who were perfectly ready to sell the Indians as you say. There is, there is a spirit as well as a mind. But I ask you, carefully to consider this one question. If this is the treatment that India receives, if they are sold publicly and plainly that they are not needed, if they are used half and humiliated under it, I ask you, I ask you, and I ask you again, should India be forced to remain within the British Empire, under the treatment of which the British Empire was? Should they not say quite plainly, "We are not going to remain within the British Empire merely as servants of wood and drawers of water?" If this is the case, I have the British Empire means for us, we shall have none of it. We shall go on our own. We shall dissolve. We shall give up this so-called partnership, which has become intolerable. We shall not be deceived any longer.

To sum up the whole matter, I believe the following in the verdict that soil respecting Indians, whose manorially has not been obsessed by the old oral words and phrases of the past, are announcing to-day, "We wish to be independent, we wish to be free, we do not want to belong to any Empire. We wish to be ourselves, to realize ourselves, to live our own life. We are not ready in the past to put ourselves under subjection to the West for a certain time. We had to pay off our past Karmas. We used to learn new lessons, we had to get out of old evil samskaras and habits. For this reason, for a limited time we were not prepared for full freedom. We submitted, we were in subjection, but we shall be independent as long as we shall recover our lost self-respect, we shall be free, we shall be independent. We shall be our own masters. No power on earth shall now keep any longer our nations of 300,000,000 people in subjection."

There is no Indian man. I wish to say one more unanswerable word and I have told you before, I am a Christian. I find my whole religion in the Coram, in the Mount. When I speak, therefore, of freedom, of independence, of greatness, I assert as an ultimate truth, for which I would宁愿ly die, that this cannot be won in all its purity by reliance on material forces, but only by reliance on the forces of the soul, by patience, by love. This was what Christ himself taught, when he said, "Put thy sword into its sheath, for they that take to the sword shall perish with the sword." I am not speaking now as a theologian; After many days and months of mental agony, I decided, during the Great War, at whatever cost, not to fight for my country, not to kill, not to commit violence. And, to prevent Indian secession, I have already declared, and here again unambiguously declare, my final, ultimate faith: It is this final, ultimate faith of my own soul which I have found alike in Buddha and in Christ. It is this final and ultimate truth of Buddha, which, God grant my brother, I shall ever serve from my heart, and shall serve.

Furthermore, it is my own unshaken belief, that the final and ultimate truth, which sprang first from India and later from us in Europe through Christ, is now near to dry, before our very eyes, warming for greater victories in the world than it has done before. It is the religion of the future. For, inspired of all new Indian inventions, of internal growths, and arms and of science, the world of simple men and women is sick and death, of Bloody War. And here an India, I can speak this ultimate truth with all my heart and soul and mind because it was from India, first of all, that this truth was proclaimed in living presence to the world. And its living power is present today, through the country of India as a burning faith in-day. Often and again, I have sat at the feet of simple Indian villagers and peasants and bowed my head in reverence and worship before their greatness, the greatness of the poor. Often and again, in the villages I have heard the truth from India where villages, the mothers of India, who have trusted us and loved us, and wished to call my mother, I will tell you one more story before I go. When I was in Amritsar, in 1914, at the time of the Passive Resistant Struggle, I was at the prison gaol, a little head of faithful Indian women, with Mrs Gandhi at their head, their bodies wasted and emaciated with long fasting and with prison hardships, their eyes bright with love, love even for their persecutors. I heard them speaking well of those who had oppressed them, and I saw a heavenly joy and peace written on their faces. I said to myself, "Here is my Christ," and I bowed my head and worshipped.

There, there is the India that I love. There, there, in that picture, is the India that I worship, and again and again, I say—

Bande Mataram, Bande Mataram, Bande Mataram.
YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

(Edited by M. K. Gandhi)

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TOLSTOY ON NON-CO-OPERATION

FROM A LETTER TO RUSSIAN LIBERALS

As to the ordinary methods of combating Government—there are two people who confess that our Government is very bad and who struggle against it, and there have been two ways of carrying on the struggle. And Tolstoy calls the methods the ‘method of the Revolutionary’ which consists in an attempt to alter the existing regime by violence, and the other the ‘method of the ’Generalist’ which consists in carrying on the struggle without violence and within the limits of the law, conquering constitutional rights by law, and he says: ‘Reflection and experience show us that both the means of combating Government used hitherto, are not only ineffectual but actually lead to strengthening the power and irresponsibility of the Government."

As in co-operation with the Government—this method is meditative and rational because Government, lacking in the grasp the whole power, and from which are called the laws on the basis of which the Liberals wish to resist it—this Government knows very well what is really dangerous to it, and will never let people who admit to it and not under its guidance, do anything that will undermine its authority.

And not only in this actually irrational and irrational, it also harmful. It is harmful because enlightened, good, and honest people by enabling the ranks of the Government give it a moral authority which, but for them, it would not possess. If the Government were made up entirely of such men—such men of violence, sodbusters and flatterers—who for their sires, it would not continue to exist. Another evil is that to ensure opportunities to carry on their work, highly enlightened and honest people have to begin to compromise and so, little by little, seems to consider, that for a good and noble may arise somewhat from truth in word and deed.

As in the background of children from Government controlled schools—The strength of the Government is in the people's ignorance, and the Government knows this and will therefore always oppose true enlightenment. It is true we realized that fact. And it is most unrealistic to let the Government, while it is spreading darkness, pretend to be busy with the enlightenment of the people. It is degrading the people by means of all sorts of pseudo-educational establishments it controls schools, high schools, and universities. But good is good, and enlightenment in enlightenment not when it is taken down to meet the requirements of the Government, but only when it is quite good and quite enlightened.

As in boycott or councils—What sort of to be done? I believe to combine, quiet, scathing, perhaps, on what you consider good and useful, quite independently of the Government, or whether it likes it or not. In other words Standing up for one's rights and as a member of Parliament but standing up for one's rights as a law and free man, and defending them in the only way in which moral and human dignity can be defended.

True, the rights of a member of Parliament are greater than the rights of an ordinary man, and it seems as though we could do much by using those rights. But the question is that to obtain the rights of a Member of Parliament, one has to abandon part of one's rights as a man, there is no longer any fixed point of leverage, and one can no longer either squirm or maintain any real right. In order to lift others out of a quagmire one must first stand on firm ground, and it seems to me that only in the future, you will not pull others out, but yourself will sink in.

CHRIST AND NON-CO-OPERATION

Appropriately interesting that Christ himself has suggested non-co-operation in the eighteenth chapter of Matthew which we read:

Moreover if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go, and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother:

But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.

And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican.
TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE.

An old test—England and the whole civilized world is now committed irrevocably to the theory of self-determination. But it is said that India has not yet ‘self-determined’ in favour of true Swaraj because Congress does not represent the Nation, because the educated classes do not represent the national will. Great all that! But Government has now created an electorate. This electorate cannot but be accepted by Government and the civilized world as adequately representing the Nation. If the majority of this electorate, votes now for the Panjab, Khilafat, and Swaraj, the nation will have clearly self-determined.

The Choice—India stands today on the parting of ways. On November 13, she will have shown whether she is going the way of immediate and real Swaraj or the way of bureaucratic machine-rule. Every voter must decide whether he is going to stand by those who are fighting for immediate and true Swaraj—their own national honour and dignity, or stand by the Government which has insulted our national honour through the Punjabi crime and our religion through the Khilafat wrong.

Do not vote Why!—The Government wants a fresh lease, under the cloak of the people’s consent, to continue its irresponsible career of crime and injustice in effect, it wants to delude the people to perpetuate a system that perpetuated the measure of Jallianwala Bagh. Think twice before you vote for this system. The new councils are like gilded piles, they have been decoyed for the occasion to deceive the voters.

What the New Councils cannot do.—The new Councils cannot prevent
(1) A repetition of the Khilafat injustice and the Punjabi crime,
(2) Indian troops from being used to keep in subjugation other nations,
(3) Indian money from being spent in aiding British Imperialism and foreign wars of aggression.

What the New Councils cannot do.—The new Councils prevent
(1) A real and immediate Swaraj; No power has been given to the Councils to vote for increase of responsibility for full Swaraj.
(2) Our economic freedom,
(3) Our moral and material uplift,
(4) Our inherent-right to be a free people.
When is the use, then, of voting?

What it means not to vote—Every vote not given to the Councils, means a vote for Swaraj in favour of the nation’s determination for full power and responsibility, a vote for the political and economic emancipation of India, a vote for national Honour, Liberty and Freedom.

WHAT TO DO ON THE 16TH OF NOVEMBER

In connection with this, Mr. Gandhi writes in Navajivan as follows.

The 16th of November is somewhat of a day of trial for the people, because on that day members for the Legislative Council will be elected throughout the Bombay presidency. What will the voter do on that day? What is their duty?

1. I hope that no voter will go to the polling booth to record his vote.
2. That all the voters will remain indecisive.
3. In case a meeting is held away from the polling booth, voters will attend it and express themselves against men represented on the Council.
4. The work of canvassing signatures and of asking voters not to vote will cease for 24 hours from the night of the 16th instant.
5. Volunteers too will not do anything on the 16th instant to dissuade voters from voting.
6. So short, those who choose to vote should have the day wholly at their disposal.

How can we hope to convert voters, whom we have not been able to persuade till the 15th? Surely we do not wish to prevent any body from voting by physical force. There can therefore be no persuasion on the 16th.

Our campaign is one of educating public opinion. When we have succeeded in doing that then and only then is Swaraj within easy reach.

MR. JINNAH AND NON-CO-OPERATION

This is the 5th out of India

Mr. Jinnah’s reply to Mr. Gandhi with reference to the Swaraj Sabha is extremely unsatisfactory. He maintains silence with regard to the very important fact declared by Mr. Jinnah himself that it was at Mr. Jinnah’s own instance that the question of altering the Sabha’s creed was referred to the general body. His argument that if the executive council cannot change the creed except by a three-quarters majority, the general body must of course be under a similar disability is very fallacious and misleading. It is perfectly reasonable to demand, as a small body to require a large majority to effect changes in the constitution, without requiring an equally large majority in a larger body. Mr. Jinnah has now come out with the opinion that Mr. Gandhi’s methods must lead to disaster, and yet he declared at the Ceylon press that non-co-operation was the only method to open India. The only inference one could draw from his support of Mr. Patel’s amendment was that he approved the principle of Mr. Gandhi’s proposal, and wanted a short respite of some three or four months in which to prepare to carry it out in practice. Indeed, some of Mr. Jinnah’s followers said so in open Congress. If Mr. Gandhi’s activities should now lead to disaster, as Mr. Jinnah apprehends, they will do, the more responsibility for the consequences squarely rests on those who, being really opposed to non-co-operation out and out, created the impression that they were prepared actively to support it to a certain extent. In September the only way for a Nationalist was to adopt non-co-operation, now the only way is to work for a programme which is universally acceptable for the early attainment of complete responsible government.
Young India

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 16th November, 1920.

DIFFICULTIES IN OUR WAY
(By M. K. Gandhi)

Our difficulties are of two kinds; those that are imposed from without and those that are of our own creation. The latter are far more dangerous, because we often fall prey to them and do not therefore resist to remove them. Thus, for instance, the disturbances created at Mrs. Besant's recent meetings at Bombay were of our own making. And it is easier to deal with a seditions meetings proclamation than the disturbance at Mrs. Besant's meetings. A prohibition of meetings makes no menace if disturbances were created by us undoubtedly weaken our cause. The verbal rowdism at Mrs. Besant's meeting was a type of violence. It was a distinct departure from the usual non-violent non-co-operation. It may easily result in physical violence.

Those who created the disturbances ought to realize it as pernicious for the sacred cause they have at heart. It is the very worst training we can give ourselves. Swaraj presupposes mutual toleration of views, no matter how distasteful they may be to us. If the non-co-operationists refuse to listen to the other party's views, they by themselves open the same charge of the Government, which they complain comes to them without considering their view point. Non-co-operation against the Government is based on, and is possible with, cooperation among ourselves. We must bring about as far as possible and consistently with our creed, harmony among ourselves. Rowdism is hardly the way to do so. By their action at the meetings in question the cooperationists have still further estranged from themselves Mrs. Besant and her friends and followers. The less is desired enough. They have certainly gained no new adherents by their rowdism. In so far as the students were concerned in the trouble offered to Mrs. Besant, they have desecrated themselves at a critical period in their education. They are called upon, in the name of religion and country, to disregard the wishes of their parents, should they discontinue them from leaving school tainted with Government grant or affiliation. Such disregard is permissible only to sons and daughters who have cultivated the sense of scrupulous respect and obedience towards their parents and elders. That discipline acts as a vice only when it is resorted to in response to a higher call and has not a taint of bitterness, hostility, or resentment in it. It is a positive vice when it becomes thoughtless, violent, and rowdy. The one smoothes the other removes. And after all, do we not owe anything to Mrs. Besant's years, her past brilliant services, and her sex? The next generation will remember it is because ungrateful, India's gratitude ought to amount for Mrs. Besant's respectful bearing even when she opposes India's sentiment. She does so from pure motives. She thinks that we are in error, she is of opinion that we are regarding India's progress, surely it is our duty to weigh what she considers our error. And it is our duty respectfully to consider what she says.

But I have been told that unless at her meetings, an emphasis on dissent is expressed, she would make appeal of our supposed silence, and claim that there is a larger body of Indian opinion at her back than is really the case. Surely rowdism is not the only way of expressing dissent. The best and the chosen way would be not to attend her meetings, unless we wish to go in order to be convinced. We need not swell her audience when we know that we do not approve of her views. The other way, if we must attend, is to enter our respectful dissent at the end of the meeting, or if we consider her remarks to be offensive to express our dissent by courteously walking out. A noisy demonstration is a sign of our weakness. A dignified withdrawal is a proof of our strength. Rowdism is, as a rule, intended to cover a minority that wishes to break up a meeting. A majority conscious of its strength produces an eloquent and electrical effect both on the speaker, and his, or her, minority of followers.

It is true that this rowdism is not a result of the movement of non-co-operation. It is a legacy of our past. We have been, in our herd, nurtured in the hateful traditions of the West in the manner of conducting our meetings. Applause and shouts of dissent are essentially a western institution. With this, our new method of non-violent non-co-operation, the old must go. The two cannot exist. If we are engaged in a dual between religion and irreligion, and if we truly represent the forces of religion, we shall have to give up even verbal violence and learn dignified ways of dealing with our opponents. It is through training in cool courage and self sacrifice, discipline and faith in God, and therefore humanity to the uttermost, that we shall conserve the honour of Islam and our country, and turn our opponents into admirers and fellow-workers.

MR. HORNBURN ON NON-CO-OPERATION

The following letter has been received by Mr. Gandhi from Mr. Hornburn, that sincere friend of India.

My dear Mahatma,

I am overjoyed at the decision of the Special Congress I fear our it is right, and I feel sure also that by our generous performance of your programme Indians will, by her own efforts, achieve freedom. My only regret is that I cannot there to help, there is so little that can be done here.

I hope I shall be able to return soon.

Ever Yours,

M. G. Hornburn
IF I AM ARRESTED—

[Translated from Mr. Gandhi's Article in Navajivan.]

I have been constantly thinking of what the people would do in case I am arrested. My co-workers also have been putting this question to me. What would be the plight of India if the people took to the wrong path through love and mad? What would be my own plight in such a case?

Blood of blood shed by the Government cannot frighten me, but I would be deeply pained even if the people did so much as chase the Government for my sake or in my name. It would be disastrous to the people lost their equilibrium and arrest the Nation's soul. The nation will achieve so progress merely by depending upon me. Progress is possible only by their understanding and following the path suggested by me. For this reason, I desire that the people should maintain perfect self-control and consider the day of my arrest as a day of rejoicing. I desire that even the weaknesses existing to-day should disappear at that time.

What can be the motive of the Government in arresting me? The Government are not my enemies, for I have not a grain of enmity towards them. But they believe that I am the soul of all this agitation that, if I am removed, the people will lose their head and the rulers will be left in peace, that the people are blindly following me. Not only the Government but some of our leaders also share this belief. But, then, can the Government put the people to the test? How can the Government ascertain whether the people understand my advice or are simply swayed by my utterances? The only way left to them is to arrest me. Of course, there is the alternative of watching them and, if they lose their equilibrium and the people are blind to me, the Government will see their own fault and even if they do, they will not admit it. The only way that remains for them is to measure the strength of the people. They can do this by arresting me. If the people are thus frightened into submission, they can be said to deserve the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs.

If on the other hand, the people resist violence, they will merely be playing into the hands of the Government. Their aeroplanes will then bomb the people, their Dyers will shoot into them, and their Scouts will uncover the veil of women. There will be other offenses to make the people rub their noses against the ground, crawl on their bellies, and undergo the scourge of whipping. Both these results will be equally bad and unfortunate. They will not lead to Swaraj. In other countries, governments have been overthrown by sheer brute-force, but I have often shown that India cannot attain Swaraj by that force. What then, should the people do if I am arrested? The answer now is simple. The people should not observe hartals, should not hold meetings, but should be fully awake. I should certainly expect—

(5) all the Government schools to be vacated and shut down,
(6) Lawyers to withdraw from practice, in greater numbers,
(7) Settlement by private arbitration of cases pending before the Law Courts,
(8) Opening of numerous national schools and Colleges,
(9) Renunciation of all foreign cloth in favour of the exclusive use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments by men and women, and selling or hiring of any foreign cloth or stock,
(10) None to enlist in the army or in any other Government service,
(11) Those able to serve their livelihood by other means to give up Government services, civil and even military,
(12) Contribution of as much as is wanted towards national funds,
(13) This holder to surrender titles in greater numbers,
(14) Candidates to withdraw from elections, or if already elected to resign their seats,
(15) Voters who have not yet made up their minds, to resolve that it is an aim to send any representative to the Councils.

If the people resolve and carry this out, they would not have to wait for Swaraj even for a week. If they can exhibit this much strength we shall have attained Swaraj.

I shall then be set free under the nation's seal. That will please me. My freedom today is like a prison to me.

It will only prove the people's weakness if they resist violence. I am ready to leave my home and turn myself in to the Government to secure peace. I am ready to wait for Swaraj. The people should interpret their self-control by non-co-operation. Let the people arrive at Swaraj and never consent to the submission to any authority. In fine, consider it from any point of view, the course suggested by me is the right one for the people to take.
STUDENTS ARE THE ARCHITECTS OF A NATION'S FREEDOM

In a recent address to the Students' Convocation, Bucknor, Professor Vaswani, began by saying:

"It is your karma to live a great life in India's destiny. Let us consecrate this moment of Non-Co-operation in its character. It is passive; it is pledged to the creed of non-violence but it does mean to revolutionize the minds and hearts of the people. It is your karma to live at the birth-hour of this movement. That karma may be your privilege if you resolve to help the nation now. And the thought I would leave with you tonight is that, you, students as a young men, can do much. I know the teaching given to you in the Government-controlled institutions is not responsive to the National Ideal. Your schools and colleges are, to-day, are Prusa houses, when they should be panaceous abode in the light of the great Life of the Nation. Your education is not related to the life of India. Do your college textbooks tell you of Tagore in literature, of Shankar in jurisprudence, of J.C. Bose in science, of Rabindranath in philosophy, of Thakur and Gandhi in painting? The Indian situation, several years ago, Lok Thak said, "The remedy is not petition but bayonet. Of boycott as a political method you read little in your text books which tell either of 'constitutional agitation' or violence. Again, Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha is a method not known to your textbooks in politics. They tell you that the basis of society is force, the great Indian leader tells you that society lies by caste, the power of the nest, the Will is a Sufrage, for that is in the essence of meaning and message of Satyagraha and non-co-operation.

LESSONS FROM HISTORY

After referring to Athens and the part played by young men who were inspired by Socrates and other teachers, Professor Vaswani referred to the Italy of Masucci, modern Egypt, Japan, China, Germany; and the great work of students. He said—

"Think of Italy. There was a time in Italy when it was under the heel of Austria. Italy awoke with a dream of Italian unification to its heart, and Masucci spread his message through students and young men. Informed as you know, the 'Order of Young Italy.' Think of the Germany of pre-war days. In the days of Bismarck, Germany was in a sorry state. But it was the German students who dreamed the dream of a great Fatherland. Some of them grew to be the great professors of Germany. One of them was Marx, the father of the Modern Revolution against capitalism. Other students, who dreamed of liberty and who, in the days of their manhood, served Germany toeward their life, were Engels, Hägel, and Kellomann.

Think of Egypt. The National University of Elberon, I believe, one of the greatest of the world's university either. Over ten thousand students roam there every year and are trained for national service. How much they have helped Egypt is known to every student of Egyptian nationalism. They organized processions and public meetings and conferences. They worked hard to see that the Mitter Mischra was boycotted. They carried the message of freedom to villages and towns.

Japan owes much to her students, one of them, Togo, leagued to do great things for her, he went to Europe to study Western nations, he returned to Japan to serve her and make her great among the nations. He initiated a heavy defeat on Russia in the Russo-Japanese war. He broke theORY and men who proved how wrong the Western thinkers who most stubbornly believed with Hegel that Asia was doomed to be dominated by Europe.

One of the latest illustrations of what students can do is supplied by recent happenings in China. British diplomacy, as some of you may know, favored Japan at the expense of China. Shantung was snatched from China and given over to Japan. There was agitation in Peking. The Chinese officials were "unreliable." It was hoped the agitation would die out. But on "repeals" of indemnities would extinguish the patriotic fire in the hearts of some Chinese students.

They resolved that the Chinese officials who had sold their country for gold should go, they resolved that China must not sign the Peace treaty, they resolved that until justice was done to China, Japanese goods must be boycotted. They were asked by their schoolmasters not to meddle with matters 'political,' they were denied sympathy by the rich and powerful, some of them were fired upon by the police, some of them were arrested and imprisoned. They were not bowed down, perseverance gave new life to their movement, they had the sympathy of shopkeepers, they organized harth and Conferences among boys and girls, carried on a great strike against Japanese goods. What will we ask, have they achieved? More than there is time to tell. They compelled the Cabinet to resign and China did not sign the Peace Treaty. They influenced the Japanese and Japanese goods were boycotted; they organized National Education Conferences. They have spread the message of Marx and Plato to thousands of villages. They have started several students' journals. They have opened several centres of social service. They have created a new intellectual revolution among the masses, and their movement—the student Movement of China—is scored today against all repression and cannot be crushed.

INDIANS IN THE COLONIES

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. G F ANDREWS

Q—What are your views about the way in which the voluntary repatriation scheme is being carried out by the South African Government?

A—I have been utterly disappointed by the way in which the scheme has been arrived at by the Government. First of all it appears that Mr. Wybrow-Colb has gone far beyond the bounds of distributing information to the depressed class of Indian laborers who may not know the Government's offer of a free passage. He went so far as to suggest a boycott of Indian traders by Europeans in order to drive them out of the country. He spoke in very ominous words about the determination of the South African Government to carry through the repatriation policy without surrender. All this implies pressure and makes the term 'voluntary' when applied to such a scheme, quite absurd and unmeaning. I greatly regret that I did not see at the time the political advantage which would be taken of even the slightest concession. I cannot help but thank that Sir Benjamin Rutherford, if he is reported res-
by Mr. Balfour's report. It was a valuable report, but it showed very little consideration for the labourer's point of view and very little knowledge of the exact hardships from which "the labourers were suffering." There was an indication that the author had not come into close and intimate contact with the labourers themselves, but had taken, for the most part, his facts from official records only. Mr. Balfour had known the Tamil country but I doubt if he had had much experience of the United Provinces. As the Fijian labourers are mainly Hindus, it is very unlikely that he will be able to get into close touch with them. They are also certain to shun him because of his official capacity. For all these reasons, he does not seem, as a chairman, to be likely to represent the Indian people. He is much more likely to represent the Government point of view. We do not know who are likely to accompany him, but if the Indians on the commission adopt the attitude which Lala Chundluri obviously adopted on the previous commission, that is to say, if they merely echo the chairman, then the new commission will not at all represent the very deep feeling of the Indian people. If the Government of India has really given a written pledge to the Fijians, that, if the Commission report in favour of recruiting will be restated, I feel that a grave wrong has been done and that the written statement must be recalled as quickly as possible.

Q. What do you think about the resumption of emigration to British Guiana?

A. I do not think that the resumption of recruited labour is advisable anywhere under any circumstances at present where the distance from India prohibits an easy passage to and fro. I am afraid, even in British Guiana, which has a much better record than Fiji, the real desire, below the surface, is merely the exploitation of cheap Indian labour, and not the desire to send colonists and settlers for an unoccupied country. What appears to me to reveal the true facts in the mortality rate owing to natural fever, British Guiana appears to be one of the worst places in the world for Malarias, and the Indian population has not been able to escape this deadly disease. I see from a leading article in the Statesman of 17th June, 1930, that out of 72,500 persons employed on the sugar estates from 12,000 to 25,000 have to be treated in hospital every year, in addition to those who are too ill to work, but are insufficiently ill to go to the hospital. In the more remote villages the conditions are worse, out of 96 deaths in a village in a year, 20 have been due to Malaria. The Liverpool Hospital School of Medicine calls attention to these figures.

Q. What scope do you suggest for the solution of the problems of East Africa's Indians?

A. This is the most difficult question of all, because the position of the Government of East Africa is not yet finally settled, even though lord
Mr. Bomanji has made his declaration. We must not forget that Lord Curzon made a declaration many years ago which has now been entirely reversed. He stated that no consideration would independenbe be given Lord Miller now states that independenbe shall be given, thus entirely reversing Lord Curzon’s declaration. Up to the present the Indian Government has been absolutely firm in its demand for equal Indian status, but no declaration has been made by the Indian Government since Lord Miller’s pronouncement, which clearly indicates what final action they are ready to take. With regard to Indians in East Africa, there will almost certainly be a refusal to sit on councils in an inferior position, but this will not satisfy the Indians with regard to land-purchase and race segregation. I am still daily thinking out this problem, and I hope it may be possible for me at some future time to make a more definite statement about it.

(The interview continued)

MR. BOMANJI ON NON-CO-OPERATION

Not long ago Mr. S. R. Bomanji, the well-known Bombay financier sent a telegram to Mr. Gandhi from London endorsing the Special Congress decision stating that “if there is no possible answer to British attitude regarding the Punjab, Mr. Bomanji has long been keen as a staunch supporter of Mr. Montagu and his policy, a representative of India interviewed him on the eve of his departure for this country, with a view to securing some elucidation of the sentiments contained in his message. Mr. Bomanji’s views deserve consideration from his old friends and colleagues. We give below excerpts from the interview.

Q.—“How do you expect to find the situation in India on your return?”

A.—“The situation is bound to grow much worse.” Mr. Bomanji declared, “as the whole foundation of our faith in British justice has been destroyed by the Dyer debates in both Houses. Anyone who knows anything should have known that the effect on India would be awful. Rightly or wrongly, it was felt that there was a final tribunal open to us—the tribunal of the British people—to appeal in case of necessity, and the Dyer debates have proved that even that exists no longer. Mr. Bomanji thought that Non-Co-operation under these circumstances was inevitable.

Q.—“Do you think there is any chance of the Non-Cooperation Movement succeeding until it has achieved its purpose?”

A.—“Not the slightest. Until the wrongs of the Punjab have been righted, there will be no real peace in the country and agitation must continue. If it should succeed, it will be a matter of lasting degree to us.”

THE MOSLEM PROBLEM

Also do not forget that the entire body of the Moslem in India is in ferment at the injustice of the Treaty of Viceroy, and it is a ferment confined to the Moslem India. All those who are acquainted with the Moslem would at large know that there is a universal ferment among the people of Islam. I myself had occasion recently to meet Moslem men from different parts of the world, and the impression I have formed is that their sentiment on the Khilafat question and the future of Turkey is identical with that of the Indian Moslem. You must remember that one of the two planks of the Non-Cooperation platform is the question of a just Turkish settlement, and therefore this matter must be attended to by responsible Imperial statesmen with the same care as the Punjab question. The question of both the movements in the same name, namely, the violation of the sacred rights of Moslem subject peoples and the violation of the sacred rights of subjects of the Crown, Non-Cooperation is the last resource that was left open to the people of India. They had tried every constitutional means to secure their position in the British Empire, and it is only when Government turned a deaf ear to all their representations and protests that the people have been driven to have recourse to this last weapon.”

THE EVERLASTING REACTIONARIES

So long as men like Churchill, Winston, Baldwin, and Haliburton continue to form part of the Government of India, so long there can be no hope of any real change in the present bureaucratic system of Government which has brought India to the verge of disaster. That is a fact which I wish were possible to rub well into the minds of the British people. In this connection I should add that I must equally blame my own people for having continued to associate any extent with Lord Chelmsford and to have allowed the return of O’Dwyer to India on the Army Commission.

I have just been sending the proceedings in the Imperial Legislative Council on Mr. Shewring’s resolution regarding the Punjab, and all I can say is that Mr. Shewring and his more influential colleagues had sufficient self respect and sense of national honour, that they should have walked out of the Council Chamber in body when Lord Chelmsford gave his monstrous ruling. I am sure that if his great master, the late Mr. Gokhale, had been in his place at the Council, he would not have submitted to such an outrage.

Q.—“What will be your own probable line of activity now return to India?”

A.—“I am going out expressly to be in time to attend the Annual Session of the Congress at Nagpur, and I must hereby say that the Non-Cooperation movement will have my whole-hearted moral support. I do not see that any alternative manner of action lies open to any self respecting Indian.”

THE NEW VICE-ROY

Q.—“How do you think the appointment of a new Viceroy would affect the situation?”

A.—“I do not think, having regard to the sentiments of the present situtation, that it matters very much who goes on as Viceroy of India. The Government are perfectly welcome to send the worst reactionary they can, for my part, would not even mind having O’Dwyer as Viceroy of India if the London Times wants us to have a civilian. It will probably help to complete the work that he has already done. The quibbling of Viceroyalty really now affects India much less than it does Great Britain. It is for Great Britain, if she wants to save her connection with India to act about sending a real democrat, clean gentleman to be the Viceroy of India.”
Q. — "Have you any remedy to propose?"

A. — "What is obviously wanted is a complete change of heart on the part of the entire system of Indian government from top to bottom. For instance, leaving out the present state of trade, currency and industry, India has simply been the victim of contemptible British exploitation. Take the report of the Industrial Commission, for which Sir Thomas Holland was responsible, and the Currency Commission Report. They are documents which are utterly indefensible, and their sole effect appears to be to crush Indian industries, commercial, and economic growth along national lines, and to make India ideal still further for the benefit of foreign exploiters."

"ANTIQUE AND OBSOLETE!"

Q. — "As you have been known to be a non-conformist and an extremist supporter of Mr. Montagu and his Reforms, may I ask how you think the Reforms have been affected or are likely to be affected by the No-operation movement?"

A. — "Unfortunately, I have to say that through the retarding circumstances and the Reform Reforms have been stagnated and obsolete. The Rules and Regulations, on which so much depended, have reduced the Reforms to an anachronism. I had always hoped that the Reforms would be given a fair chance after all the strenuous struggles in which Mr. Montagu engaged to secure their enactment, but unfortunately the forces of resumption and inaction were so strong that Mr. Montagu himself appears to have been deserted."

THE REFORMED COUNCILS

"Some modern leaders, who appear still to put their faith in the Reforms, are so far as to suggest that the Reforms may have a demoralizing effect on the No-operation Movement. What do you think of this view?"

"I think it is sheerly a delusion. Those who talk like that do not know of the intensity of feeling among the breasts of their countrymen. Already it is perfectly clear that the real leaders of India, the men who receive, and who command the confidence of their people, are not going to have anything to do with the Reform Councils."

"Some of the present reformists would do well to consider what it would be wise for them to do with the Reform Councils."

Great Britain and India are still to commence on the present duties of the new legislature. I am convinced that the Reform Councils cannot possibly work out any constructive or practical system as was intended by Mr. Montagu. I may add here that in my view the common phrase "Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms" is a complete misnomer. Lord Chelmsford had only a compulsory official relationship with the Reforms. He neither believed in the Reforms nor sympathized with the policy of which they were an expression. He and his associates are not the kind of people who can be expected in the light of their record honestly to work for the success of any such constitutional or democratic institutions. Their true nature is revealed in the notorious Government of India Proclamation of March 3, 1912.

A VOICE FROM MESSOPOTAMIA.

(To The Editor Young India.)

Sir,

In spite of our being under the terrible yoke of British Miltarism, it is with great satisfaction that I inform you of the following meeting, held at Cheek's Tower Barracks, as Baghdad on the 1st August, in honour of the dateappointed by our Hindoo-Muslim Brahman in India, who are really doing their best in the interest of our motherland, "India."

The following resolutions among others were unanimously passed:

1. The meeting requests all Hindoo-Muslim Brahman in India to ask the Government of India as well as the Home Government, why Indians and Indians only are not being demobilized, while every other department in Mesopotamia is either demobilized or turned into civil administration. If the Government says Mesopotamia is too much under war, to solve for Indians, as all Brits have been demobilized, we as Indians are ready to serve as Indian Labour Corps to turn into fighting men, and after normal parade of training of 15 days sending them to the firing line.

2. The meeting strongly protests against the lawless hunting by the Military Authorities in the country by compelling the poor Indian Labour Corps to turn into fighting men, and after normal parade of training of 15 days sending them to the firing line.

3. The meeting strongly protests against the recent order prohibiting Moslem calls in the force, here, to visit the sacred places in Mesopotamia.

4. The meeting again strongly protests against the treatment of the no-man of the language of demobilization, leave, or accepting of resignation and retaining men against their will

Mesopotamia Hindoo-Muslim Union, Etc.

Yours sincerely,

H. M. Darian

Dated 2-5-20

J. N. Darian.

[We publish this letter almost as received with the exception of some important resolutions. If the facts as so stated shows to what depth of degradation the Government has sunk either to satisfy lust for wealth or to keep up a becoming prestige.]

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The Student Revolt.

(From Prof. Vamanji.)

What is the meaning of the Student Revolt at Allahabad, Lahore, and Amritsar? It was expressed in that moving appeal issued by Allahabad to Indian students: 'India's soul is revolutionizing itself against the inhumane and brutal acts offered to her every day.' It is the name of all that is best and noblest in the heart of man, we appeal to you to join us in one just and righteous cause and sacrifice your time, toil, and talent to bring this struggle to a successful issue. And the appeal closes on a great note: 'For Freedom's battle once begun, and passed from bleeding vine to sun, though often lost is ever won.'

It is such resolves which have revolutionized the thought and lives of Nations.

One recalls what Egyptian students did in the days of Egypt's struggle for freedom. The entire University of London was captured, and young men and women were sent to various parts of the country. The same thing happened in India. But whereas the Indian students were fighting for their country, the Egyptian students were fighting for their freedom. The Egyptian students fought for their freedom because they saw the antagonism of the two forces. But the Indian students fought for India's independence because they saw the antagonism of the two forces.

Gandhiji says, 'I offer you hardship, hunger, rage, thirst, sleepless nights, fasts, and the long marches, privations, and discomforts.'

Victory in a Noble Cause. And Young Italy followed! Young men respond to the appeal for sacrifice, while those advanced in years indulge in the ease of calculating love of life and more. The profit and loss philosophy never inspired young men in any age.

"Pride and Power", says Sir Kenneth Chandra Sen. "In the arithmetic of fools." Young men believe and act while the middle-aged men calculate and tremble upon the ideal. During the turbulent period when the principles of certain colleges in Lahore were required to punish at least 10 percent of their students and a 'schedule of punishments' was supplied them by the Officer Commanding. And the Punjabs quietly submitted to the minimum demands of the Officer. A thousand times better would it have been to have closed the colleges in obedience to the Call of the Ideal.

The Student Revolt, now spreading to a number of schools and colleges, will not be appreciated by many of the 'fathers' who have for long years moved in an atmosphere of sanctity. But the hearts of the young respond to the ideal and it is the efforts of the young that will build the India of to-morrow. Young men, all over the country, are beginning to realize that the current system of education does not build character. The reason is not far to seek. The Schools and Colleges are, more or less, State Departments; they are, more or less, official-controlled, and within the State Departments, the students cannot move in an atmosphere of freedom.

"Rule Britannia," Britannia rules the waves." Such imperialist ideas are taught to our boys in the schools. In his book, "Indian Reform, the Imperial Idea and Provincial Progress," Sir Harcourt Butler urges that faith in the Empire will be the salvation of Indian education. The deeper meaning of Indian thought and life and history is not taught to our boys; differences of creed and race in India are exaggerated by the text-book writers with a view to argue that the Empire alone can give India "the only she needs." A National policy in economics, our students are told, would be harmful to India. For, "British trade has done marvels for India." The life-plant in every nation is not in the earth, certainly, it is an out-breathing of the Eternal. Yet that Life—she
The first principal of the college, the late Mr. Mitra, died of influenza a few months after he joined. It was during the two years that I spent in the college that, despite the prejudice and interest at the9, the devoted labours of the worthy founder received recognition, and the college was affiliated to the B.A. and B.Sc. standards. Having passed the institution in its infancy, it was not without a wrench that I had to advise my students to withdraw from the university and to try my association with it.

In my letter to the President and founder, I stated that "the college, being affiliated to the Government University of the Punjab, is an integral part of the machinery by which the Government is enacting the moral song of our country. We feel the prestige of the Government by nothing so much as the fine values we ask on British justice and education. Not that our modern men are the same as the students of to-day: today that the present system was conceived and fostered by British, indeed, I have noticed a growing tendency to use the adjective British in the post-war sense of Prussian." But the second failure still lingers.

We still persist in creating the present system of education with the following principles: Hindu, Tului, Gothic, Malaviya, Tagore, Bose, and the rest of our illustrious men whose names are enough to create the system. And then, is it true that we owe these great men to the present system? Hardly any of them have not at some period of his life expressed grave dissatisfaction with the system, and of which they grew angry at the need for notable contributions in the education from the system of the great man. Indeed, Tagore's essence is to show how little genius one school has been able to the school-room. No, then, is it any wonder a product of the present system the English was of Mahatma Gandhi. The name tradition in which most of our great men grew up have been false for the disappoing. It is no longer possible for the house to supply the correctives which our education needs. Radical reform is necessary to preserve the dying traditions of our civilization.

If there is not much truth in the statement that we owe our great leaders to the system that we seek to destroy, I am prepared to acknowledge that we are largely what our education has made us. The great man owes a great debt to the atmosphere in which he is brought up, and finds it difficult to shake the influence that is been absorbed at school and college. It is not the school and the college, especially the atmosphere over which they have their way in widening past, that the character of the same is made. Yes, we use what the system has made us. But can we say that what grade? Have we any reason to boast? Have we already forgotten the terible humiliation we suffered last year when our young men submitted ignominiously to the conscientious of the Manual Law authorities? And what about our acts of them, when Princaples of colleges preferred, rather than closing their doors, to fall at serious sacrifices or students, some of which they knew to be too much, and about the guilt of others of whom they had an evidence, at the dictation of Col Frank Johnson? This democratization was due to our educational institutions being directly or indirectly under the control of a Government, which had no scruples in
A TRIUMPH OF NON-VIOLENCE

(By M.K. Gandhi)

The campaign waged by the Government of India on the Non-co-operation movement may be regarded as its first triumph of a striking order. For the Government have decided in view of the non-violent character to refrain, for the time being at any rate, from repressing by violence what they consider to be an unconstitutional movement. The Government, as well as the people, may be congratulated upon this wise decision, and I have not the slightest doubt that, if the movement continues to be pursued with all violence, whether in word or deed, it would not only be impossible for the Government to resist in repression, but also to resist the ever growing volume of public opinion against it, when that opinion is backed by well directed acts of renunciation of Government patronage or support on a national scale.

But the campaign is careful to hold out the mailed fist, if the leaders of 'moderate' opinion fail to check the onward march of Non-co-operation. It is interesting to recall the exact wording of the Digest: "How long," the campaign says, "with due regard to their ultimate responsibility for the public safety, the Government will be able to maintain that policy (i.e., non-repression) "will depend largely on the success, which attends the efforts of the moderate section to check the extension of the movement and keep its details within bounds."

Thus repression is to replace reason and argument, if Non-co-operation becomes effective to the extent of making it impossible for the Government to exist whilst refusing to reduce its steps and repent of its crimes against India. For it must be noticed that the danger here feared is evidently not of violence but of the loss of the sanction of the Government. If my analysis is correct the Government are wickedly playing with the 'moderates' and with India. If they mean well let them make an irrevocable announcement in the clearest possible terms that, so long as the movement remains non-violent, they will not interfere with it even though it demands, and may result in, complete independence. That they will have to make that announcement sometime or other I have no doubt, if we, the non-co-operators, are able to keep the movement free from violence. But the announcement made when they are driven to it by unspeakable public opinion will have lost all its grace.

The rest of the campaign is quite in keeping with the traditional policy of the Government. It is full of the usual self-adulation and misrepresentations about non-co-operators. It is wrong, for instance, to say that those who have been repressed have been in conflict with the principles of non-violence. I challenge the Government to prima facie from the speeches of those who have been imprisoned any instance of incitement to violence. The language of the defendants has sometimes been reckless, even exaggerated, but the records available to me of the trials of some of them show that there has been no violence preached by the speakers concerned. There is very little that the speakers have said which I would not have said myself. It is equally untrue to say that those who have been punished have been so dealt with for "tempering with the loyalty of the army or of the police." Unless a public appeal to reassert the authority and sanction of the Government is the object of the campaign, it is a great advance towards the realization of the principle of self-government.

The misrepresentation about the leaders of the movement and the cheap attack at their supposed demands to seek martyrdom is beneath notice. The Government ought to know what a relief it is to the Ah-Brothers and myself to learn that, at least for the present, they do not propose to imprison us. Everybody knows that the danger of any outbreak of violence is the greatest if we are imprisoned. I am aware that this is a hardening of position if the people were truly strong and self-reliant, they would remain unperturbed by our or any leaders' imprisonment. So long, however, as the blighting influence of the view of the Government lasts, so long must there be this fear of an insidious outbreak of violence on the part of the people of this unhappy land, when they are deprived of the necessities and services of those in whom they believe.

The Government's third argument, in favour of the exercise of their self-esteem, is the most specious, and calculated to entrap the unwary. They describe non-co-operation as 'seditious and criminal' schemes, which, if successful, could only result in wide-spread disorder, political chaos, and the ruin of all those who have any real stake in the country. In this one sentence we have the unmistakable character of the Government. They must know that successful non-co-operation means orderly and peaceful destruction of the present system of the Government, and its replacement not by disorder and chaos but by political order of the first magnitude, and protection of every legitimate interest in the country—not excluding that of the European merchant who desires to earn an honest living in India.
themselves against the masses. Have the masses no stakes in India? Are they not the only people with any real stake in the country? The lower classes, if the worst happened, could even migrate from the country. The masses know no other home save the few yards of earth space which they possess in this land of sorrow and tears.

It lies in the mouth of the framers of the resolution to say that the appeal of co-operation is to prejudice and ignorance," when they are aware that from every platform the appeal is made for self-sacrifice, self-purification, and discipline. The misrepresentation of Satyagraha is no less wicked. The experience was indeed bitter during that awful month of April, but the recollection in the minds of the people of official methods during those days will remain an evergreen India will never forget how a wicked administrator in the Punjab sought to crush an innocent and pure movement by every means, fair or foul. The wonderful awakening of the people of India to a sense of the wrong done, and to a sense of their duty, gives the lie direct to the implications of the sentence on Satyagraha.

The resolution in question is an appeal not merely to our ignorance and avarice, but it is an appeal also to our beneficence. For the document proceeds "the full consummation of their hopes would leave Hindus defenseless alike against foreign aggression and internal abuses, all the benefits of a stable government and undisturbed peace, the results that have been obtained by the orderly progress of India for more than a century and the still greater results which, it is hoped, will attend her advance under the Reform scheme, her material prosperity and her political progress, are all to be sacrificed to the irresponsible caprice of a few misguided men." In my humble opinion this paragraph is, indeed, the most misleading, the most mischievous, and to borrow the phraseology of the Government, "the most immoral." If the argument advanced in it said India must ever remain in a defeaceless condition without the British bayonet, I cannot imagine for India a prospect more gloomy, more immoral, and more unworthy of a nation, that only a century ago was capable of putting in the field the most sturdy warriors more than all the soldiers that can be mustered together to-day by any of the powers of Europe, barring Russia. What occurred in the Indian Mutiny can be pronounced upon the British Government than that, for the commercial greed of the British nation, it has emancipated a whole people! The framers must be aware that the full consummation of our hope means an India with the whole of her population having one mind and purpose, self-contained and self-sustained, producing enough for all her daily wants, and therefore able to stand alone against any pressure of the powers of the world combined. This may well be a dream-because that is the exact meaning of the full consummation of our hope—and I should very much like the prize to witness a duel between the powers of all the world pouring into India—not to punish her for any offence given by her, but to order to trade with her at the point of the bayonet, and the Welfare the Greeks, the Romans, the Musulms and the Europeans and all the other military races of India voluntarily fighting for their hearth and home. I am told that there never will be in India such unity of purpose and mind. I must say that there never will be Swaraj for India, and therefore the real and true progress—normal and material. It was Goethe who wrote that under the Indian sky a cloud no bigger than a man's thumb might any moment gather such dimensions as to flood a whole country if it burst; I have implicit faith in the ability of my countrymen to hope that all the bitter experiences of the British rule, at present lying as sub-consciousness in the minds of the nation, may any moment take definite shape and the nation recognizing the necessity of worthy and self-sacrificial such as to compel either repentance or a real change of heart or withdrawal on the part of the British Government.

I must refrain from burdening this article with any reflections of the changes of immorality etc. regarding my advice to the student-at-work. The pages of this journal have made clear to its readers the attitude of the fundamental position taken upon this question. I must close this lengthy article with nothing of the sort thing that can stop the inevitable progress of co-operation via a full and satisfactory revision of the Whitefield terms and complete satisfaction about the Punjab; "When, and if," the British nation respects the wishes of India on these two points, co-operation will replace non-co-operation, and Swaraj within the Empire will be the most natural consequence.

But all that dear repentance comes, in spite of all the resolutions and all the repression that may be resorted to by the Government, so far as I can read the national will non-violent co-operation will and must remain the mode of the nation that has grown weary of an all-devouring, hungry world.

**BRAHMINS AND NON-BRAHMINS**

(By M K Gandhi)

When I wrote in "Young India" on the non-Brahmin question in Maharashtra, I diluted that the non-Brahmin was largely if not entirely, a political matter, and that the complication was not a mistrust against the Brahmins as a class by the non-Brahmins, or a class, as by some educated, non-Brahmins against the Brahmins who were mostly Brahmins. Non-Brahmins include the Konkans, the Marathas, the Jains and the "untouchables." The latter, however, have a separate grievance against the other non-Brahmins, in that they are insulted as much by the non-Brahmins, the caste for the educated non-Brahmins is again not common to all. It may however be stated in the following terms.
THE SIKH LEAGUE

(By S. K. Guptas.)

Bibi Kalu, the talented Lii or of the 'Tribune' has kindly sent me an extract from a press letter received by him from a Sikh correspondent, for my comments. The extract runs as follows:

"Mohammed Gouland sent some of the Sikh gentlemen who were to remonstrate with him on the 23rd October last on the pernicious effects of his propaganda on Sikh masses, that his propaganda of non-cooperation was non-violent, that there were no Sikh visible signs that the movement was likely to become violent among the Sikhs, that he would strongly urge the Sikhs to remain non-violent both in word and deed, but that if despite his warning the Sikhs became violent, he shall not protest if the British authorities crush them by force. He shall then let them be annihilated without letting either Hindus or
Mahomedans come to their help, for it shall be by the swords (kholat) and total extirpation of an element which is likely to become violent that the propagandists of non-violent non-co-operation will succeed; said Babu Khanna Roy after quoting the foregoing says: "The writer adds that at a meeting of the Sixth League these words were duly repeated as having been used by you and that you who was present did not contradict the report. The letter he is further informed, been published by the 'Civil and Military Gazette' of Lahore.

The above remarks, I suppose, intended to discredit me. Now the conversation referred to was long, lasting nearly an hour. Some of the remarks made by me during the conversation have been given to the press and put together as though I had made them in the manner and the order given. The fact is that the conversation was carried on partly in Hindustani and partly in English. My remarks were addressed to several members of the delegation. The letter I am not sure that the attitude of some of the Sikhs present at the meeting, and what it filled me with grief. I told them also that if I was allowed to speak, I would warn the audience against the danger of violence, that it would be suicidal to do violence to co-operators and seek to make them non-co-operators by compulsion. I told them that in the non-co-operative it would be courted destruction if they committed violence, for the British would in that event have an opportunity of destroying the whole of the community. I certainly told my hearers that, as far as I could, I would discourage Hindu and Mahomedans from helping in any campaign of violence, and that I would not in this struggle against the Government be deterred by the fear of such a calamity as has been described to me.

The summary of my remarks given by the writer then badly does justice to me. I may state that I do not know the writer nor have I seen the letter from which Babu Khanna Roy has taken the extract. I do recall a speech at the Sixth League reproducing the conversation. His speech was in Gourkhali and so far as I understood him I think he correctly represented the gist of my remarks.

THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF GUJRAT

By establishing a university and starting a college, at Ahmedabad, Gujurat has shown that non-co-operation has constructive side as well as only a paralyzing process. Non-co-operation has to destroy before it can construct. The National University stands to-day as a protest against British injustice, and as a vindication of National honour. But it has to come to stay. It draws its inspiration from the national ideals of a united India. It stands for a religion which is the Dharma of the Hindoo and Islams, a Mohammedan. It wants to rescue the Indian vernaculars from unmerited oblivion and make them the fountain of national regeneration and Indian culture. It holds that a systematic study of Asiatic cultures is no less essential than the study of Western science for a complete education for life. The vast treasures of Sanskrit and Arabic, Persian and Pali, and Magna Graecia have to be rescued in order to discover wherein lies the source of strength for the nation. It does not propose merely to feed on, or repeat, the ancient cultures. It rather hopes to build a new culture based on the traditions of the past enriched by the experiences of later times. It stands for the synthesis of the different cultures that have some to stay in India, that have influenced Indian life, and that, in their turn, have themselves been influenced by the spirit of the soil. This synthesis will naturally be of the Swastika type, where the whole culture is ensured its legitimate place, and not of the Anarita pattern, where one dominant culture absorbs the rest, and where the aim is not towards harmony, but towards an artificial and forced unity. That is why the University has desired a study of all the Indian religions by its students. The Hindus may thus have an opportunity of studying the Koran and the Muslems of knowing what the Hindu Shastras contain. If the University has excluded anything, it is the Spirit of Brahman that regards any section of humanity as permanently unteachable. The study of Hindustani, which is a national blend of Sanskrit, Hindi, and Panjabi, has been made compulsory. The spirit of independence will be fostered not only through Religion, Politics, and History, but through vocational training also, which alone can give the youth of the country economic independence and a backbone that comes out of a sense of self-respect. The University hopes to organize higher schools throughout the motherland, so that education may be spread broadcast and filtered down to the masses as easily as possible. The one of Gujrat is the medium of education will facilitate this process, and, as long, the suicidal cleavage between the educated and the non-educated will be bridged. And, as an offset of industrial education to the gentle folk, illiteracy education for the industrial classes, the nскос distribution of wealth and the consequent social discontent, will be amenable checked. The greatest fact of the Government Universties have been their alien control and the false notion they have created as regards 'secularism.' The Gujarat University by non-co-operating with the Government has anti-mutually eradicated both these evils from its own system. If the founders and promoters stick to this resolve till the Government becomes nations friendly, it will help them to cultivate a clear perception of national ideals and national needs. Let us pray to God that the workers get the necessary faith and strength to uphold the banner they have unfurled.
Mr. Douglas Replies.

To The Editor, "Young India."

Sir,

With reference to Mr. Gandhi's article under the heading 'Letter to Speaker' reprinted in 'The Independent' of the 10th instant from your paper, I request you will extend me the courtesy of your columns, as to a member Mr. Gandhi has challenged me to 'clear up my position.'

Personally, I do not think there is anything that requires clearing up on my part, as the Indian Daily Telegraph dated the 33rd October, though deliberately brief, is there, and those who have got eyes to see may see what is stated therein, but those who will not see I cannot expect to convince. But for the facts that my silence would be capable of misinterpretation, I should have preferred not to have said anything further in this matter, and I write this with reluctance as I feel that I have to pass religious ground, and I shall try my level best not to hurt any one's feelings and religious susceptibilities.

Mr. Gandhi complains that I did not protest at the meeting of the 15th October, and that I did not complete to him subsequently. As to protesting at the meeting I left the meeting in a state of disgust and judging from the present mood of audiences at political meetings, it is quite to be expected whether I would have obtained a hearing if I had got up to take exception to the speeches of the learned Maulvis. As to completing to Mr. Gandhi, the matter concerned me and my future conduct, not merely as a new operator but as a Christian, and however great a respect I may have for Mr. Gandhi, I refuse to admit him as my guide and to take counsel with him as to my conduct as a Christian.

Mr. Gandhi further complains to having been castigated in one respect, but that obviously refers to the report of his speech by Mr. Michael Dyer, and not by me, as the publication of the contest is somewhat on fair to me I must state this to avoid confusion.

Now to the speeches of the Maulvis and my own, drawn from the non-cooperation movement in consequence of those speeches. The gist of my letter of the 21st October is that a Christian was referred to as a 'Kafir' and his murderer as a 'Shahid,' and that in my opinion this amounted to the accrobation of such a murder. The use of the word 'Kafir' is admitted, but says Mr. Gandhi in his answer that Bihari Heralds spoke of Hinduism as heathen, and as many a Christian church to this day, a whole race of men-kind is spoken of contemptuously. An argument of this nature savours of invective, and I am surprised that a man of the eminence of Mr. Gandhi should have gone so wide of the mark. The speeches of the 15th October at Lucknow were not delivered from a temple, mosque, or church, they were delivered from, if I may be permitted to describe it, the national platform, a platform to which Mr. Gandhi in several of his writings extols the Indian Christian and Jewelt where, and these speeches were not made obscure though devout Masons, but were those of the protagonists of this movement, and in a meeting held for the propagation of this political creed. Mr. Gandhi has not touched that portion of my letter in which I said that the murderer was referred to as a 'Shahid,' nor does he say in his article that that word was not used without the slightest idea of any belated contribution from any one and I assert that term was employed by Mr. Amarnath Anjali when Mr. Gandhi openly calls him heartless in this movement. Having failed to comprehend the significance of this, it is not astounding that Mr. Gandhi should render my attitude incomprehensible. But this is the vital point. The plan was the national platform, the occasion was for the proceedings of the doctrine of non-violent non-co-operation, the speakers were the Muslim leaders of this movement, and the upshot of their speeches was that, though they did not approve of this murder from the moral point of view, but from the religious aspect because the person murdered was a Christian, the murderer being Mohammedan was passed off as a 'Shahid.' I request Mr. Gandhi to ponder over this, that if a murderer is described as a 'Shahid,' it has no meaning in this, that the murderer was a non-violent non-cooperator, having committed, what the murderer becomes a 'Shahid,' and not understanding any subtle pretensions to the contrary, the example is the 'Shahid' as held up by public esteem, to be emulated by his co-religionists, if they have any submission to religious reward. It would require an intellect of an unusually acute order not to perceive in this a condensation of the murder. Though it is not for me to enter into the merits of this question from a religious point of view, I maintain that these speeches amounted to a condensation of murder, to put it very mildly, to deserve murder as worldly grounds in one breach and in the next to hold it on religious grounds, not only insignificant degree, but is unreasonably inappropriate from the unviolated co-operation platform and on the lips of the leaders of this movement. And when the leaders of a propaganda violets one of the cardinal principles of it, only two cases are open to my opinion to the discrediting followers, either to withdraw in protest if they are in a minority, or if they are a majority to disedge such leaders from their position. I being a Christian was in the first position, and I took the first course, and it is for the public and Mr. Gandhi to decide what action to take, if they really disapprove of these speeches and do not think it necessary to compromise with an awkward situation by merely hanging words Mr. Gandhi passes the question, "Do I know what I have said or written for the Punjab?" My answer is, certainly I do, but I am equally concerned I am not going to get them to the enemy of such Muslim leaders, who to suit this particular occasion, preached violence in disguise to the ghastly murder of a Christian woman.

On my part this is the last word to be considered.

H. R. Douglas,

12th November 1920.

( I need hardly say that Mr. Douglas has missed the mark. He may not work with his non-cooperation with a Mussulman or my Mussulman. But he may co-operate with an unrighteous government because he finds his co-workers equally to be unrighteous. I so far as the Mussulman Shakes Agh is concerned, I am inviting him to state his own position — M. G.)
SYTA AHA AND THE SUPPRESSED CLASSES

July 14, 1920

To the Editor, Young India.

I am printing on my letter to your leading article of 1st July this year, you have virtually admitted my point of view, that no Hindu should wash out the stain of past before moral progress. You have pointed out that in this nation there is no unconscionable psychology which, if a rude start is given, can lead us to believe that a country permanently remains a moral degenerate. But you have not yet realized that the British administration has been a degrading factor in the moral and religious development of this country. And until we remove the root cause of this moral degeneration, the British administration will not be acceptable to us. I am therefore writing to you to point out the moral degeneration of this country and to express my feeling that this moral degeneration is not due to the Hindu administration alone.

Yours faithfully,

Rashtriya Hindu Lok Samiti

RESIGNATION OF AN HON ARMY RANK

Bawalpani, October 5th 1920

Respected Mohandas,

Enclosed herewith I enclose in the Army in 1918 and served in Mesopotamia for a year or so in February 1919 the East I was attached to was disbanded, and on relief to another unit I was pressed with a task of organizing the banks in the area which has been handed over to you, and in the meantime I have been working with the Indian National Congress, the Indian National Congress cannot do without the services of an Indian with a clear mind and I look forward to your early return to this unit. I am hopeful that you will prove to be a valuable addition to the forces of the Indian National Congress.

Yours faithfully,

Bawalpani, 5th October 1920

P. Chaudhry, B.A.
A Repeal, ordered by the House of Commons in 1892 (another in 1909) and enacted by Mrs. Besant in her book ‘India’s National’ gave the annual salaries being paid in India for the services of 12,178 Europeans at Rs. 877,14,411. 11,651 Indians received Rs. 2,55,34,318, only 1333 holding appointments of Rs. 200 and above, while almost all Europeans and Anglo-Indians held appointments of over Rs. 700. The figures for repeals quoted above increased by an average of 25% on account of war and grain allowances etc.

Two facts are apparent from this. One, the low percentage of Indians in the higher services and their comparatively low pay, the other, the fact already surprised by the members of higher services, the average pay of Europeans being nearly Rs. 700, that of an Indian Rs. 200. In the year 1918, 19 the 85.5 million were spent on salaries and other expenses of our civil administration. The fresh increase of about 5% of Repeals, however, is meant, exclusively for members of the Imperial Indian Services, which means mostly Europeans, there being not even 5% of Indians in these pampered services.

We say emphatically that this must be anything but ‘amnesty’. We must at Swaraj that will bring us moral and material benefits.

Independence will make the ‘services’ not a source of exploitation but an asset to the country, returning to the country more than what is expended on them.

But this is not the only outcome of the Repeals and our services to the Empire during the war. Apart from the war gifts of 510 millions and 55 millions, we had to bear 90 annual military expenditure of about Rs. 50 crores for the year 1918-19, Rs. 85 crores for 1919-20, and the estimates for the current year 1920-21 have been put down as 90 crores—nearly one-half of our total income. At the head of all this comes the recommendations of the Fisher Committee Report, which by their own confessions involve a greater increase of military expenditure annually. It is not possible for us to give an accurate estimate here, though we have to do so soon after. But it can safely be stated that it will mean a few more crores of rupees.

Notes.

The Swallows of Reform—the authors and adherents of the Reform Act have repeatedly been firming into our ears, the song of the blessings and golden benefits of the Reform Act.

Perhaps the following is one of the many blessings with which the Act has brought to its bear.

The dynamic arrangement and control of administration has given an unrestricted impetus to the creation of new posts, not departments and sub-departments, as if we had already too few of them. The creation of ‘Counsel of State’ in the posts of paid Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Legislative Assemblies as a result of interjection and popularisation of the administration, the way of functions to ‘Transferred’ and ‘Reserved’ subjects and, as consequence thereof, creation of the posts of ministers with their full staff, the organisation of separate department of Indianists are going to put the country to enormous additional expenses. But apart from that, what have the provisions of the Reform Act to say about the recent increases in the salaries, allowances etc of the heaven-born? In reply to a question in the House of Commons regarding the recent increases of pay, the following figures (of increases) were given.

| British Officers of Indian army and of British troops in India | £ 1,700,000 |
| Indian Medical Service | £ 200,000 |
| Indian Civil Service | £ 700,000 |
| Indian Police Service | £ 100,000 |
| Indian Educational Service | £ 100,000 |

Total... £ 2,540,000
WORTH OF INDIAN AND EUROPEAN LIVES.—In the Imperial Legislative Council on September 5 in the House Member, replying to Mr. Sadiq, said Rs. 50,000 were awarded in compensation to the House Member for the death of Mr. Sadiq, who lost his life in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. The highest amount paid to an individual is Rs. 250, the least amount paid to an individual is Rs. 200, while the average is Rs. 200.

The total amount paid as relief in the case of Europeans who were injured is Rs. 24,210, the greatest amount paid being Rs. 20,000, while the least being Rs. 750 and the average being Rs. 7,218.

The total amount paid as relief in the case of Europeans who lost their lives is Rs. 30,321.

Replying to a question by Mr. Lakhani regarding the question for wind and orphanage, Mr. Lakhani asked the House Member and the House responded that the Government had not yet decided on the matter. The Government has decided to award Rs. 4,000 to the family of the deceased.

Meaning of Imperial Partnership.—The following occurs in the covering letter to Part IV and other parts of the Report on the activities of the Indian Army.

Western Europe will no longer be an armed camp, but Eastern Europe and the Near and Middle East are in a condition of friction with consequences in India, especially as regards her military and financial resources, that we are unable to ignore.

The central theme of probable military operations is to shift from West to East. In the future we must contemplate the possibility of our army operating in the Middle East, based partially on India and partially on the Near East.

India has been admitted into partnership with the Empire, and the Indian Army has fought alongside British forces in the Near East and the Middle East. The Indian Army is ready to be used in any part of the world.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN SCHOOLS

Proprietary High School

To Mr. J. H. Divan, Joint Principal,

Dear Sir,

I have read the following letter to the Director of Public Instruction and the Secretary Joint Examination Board to-day.

Yours truly,

J. H. Lakhani,
Joint Principal.

To Mr. J. H. Divan, Joint Principal,

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that an account of the violation of the school rules, as given on my application, is in connection with the Hindu and the great injustice done to my countrymen. I respect the property lost.

A statement laid shows the number of cases in which assistance was given by the Government to the dependants of dead persons killed at Jallianwala Bagh. The highest amount paid to an individual is Rs. 250, the least amount paid to an individual is Rs. 200, while the average is Rs. 200.

The total amount paid as relief in the case of Europeans who were injured is Rs. 24,210, the greatest amount paid being Rs. 20,000, while the least being Rs. 750 and the average being Rs. 7,218.

The total amount paid as relief in the case of Europeans who lost their lives is Rs. 30,321.

Mr. Lakhani further said that he was strongly pressed by the demands of the Indian people for the release of those who are still in jail and by the Indian people for the release of those who are still in jail.

The following is an English rendering of brief notes of Mr. Gandhi's lecture speech contributed by Mr. Mahatma Gandhi to the Viceroy of India on the 10th instant:

Mr. Gandhi referred mainly to the treatment of the Mohun Zafar in his speech. He said that the Mohun had already secured his liberty by going to jail, while the others were still in prison. He expressed his special sympathy with the suffering of the Mohun and his family, and said that he was not sure that the Government was wise in deporting the Mohun and his family, and that it was the duty of all Indians to try to overcome this feeling, keeping to the task of opening a new era, seeing that the path of truth and justice, because to destroy this aggressive Government was to destroy the word of God.

Mr. Gandhi further said that there are two ways by which we can help the Mohun Zafar. One is that he should return to his home and be an example to his people, and the other is that we should enter the field of life and work to help him. He said that we should enter the field of life and work to help him.

Mr. Gandhi further said that he was strongly pressed by the demands of the Indian people for the release of those who are still in jail and by the Indian people for the release of those who are still in jail.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN SCHOOLS

Proprietary High School
Abroad, 18th Nov. 1920.

To Mr. J. H. Divan, Joint Principal,

Dear Sir,

Mr. Lakhani has addressed the following letter to the Director of Public Instruction and the Secretary Joint Examination Board to-day:

Yours truly,

J. H. Lakhani,
Joint Principal.

To Mr. J. H. Divan, Joint Principal,

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that an account of the violation of the school rules, as given on my application, is in connection with the Hindu and the great injustice done to my countrymen.

regards the Punjap outbreak, I have decided to sever all connections with the Government Educational Department.

Yours truly,

J. H. Divan,
Joint Principal.

To Mr. J. H. Divan, Joint Principal of the Proprietary High School, whom you have all connections with the Government, it is now affiliated to the Imperial Indian University, and has over 1800 students in 10 (Ed. X. L.)
MORE DIFFICULTIES.

(By W. K. Ganda.)

The resolution of the Senate of the Gujarati National University in regard to Mr. Andrews' question about the admission of children of the 'depressed' classes to the schools affiliated to that University is reported to have raised a furore in Ahmedabad. Not only has the flintier given manufacturing to a 'Tumne of Indians' correspondent, but the committee has met to discuss the matter by means of another letter, which the constitution of the Senate says that it does not contain a single Muslim member. The discovery, however, may inform the reader, is as proof of the want of national character of the University. The Hindu-Muslim unity is no more by expression. It requires no arid proost. The simple reason why there is no Muslim representative on the Senate is that no higher educated Muslims, able to give his name, has been found to take an interest in the national education movement. I merely refer to this matter to show that we must reconstitute, with attempts to discredit the movement even by reinterpretation of motives. That is a difficultly from without and ever to deal with.

The 'depressed classes' difficulty is intellectual and therefore far more serious, because it may give rise to a split and weaken the cause—no one can survive intellectual difficulties if he is not adequately multiplied. Yet there can be no surrender in the matter of principles for the sake of unity. You cannot promote a cause when you are undermining it by surrendering its vital parts. The 'depressed classes' problem is a vital part of the cause. Swaraj is an incomparable without full participation to the 'depressed classes' as it is impossible without real Hindu-Muslim unity. In my opinion we must become a nation of Empire because we have created the 'parish' in our midst. The slave owner is always more hurt than the slave. We shall be with our Swaraj as long as we will keep in bondage a fifth of the population. Hindus. Have we not made the 'parish' crawl on our heels? Have we not segregated them? And if we are to treat the 'parish', it is the religion of the white race to segregate us. And if it is no argument for the white race to say that we are satisfied with the badge of our inferiority, it is less for us to say that the 'parish' is satisfied with its own slavery. Our slavery is complete when we begin to hug it.

The Gujarati Senate therefore created the cost when it refused to bend before the storm. This non-co-operation is a process of self punishment. We may not cling to patrician customs and claim the pure hose of Swaraj, Unani'ability I hold is a blunder, an integral part of Hinduism. The world has advanced in thought, though it is still barbarous in action. And unreligion can stand that which is not based on fundamental truths. Any glorification of error will destroy a religion as surely as disregard of a disease is bound to destroy a body. This government of one is an unpalatable corporation. It has ruled by dividing Mussulmans from Hindus. It is quite capable of taking advantage of the internal weakness of Hinduism. It will not the 'depressed classes' against the rest of the Hindus, non-Brahmins against Brahmins. The Gujarat Senate resolution does not end the trouble. It merely points out the difficulty. The trouble will end only when the masses and classes of Hindus have rid themselves of the sin of unpalatability. A Hindu lover of Swaraj will be ardently work for the amelioration of the lot of the 'depressed' classes as he works for Hindu-Muslim unity. We must treat them as our brethren and give them the same rights that we claim for ourselves.

COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

(By K. N. Ganda.)

The elections in the Bombay Presidency and elsewhere have demonstrated the success of non-co-operation among councilors, as far as the votes are concerned. In some cases not a single vote seems to have registered its votes. What will be the case of representatives do we have known that the votes have refrained from going to the polls out of fear of discrimination or even prosecution. For the instructions were not to participate and as far as I am aware, instructions were implicitly followed in the face of these facts, is it not the clear duty of the members declared to have been elected not to have anything to do with the Council? The electors have shown in an uncertain terms that they do not want to have anything to do with the reformed Council. The members will reduce representative institutions to an absurdity if they persist in going to the Council when they have the clearest possible mandate to the contrary.

If the so-called representatives do not obey the demands of their electors, the course of the latter is quite clear. They must form their associations, and through these bodies pass votes of no confidence they must address their respective members notifying their disapproval of their conduct and allowing themselves to be declared elected. It follows too that the electors must not on any account whatever take any action from these members. For them the Council does not exist. They must not seek any relief through it. The next trial of the voters will come when the Council is opened, if at all, in the face of this verdict. The temptation to our government by having questions put in the Council will be very great. The electors will have to resist the temptation.

But let us hope for the good sense of our country that the members themselves will bow to the verdict so emphatically declared by the electors.
STATE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION
(By M. K. Gandhi)

Pandit Gangaram Sharma's letter reproduced elsewhere was a reasonable contribution to the question of primary education. It has even been making a useful experiment in primary education in the Punjab, and is able to throw a flood of light on this very important problem. His refusal to take government grants and affiliate his school makes his scheme specially attractive. It has received the blessing of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Shastri. The programme is ambitious and well thought out. The scheme is inexpensive. My fear is that it is over-weighted with too many limits. But one has hardly the right to criticise an experiment without a careful study of the spot. I question the advisability of introducing a knowledge of English in any scheme of primary education. In my opinion, millions of boys and girls of this country do not need to know English at all. They need ideas rather than languages. And I would give even little children ideas about Swaraj and other essential matters without their having to leave for higher literary knowledge. The present system and method of education fills a big gap with many useless facts and leaves him without proper mental development till he begins to receive a high school training. Thus we have come to think quite unwarrantedly that we cannot imbibe true ideas of liberty, religion etc., without a knowledge of English, and invest such a method of is a burden.

The most interesting part of Pandit Gangaram Sharma's letter lies in the information he reports about the difficulties placed in his way by the local officials and the startling figures he produces regarding the progress of primary education in the Punjab. It would appear that in 1924, in a population of 25,29,900, there were 69,900 middle schools, catering for 4,12,264 children. In 1935-36, with a population of 25,41,100, there were only 14,495 middle schools and 4,140 Government schools, catering in all for 29,312 children. If the figures are correct, the state of primary education in the Punjab is worse now than it was in 1919-20 before British occupation. Yet we are told that in 1924, the nationalism education, we cannot afford it.

There are other equally disturbing figures and facts. Pandit Gangaram Sharma has shown us that we must deal with them later.

OUR MADRAS LETTER

There is nothing so encouraging or helpful to the consciousness of our opponents. It is a reliable index of the pressure of any movement. Unmistakable signs mark the progress that the Non-co-operatist propaganda has made. The Governor of Madras thought fit to honour it with a second-hand pronouncement about its unconstitutionality, the original provocative usage being an Ex-Advocate-General, I. C. S. Gibson, who called it "objectionable."

The second question is whether the Governor, who is a "freedom fighter," should go to the trouble of writing to us, Our (Continued on page 9)

WOMEN AND VOTE

Mrs. Hirabai A. Tata, who went to England last year to represent Indian Women's movements in connection with the new Reform League of the South Indian Women's Congress Alliance, to the men of India to support votes for women. Now while we do not think the women's folk of India to come into their own and take their proper place by the side of their men, guarding their own responsibilities and rights and also of their men, we confess our inability to appreciate any "campaign" of "Votes for Women," and that for two reasons. We hardly think that a campaign conducted on the lines of the "Women suffrage movement" in Europe or America would be of any use or benefit to this country in general and the women in particular. Secondly, there is not at all the time needed for any such campaign which would lead to disapprobation of the national energy of the manhood and womanhood of India. We are engaged in a deadly struggle with a wretched, servile bureaucracy that has time and space, and it is essential that only the wretched but also outraged the wretched of India. We are struggling with this bureaucracy not for wrenching out votes of their "dirty" hands, but that bloodstained knives with which they dig and dig as often and as deep as they like—into the holy and soul of the nation. Our women will have been starved after and won their vote by rising equal to the traditions of the past in helping their men against a common foe. And how can they do this best? Not barely by an elevation of "Votes for Women," not also by forming alliances with the women of other nations, but by working to complete the second and cooperation with them and joining them in every possible manner. The instances of Chaudhri Atiyar, Madras, and the plan of the Bharat Jana Morcha are only a few of the many historical—not allegorical—instances of the middle centuries in which women saved the honour of their husbands, brothers, sons and even whole kingdoms by breaking and sheer strength of character. Today they can save the country from economic and social ruin. And they would be giving an invaluable lead to the country by taking up the war-cry of "Swadeshi," by introducing hand-woven and the use of pure Swadeshi clothing their homes, by bringing up their children in an atmosphere of purity and patriotism. The American and Indian women are not mere pawns in winning freedom for their countries. The women of India will have rightly deserved and won their votes by liberating themselves and their men from the death-grip of the existing government which is the greatest of all social evils with which society is cursed. Their votes are already there, for has not the Congress admitted their right to equal status and privileges? And the women of India will have successfully done what was poorly done by our fathers, and we claim, by proving that they are capable of so much sense as men when national honour is at stake.
November 24, 1920

YOUNG INDIA

graduates have not yet realised, but the Government
has, that the true issue now is between Democracy
and Caste. The Government has realised that
any candidate is better than none and the
number of voters are more important than nomina-
tions or parties. Repression now may show up to
the electorate just these defects in the constitu-
tion against which Non-co-operation contends, and
which it is now necessary to cover up. Such an
exposure would bring in a thumping success for
Non-co-operation at this poll. Moreover there
should be no casual till the Delta comes and hand-
stands functions that the policy of rallying the Modera-
tes by giving another twist is the present situa-
tion of the Government. It has on its side the
accompanied Taluk Board and District Board presi-
dents, Public Prosecutors, and Government plen-
aries, many of whom are candidates, and also the
village officials to work up the elections.

Besides Government, there are others working
for us against the Boycott of Councils the non-
Brahmin or Justice Party, and the small but growing
of reservation. Brahmins 17th and groups
equally, though separately, either the Non-co opera-
tion movement. The reservation Brahmins resolu-
tion any movement which seeks to place
full power in the hands of a popular minority, which,
they feel must long tolerate caste exclusions.
The Justice party is observed by the idea of com-
petition for places and honours between the educated
Brahmans and the educated non-Brahman, and
has not hesitated to support Government in all
matters in which local Brahmin politicians took a
leading part. Yet now the movement has gained such
a foot-hold among all people, including non-Brah-
min, that the leader of the party has issued a
"warning" to non-Brahmin voters against the
ominations of non-cooperators.

There can be nothing more absurd or false than
the statement made by the responsible leader of
the party that "in the Presidency at large the Non-
co-operation movement is a success to increase the
chances of Brahmins getting into the Councils,
that to neglect it is a truce which is intended to
secure the return of Brahman candidates. The leader of
a party is entitled to weigh the chances and choos-
e the line of action, but to say that the movement is
a dereliction of his duty to secure the success of
any particular candidate is absurd and untrue.
It cannot be that this experienced and shrewd politi-
cian would be so ignorant of the history of the in-
ception of this movement in India, or at any rate
the history of its growth under extraordinarily
difficult conditions in this Presidency, as to attrib-
te such a loss motive to those who work it in
Madras. Surely, he cannot be unaware that its worst opponents, who either carry on an open and
vigorous campaign against it, to whom have declared
that it is unconstitutional even before Govern-
ment so declared it, or who damn it by faint praise
and adopt a policy of passive resistance to the prac-
tical phases of the movement, are all either them-
selves Brahman candidates or are the greatest sup-
porters of some of them.

In all battles we should be prepared for scorns,
It is among the well-understood tactics of warfare,
either military or international. The Brahman
candidates and their agents will go about with scars
news of an unexpected flood of non-Brahmin voters
gang solid for justice candidates, and calling on the
people to abandon Non-co-operation as unsuited for
the peculiar conditions of Madras, and exhibiting them
to save Madras from the tragedy of a Justice suc-
sess. Non-Brahman candidates go about similarly
among non-Brahmins giving the alarming "news" that
the Brahmins are all young, and that non-
co-operation have cheated the non-Brahmins, or
have themselves been cheated by the Brahmin
voters. All these are election tactics. The only course
for honest men knowing their own minds to stand
and not be scared into a betrayal of the cause
at the last moment.

The district in which this area is at the bottom of
the J j movement. Caste minorities can never
cause it to be called non-Brahman, we keep up the
patriotism and the conflicts by successfully handing
other apparent defeat to, in such matter and more
successful tactics than itself success If the Brah-
min movement be a non-co-operation and plump for the
Brahmin candidates, nothing will be achieved but a
fresh line of variation and minor and loss of
chief to minority. The endorsement of a few
Brahmin candidates on the part of the Madras
Legislative Council is not going to be the Brahmin
community in any manner. It will help the spread of
muckraking and we have a new force to the villages
and the pressmen, who have bitterness to follow this lead.

Madras
17-11-20

THE PROBLEM OF THE "UNTOUCHABLES"

(Interview with Mr. Andrews Concluded)

Q.—Do you suggest that propaganda for inde-
pendence should be postponed until the problem of
the "untouchables" has been solved, as you referred
in your previous interview with the "Scarcity" to the
present problem of the "untouchables" as a great
hindrance to the attainment of swaraj owing to the
possibility of the untouchables opposing the demand
for independence?

A.—No, not at all. I am very glad you asked
this question. What I strongly hold is thus: that
the Indian goal of independence is clear before us.
We must immediately begin, and by all means with
our own claim, to the independence, if I may
so call it, of the "untouchables." Let me give you an
example. I was walking down a street of Calcutta
with a young Indian student who had most nobly
struggled through difficulties of poverty, and wished
to become a doctor when he had passed his ex-
AN INTERESTING EXPERIMENT IN EDUCATION

Dear Mahatmaji,

Perhaps you might have forgotten, occupied as you are, that I ever made upon you and explained to you how the Government had pressed indigenous education in the Punjab, and how, instead, it has created a dilemma for the future. Yes, then I told you that I was simply making you aware of the programme of non-co-operation, and that it was an unwise move on your part, and that I should tell you something in the way of practical work that I had done. I then explained to you my scheme of primary education, the practical work that was done, and what remained to be done by maps and valuable statistics collated from door to door.

You fully followed me, but you could not give me some attention at that time, because you had much work at hand, and therefore you asked me that I should submit a short summary of my work and programme. It was then the 3rd of October 1920. Since then I left the Punjab for very urgent business, and you have been so occupied that I have not been able to comply with your request. I now take the earliest opportunity to do my bidding, and hope that you will judge me by giving some moments from your very valuable time to its personal.

The "Vidya Sabha Purush," as the society is called, was registered on the 27th Jan 1919. The project Vidya Sabha has been doing the work of Primary Education from the year 1917. It was first inaugurated in the name of Primary Education Propagation Society, and its object was to prepare ground for free and compulsory primary education by opening free primary school at its own expense, to overcome the objection of the Government "that people did not want it," and then hand over these schools to the District Board. The Imperial and Provincial Governments were favourably impressed by the movement, and the work of the society was most used in terms of praise by the Imperial and the Provincial reports on Education, it also received commendations from both officials and non-officials.

After the breach due to the passing of the Rewall Act, the head officals began to sow even upon this ironwent movement because they saw it as political gain. Accordingly, they issued orders that the society was a political body, and as such any sort should be given to it. Since then the Society has been running its work independently, and has been able to start at Roapara high school, 16 secondary, and 31 primary schools, and 2 dispensaries. The society has also opened a branch at Delhi, where it has established one secondary and 15 primary schools. The total number of students in all these schools is 1,800.

The society owns a high school building of its own at Roapara worth about Rs. 50,000, and a middle school building at Kargar worth Rs. 4,000.

The society spends per month about Rs. 350 for the secondary schools, Rs. 500 for the primary schools, Rs. 500 for dispensary, and Rs. 500 for general supervision and office. This includes all proceeds from fees and represents a net loss of Rs. 1750, which the society has to lose every month. It should be noted here that primary education is completely free, and in some cases even books and clothes are also provided free.


Delhi High School has been nationalized.
November 24, 1920.

The society is meeting all that loss through public donations and has not accepted any Government grant at all. But up to this time the society has been living from hand to mouth, and its reserve fund has been depleted, because the work is increasing very rapidly.

The society is yet teaching the books prescribed by the University of the Punjab, with additional compulsory training in Urdu and Hindi. But special classes on strictly moral and national lines are under preparation, and they will be substituted as soon as practicable.

The society has also trained 10 teachers as masters and 500 students as eyeguards. The masters now practically manage all the farm and other gatherings, and the interfering voice of the police is not needed. The society is also employing 2 doctors, who by turns lecture to the villagers about hygiene and sanitation.

I may mention here for your information that results of the educational activities of the society in the Khali-Navad Group, which was an important centre of work, the group consists of 73 villages with a population of 25,000. Before the society began its work here, there were only 5 English medium schools and 4 Urdu boys under instruction, but after two years' work, the society has succeeded in opening 22 more primary schools, and the number of students receiving instruction has increased from 2,200 to 7,500. Moreover, there was not a single English secondary school in which the primary school boys could continue their education, but now the society has opened 6 such schools, and the number of students in these schools is 1,700.

Now, you are fully aware that our country as a nation has neglected, that free primary education is the most needed need of our country. Every individual must have been educated directed towards higher education with the result that primary education has been sadly neglected. My three years' practical experience in this line has brought home to me that if we had devoted equal attention to this work, our political and social evils would have been solved automatically, so dear master would have been fully prepared to achieve Swaraj; I therefore beg you to present the following scheme for the promotion of primary and secondary education, and hope that you will give your very best assistance in it.

In India there are 300 Districts and 1,000 Taluks or taluks. I propose that for the present, in every district a common educational centre should be started, with a population of 10,000. It should be 10 primary schools and one secondary school should be started at once. Every village primary school should not be more than two miles distant from the nearest secondary school. Moreover, there should be a central lending and reading room in every school. There should also be a dispensary for the two villages and a central higher Arbitration Court. The importance of the scheme, and its practicability, I leave for you to judge.

The expenses of the scheme will be as follows—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Fund</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispensary</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total expenses for the centre | 6,000

To meet these expenses it is proposed that the Congress Education Fund should be raised and, similarly, provincial and district Education Committees. The Congress or Swaraj School should be started.

To conclude, the All India Education Fund, from which it should advance 25% of the total expense, should be set up by Provincial Committees, 25% by the District Committees, and the remaining 50% to be raised locally.

Young India,

3rd April, 1920.
A TELL-TALE TABLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>People</th>
<th>Number of those present at each school</th>
<th>Total number of schools</th>
<th>Total number of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THE FIJI TRAGEDY AND PANDIT BADRI MAHARAY.

In the 'Young India',

Pandit Badri Maharay, member of the Fiji Legislature, has sent a letter to the Editor in an article entitled 'Pandit Badri Maharay to Fiji'. He has made the following points:

1. He feels that the Fiji Congress has been 'a long time for a better result of Indian interest in Fiji'.
2. He mentions that the Fiji Labour Board has given him an impression that the interests of the Indians are not being looked after adequately.
3. He concludes that the Fiji Congress should be more vocal in its demands for better treatment of the Indian community.

THE FIJI TRAGEDY AND PANDIT BADRI MAHARAY.

In 'Young India',

Pandit Badri Maharay has referred to the recent Fiji disturbances as "some slight labour troubles". He states that the hundred Indian men and women were sentenced to six months in jail. A sort of martial law was proclaimed in Fiji, and Mr. N. Mandal, the Indian member of the Legislative Council, was detained. A wage strike was called from Australia to New Zealand. Tiffs shot were fired upon Indian crowds killing some and wounding many. And all these were only "some slight labour troubles", according to Pandit Badri Maharay. Though Pandit Badri Maharay has not said anything about his attitude towards these "slight labour troubles", I have some reliable information from my Fiji correspondents about him. Here are some of the facts about his doings during the recent disturbances:

1. It was Pandit Badri Maharay who tried to get Mr. Mandal deported. It was in this case that the argument "some legal Indians" for deportation. The despised of the Fiji Government mentions the fact that Pandit Badri Maharay addressed meetings of Indians in which he urged them against the danger into which they were being led by agitators. Of course by "agitators" he meant Mr. and Mrs. Mandal, who were giving their moral help to the poor Indian labourers.

2. Pandit Badri Maharay made very bitter and false attacks on the Indian Imperial Association and its leaders, and thus he did at a time when they had already received the great displeasure of the Fiji Government on account of their support of the labourers' cause. It is to be noted that the Indian Imperial Association was the only political organisation doing useful work for the Fiji Indians.

3. Pandit Badri Maharay did not give any help to his half-starved fellow countrymen in Fiji. On the other hand he told them that they were hopeless. The Governor writes in his dispatch that Pandit Badri Maharay described them as "lachries" in conversation with him.

In his lectures he often said that two shillings were quite sufficient as a daily wage. The demand of the labourers for 8 shillings was quite unjustifiable, he writes, in a letter published in 'Young India', which was written by Mr. Holland and other labour members of the New Zealand Parliament, asking for help from Fiji. And yet every thing personally, he says a view quite opposite to that of our friend Pandit Badri Maharay. They write in their report: "The subsequent demand for a wage of 8s. a day grew out of the enormous increase in the cost of living, and it is our opinion that the government is justified in".

But the most regrettable thing that Pandit Badri Maharay did was that he opposed the majority report of the government of the Indian Association that was appointed to investigate the cost of living and the wages of Indians.

Thus Pandit Badri Maharay left Mr. S. S. Chowdhury, the representative of the Indian laborers in the majority of the Fiji Association in the course of his work, but Mr. S. S. Chowdhury has referred to the Fiji Association in his report. He has written: "What part did Pandit Badri Maharay play in the Fiji Tragedy?" And the answerable answer was: that he belayed the cause of the Fiji Indians.

But this is not all. The honorable Pandit does not stop here. He goes a step further and he is now advertising Fiji with a view to the resumption of immigration to the colony. It is remarkable that out of the 33 lines of his short statement published in the Leader of 11 October he has devoted as many as 16 lines to the advertisement of Fiji. It is not that Pandit Badri Maharay betrays his metal, and we can only see what perversity is making a fool of him when he says that Indians in Fiji have got no chance of movement, that they have opportunities of acquiring land and other privileges and that the introduction of more women into Fiji will be of the greatest benefit to them.

Pandit Badri Maharay has already done a great injury to the cause of Fiji Indians by his recent doings, and he is now adding insult to injury when he makes an offer for the re-establishment of immigration to the colony. But his efforts are doomed to failure. Pandit Badri Maharay and the white creators of Fiji know that, and this is for all, that India is not going to send a single labourer, man or woman, to Fiji under any system whatsoever.

Ek Dhanaya Hridaya.

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H. G. WELLS ON INDIA.

In the "Outline of History," Mr H. G. Wells makes some brief, but entertaining comments on the British administration in India. In his own estimable manner he relates how, after the mutinous revolution that had taken place in Egypt, the British crushed it in India also; they remained more successfully for a century and a half, and there were more of them. He describes how "masses of consummate intellects grew more abundant" and lamented how Indian industries, and particularly the cotton and jute industry, suffered from legislation that favored the British manufacturers. For an account of these and more interesting details, we must refer the reader to Part 29 of the "History of the World," for the present we quote Mr. Wells' views on the present system of government adding that they are a disturbing contrast to the usual view of European authors who see India with a lack of either feeling or judgment that is both contemptuous and remarkable.

* India*, written by Mr. Wells, is an autobiography or on an individual. Its role combines the disadvantage of absolute accuracy with the impracticability of democratic administration. The Indian with a complaint to make has no visible means to go to, but the Emperor is a golden symbol he must engrave in his mind or imagine a question in the British House of Commons. The more despised Parliament is with Britains within the last attention, India will remove and the more she will be at the mercy of the small group of higher officials. This is manifestly impossible as a permanent state of affairs. Indian life, whatever its restrictions, is moving forward with the rest of the world, India has an increasing share of newspapers, an increasing

number of educated people affected by western ideas, and an increasing sense of the common grievances against her government. There has been little or no corresponding advance in the education and quality of the British officials in India during the last century. His tradition is a high one; he is often a man of exceptional quality, but the system is unimaginative and inflexible. Moreover the military power that stands behind these officials has developed neither in character nor in intelligence during the last century. No other class has been so stagnant intellectually as the British military class.

Confronted with a more educated India, the British military man, usually aware of his educational defects, and constantly apprehensive of revolution, has in the last few years displayed a disposition towards slyly pointing out the most extravagant results. For a time the Great War showed what small amount of British public attention was previously given to India altogether, and drew away the more intelligent military men from her service. During those years, and the four years of discontent that followed those years, India became a subject for the most eventful constitutional crisis that had occurred in India, the measure of an unavowed political gathering at Lucknow in which nearly two thousand people were killed or wounded, hanged and flogged, the result of mutual exasperation, a sort of official terror, that produced a profound moral shock, when at last the Hunter Commission of 1910 brought them before the home public. In liberal-minded England, which had been wont to regard their empire as an instrument of free peoples, the revolution of the Barwara, the chief administrator produced a very understandable dismay... .

Knowing the bureaucratic and military system of India so well, it is not surprising that Mr. Wells should strike a correct note when dealing with the present situation. "In the Government of India Act of 1919, " he writes, " we have the opening of a new and happier era that may culminate in a free and willing group of Indian peoples taking an equal place among the accredited states of the world... ." But, as he says, "the hour has not yet come for writing the chapter that India is opening for her self. Let us pray, in all humility, that the chapter will be a glorious one.

* Thus, as we believe, the first time that an Englishman can author recognize and put in writing the fact and Indian now working for the Salvation himself—

then she no longer begging her salvation from the British or Parliament. (Feb. 2, 1.)
Notes.

Zafar Ali Khan's Treatment—I promised to inquire of Mulana Zafar Ali Khan appraoch the accuracy of the statement he made to us regarding the treatment of his father in the Lahore jail pending trial. I have now heard from him and he has no knowledge of calling the local government communiqués a lie. He says that the information be gave me was absolutely correct, that Mulana Zafar Ali Khan was kept in a dark room, and that he was not permitted to receive food from outside. The son however said that, after the public declaration made at the Lahore meeting, his father was removed to better quarters and permitted to receive food from outside. This does not improve the government's case but rather makes it worse. They have corrected the illegality after it was made public, but a guilty conscience. They know that they were in the wrong, but had expected that this gross ill-treatment of an unarm-trial person would pass unnoticed. There is another possible and charitable explanation. It may be that the higher authorities knew nothing of the illegality, that it was the act of an under official without the knowledge of the higher authorities, and that they have themselves been duped by the guilty official. But if that were so it is a further proof of the state of corruption that is rampant in the present administration. I hope that Government will come forward with all seriousness be made. I have no desire to bring discredit upon a state whose name is known. But all the matter clouded up, the public will be entitled to believe the statement confirmed by the son of Mulana Zafar Ali Khan.

The Duke’s Visit—The Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught will be soon to visit India. It is a matter of great sorrow to me that I should have to advise a complete break of all public functions held in his honour. He is personally an estimable gentleman. But in my humble opinion public interest demands that this official visit should be strictly ignored. The Royal Highness comes to sustain an ignorant system of government, he comes to whitewash an irresponsible bureaucracy. In these matters, he must not forget that the wounds inflicted upon us, but to mock us by flagrant deceptions. It is to be hoped that His Royal Highness is to see caste with us in promoting our own downfall. No government official, whether he be European or Indian, has a right to claim any welcome in honour from us so long as the government which pays them represents, ruinous, unrepresentative and inept to the one thing useful.

Storm in a Tea Cup—Apropos of the last I am tempted to notice the Leaders' Ring at Mr. Mubarek Ali in as much as he accepted the invitation to be of a district magistrate. It is not often that I am able to read newspaper paragraphs. But I happen to read the Leader of the 25th November. It certainly grated me. The Leader has a reputation for being bright, pungent and sarcastic, but never for hitting below the belt. The paragraph about Mulana Mubarek Ali appears to me to be below par. The Non-co-operation resolution boycott official functions. It does not boycott private dinners at a tea table between an official and a public man. When the Leader was an inconsistency. I see a gentlemanly man on the part of Mulana Mubarek Ali. It is a demonstration of the fact that this movement is either based on hatred or is aimed at Englishmen personally. It seeks merely to destroy a system which even the best of Englishmen cannot make tolerable. It seeks to paralyze national morale or purposes of the nation. In my opinion Mr. Mubarek Ali would have failed in his duty as a public worker, if he had rejected the District Magistrate's invitation to tea with him and have a chat. It would have been a different thing if a public function was held by the District Magistrate in order to sustain or enhance his prestige.

Bad Taste—In my humble opinion, the attack delivered by the Leader on Pandit Motilal Nehru regarding his telegram about the action of the Punjab Government in having prohibited a contemplated Home Rule League gathering at Pandit Motilal Nehru is reported to have said that the prohibition should be rescinded because non-disobedience was undesirable. Instead of making the desirable self restraint using the telegram, the Leader has chosen to laugh at Pandit Motilal for having reacted to prohibition. If the Punjab had been violent and the people had resisted, the Leader would have been rightly wrathful. I do expect the Leader to be just as active against opponents. The goal of Non-co-operation is the establishment of Swaraj by purification public life, and generating public opinion by non-violent, i.e. courteous or civil means. I admit that non-co-operationists have not as a body yet enforced civilly in their own power. But the tendency is undoubtedly in that direction. Now for the words of the speech of the Pandit. Old words are requiring new values. Experience has a bad odor. But it is not bad word in itself. Civil disobedience is lawful, but it is not desirable or expedient as long as the nation has not acquired full self-control, and so long as it has not learnt the necessity of obeying just laws of its own free will and apart from the fear of punishment prescribed by them. Suspension of payment of taxes is lawful but it is inexpedient so long as the nation as a whole has not imbued the lesson of non-violence in its faculties. In other words non-violence is not a mere subject of Non-co-operation. It is a integral and primary part. Its higher and more potent forms may not be adopted till it can be said, with a fair measure of certainty, that the nation has realized the situation and can stand restraint, imprisonment, and worse with an unperturbed mind.

M. K. O.
AN ADVICE
(By M K Gandhi.)

The following anonymous advice has been received by me—

"Mahatma,"

"Listen to a woman's advice. Reject it, but ponder over it well before you reject, and pray to the All-wise fervently for wisdom and inspiration. Co-operation is strength, division is weakness. Leave your scope of Non-co-operation to only three things—foreign goods, the police system, and the army. Therefore you will remove all internal differences and strengthen our cause and speed up our Glorious efforts chiefly, not wholly, to the border tribes, the Sikhs the Punjabs, the Dogras, and especially the Gurkhas. Work through secret societies as history teaches, and not by Persian trumpets. Do not threaten but strike the root and not at the branches. May God speed you and our cause to success. —Mrs. L.

The letter is undated. It is evidently not a woman's letter. It is too unwomanly to be a woman's letter. The women of India are infinitely braver than the letter would make them out to be. The writer writes about God but is possessed with the fear of the British bayonet, and would therefore gladly make use of the Sikh and the Gurkha steel. He has ill-digest the gospel of Non-co-operation. In his fearsomeness, he does not see that to exchange British brute force for any other brute force is no real remedy for the ill of India. And if it is the steel that is to decide the scene, it must be not Sikh, Gurkha, or Persian steel, but metal of all-India steel. That is the supreme lesson that Europe teaches. If it is brute force that is to rule, then the culture of India must leave the art of war, or must for ever remain prostitute at the feet of him who wields the sword, whether he be a Persian or Englishman. The muzzle must remain ' DMAI-dawn.' Non-co-operation is an attempt to awaken the masses to a sense of their dignity and power. This can only be by enabling them to realise that they need not fear brute force, if they would but know the soul within.

The Dogras, the Kals, the Gurkhas, and the other martial races of India, we do want, not for the purpose of giving battle to the British soldier, but for the purpose of refraining from helping the British soldier to subjugate us. We want our military classes to realise that they only perpetuate their own and our slavery by watching the sword at the direction of a British officer. And that time will come when the school the writer represents has become defunct, and when the military classes have also understood the necessity of non-violence.

The writer makes me suspicious about himself when he tells us to concentrate our attention on foreign goods, the police, and the army. He would thus secure internal unity by washing all asphault, a purification by the very classes who have hitherto led public opinion—whereas the whole battle of Non-co-operation rages round these very classes. It may, for the time being, appear to have struck a discordant note, but in fact, it will achieve real unity. After the process of purification is over. The writer has moreover missed the grand result already achieved by the whole of our people. In my opinion, the public has never expressed itself so sincerely and openly as at present. It has produced the fear of the highly artificial law of exclusion. When the writer talks of secret societies, he means to talk of a bygone age. You cannot raise this great nation to its full height by the chandra-mukhi methods of secrecy. We must, by boldly carrying on our campaign in the light of the blaring horn of publicity, destroy the secret and despotic police department. Non-co-operation is nothing if it does not strike at the root and when you strike at the root when you come to water this deadly tree of the British Government by means of open and honourable Non-co-operation. The writer takes the name of God in vain, when he advocates in the same breath the sanction of Satya.

HOOLIGANISM.
(By M K Gandhi.)

The columns of Young India are open to all who have any grievances against our co-operators. One who knows has sent to the Editor a letter which I gladly publish. He has in a covering letter given his name pleaded for the publication of his letter. Such pleading was unnecessary in connection with a matter of public importance. If the facts related by the correspondent are true, they reflect no credit on the young men of Dharwar. The correspondent has connected the incident with Non-co-operation. It is a fashion nowadays to connect every incident of indescreet behaviour with Non-co-operation. I wish that the incident had been brought to my notice when I was at Dharwar. I would then have been able to investigate the matter and dealt with it then. I may state that stones were thrown as a meeting of Dharwar students that was held by me in the open. One boy narrowly escaped being seriously hurt. And it was a pleasure to watch the audience remaining unmoved in spite of the stone-throwings. I told the students that stone-throwing at meetings was not an unusual occurrence at Dharwar in connection with the non-Brahma movement. I stated this fact only to show that Dharwar enjoys the moralistic reputation for stone-throwing in a special manner. I must therefore decline to connect the incident with either Non-co-operation or with any anti-European movement. Though the correspondent's letter is obscure on the point, it is evident from what he says that remonstrance was felt at the idea of girls taking part in a drama. The correspondent says that the drama was dropped in the nick of time.
time at the desire of the guardians'. There must have been permissiveness to provoke resentment.

But my position is clear. No amount of provocation could possibly justify the hooliganism of the mob of young men'. They had no right to prevent the performance that was last determined upon, if the guardians of the girls did not mind it. The worst test of democracy is in the ability of anyone to act as he likes, so long as he does not injure the life or property of anyone else. It is impossible to control public morals by hooliganism. Public opinion alone can keep a society pure and healthy. If the young men of Dharwar did not like a public exhibition of Dharwar girls on the stage, they should have held public meetings and otherwise attempted public opinion in their favor. The movement of Non-co-operation is intended to check all such abuses. Non-co-operationists are undoubtedly expected, not only to refrain from taking part in such violent scenes as are represented to have taken place at Dharwar, but they are expected also to prevent them on the part of others. The success of Non-co-operation depends upon the ability of non-co-operationists to control all forms of violence. All may not take part in the programmes of self-sacrifice but all must recognize the necessity of non-violence in word or deed.

I am surprised that the correspondent in the covering letter speaks of the hooliganism at Dharwar in the same breath as the massacre at Jalainwala Bagh. He loses all sense of proportion when he compares the cold-blooded and calculated hatchetry of innocent men, who had given no provocation, with the unpremeditated and thoughtless demonstration of a mob of young men who were labouring under a faction or real wrong. Both acts are worthy of condemnation. But there is an immense difference between the programmes of the Dharwar boys and the dyer from Amritsar. I am between an attempt at simple hoot and a completed murder.

ROYAL VISITS THEIR USE AND ABUSE

(By J. F. Andrews)

With the visit of the Duke of Connaught to this country still pending, it is of the greatest importance for the people of India to understand how these royal visits are often unnecessarily used by Government for political purposes. The idea is, first of all, ridiculous propagated that the royal visit has nothing to do with politics: that the Royal Family are above politics—that they are strictly neutral in their political attitude. Furthermore, the news is plastered at all times that a great political success has been obtained. The late King Edward VII was rightly called the greatest diplomatist in the British Empire. The present Prince of Wales has now earned the title of 'Our Greatest Ambassador.'

If it were merely the spreading of messages of goodwill and peace to all nations that could be accomplished by such diplomatic and ambassadorial tours, the world might be all the better for them. But the danger always looks at the back that some distantly political objects may be aimed at behind the scenes, that evil systems, which have power and authority behind them, may receive from them an added power and an added authority for oppression of the poor and subjection of the weak. Even today, the greater proportion of Europeans on the continent of Europe believe that the visits of King Edward were used by English politicians for the encouragement of Germany by a means of her powers. Whether that opinion is right or wrong, need not be discussed here. I only wish to put out how, with a better past experience, these royal visits are not only feared in Europe. Europe has had her hard lesson to learn and the proverb is true, 'Once bitten, twice shy.'

I wish now to tell the story of what happened behind the scenes, in the Palace of Wales recent visit to Fiji. The last has just come to light, and they are most instructive.

The Indian community were suffering, at the time, from a most painful injustice. They had been charged with the offenses of standing up rebel against the Europeans and breaking out into 'open rebellion.' Yet the truth was simply this that the Indian labourers were nearly starving and had staked work on each other to obtain from the plantations Colonial Sugar Refining Company a more just and equitable share of the enormous profits from sugar. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company had raised these excessive profits out of Indian labour, year after year, during the war. After the war also there had gone on, still further worsening. Yet the Company unreasonably refused to share what they had gained with the Indian labourers.

When I was in Fiji in 1917, there was an attempted murder of an Indian in a Court Court. The Indian declared, that he could not bear to see his young children crying for bread and to have nothing to give them to eat. The judge dismissed him with laughter. That was told around. And what can be said strong enough about the oppression of the poor by this wealthy Sugar Company with its many years of capital? Yet it held out in the last against a mere rise in wages of 11 per day when I tried to negotiate this for the Indian labourers in the Colony in 1927.

The Indian community, when I asked last from indentures, demanded a decent living wage—the wage of a free man and a free woman. I know for certain that the C. S. R. Company could easily have afforded to give this out of its surplus profits. But it would not bring from its hard and fast position, and when at last the strike began, the news was everywhere spread abroad, that the Indians were in 'open rebellion' and were preparing to massacre the Europeans. Process with machine guns, were hurried in a work of the New Zealand Navy, from Auckland, and the Indian labourers were terrorized back into their work, without getting them rise in wages.
Soon after these troubles, the Indian Community wished to present an address to the Prince of Wales who came to Fiji. They asked permission from the Governor to state their position in the following terms:

"We do not think it proper to press your Royal Highness by describing our present difficulties and grievances, which will not remain hidden to Your Royal Highness. One thing, however, we are compelled to bring to your notice. It is the fact that we have been misrepresented to the effect that we sought agitation for better rights and commercial improvement was based on racial jealousy. This has wounded our hearts. These survive on the part of the authorities not only without any foundation, but to a great extent and an imperious strain on our characters, which should be removed at once."

These were the proposed words. But the Governor put them out of the hands altogether, and substituted others, which, while seemingly a mere abbreviation, were equally a perversion of the meaning. The Indians wished to say that such an impression of racial hatred, levelled against them, was unjust and untruthful. What they were made to say was, that there was no racial feeling on the part of any one at all—either European or Indian. Now this was the opposite of the truth, because the European racial feeling had been excessive. I wish my readers to notice how subtly and cleverly this was done. The Governor of Fiji struck out the words of the address of residence, which I have stated above, and substituted the following:

"We do not think it proper to refer to political matters. It is undeniable, however, that your Royal Highness should have heard of the recent Indian troubles in Fiji, and we desire to assure you that they were entirely due to personal causes and not to any racial feeling."

The Indian Community protested against this perversion of their own meaning. But the Governor of Fiji insisted, and the Indians finally gave way.

The result was that the Prince of Wales was compelled to pick out these very words denigrating their case and racial feeling, which would camouflage the whole matter. They were telegraphed all over the world by Reuter. We received them here in London, and New York, and Chicago, and Tokyo, and Melbourne received them also. The Prince stated that "he was glad to hear that the recent Indian troubles had nothing to do with racial feeling." Thus the impression was spread abroad, that the Europeans were very good friends of the Indians and were living in social friendliness with them. The truth all the while was this, that the Europeans, as I have said, had brought troops from New Zealand, and, by sheer military power, forced Indians back into accepting the harshest terms of settlement. They had even passed racial laws against the Indians, marking them out from all other races in Fiji.

This incident in Fiji affected the honour of a few thousands of Indians in that colony. The Duke of Connaught's visit will affect the honour of nearly thirty-two crores in India itself. Let us take warning from this, and surrender to our poorer Indian brethren in Fiji. We cannot blame them for that surrender, for their martyrdom has been crushed by servile labour.

But let us not weekly surrender ourselves, or put trust in Governments, which can use such weapons of compulsion as these. The only course, which is dignified and self-reliant, during the coming royal visit of the Duke of Connaught, is to refrain altogether from offering addresses of welcome. Such a visit at this time is not welcome to us. It cannot possibly be welcome. Silence therefore is golden.

NON-CO-OPERATION THE GOSPEL OF FREEDOM.

By Feroz Khan

Non-co-operation, like the Kingdom of which Christ speaks, is 'as a reed growing—growing every day. And they who have realized this have become serious. And the Government of India has been compelled to issue a Resolution condemning Non-co-operation. Not a new thing in the world—the policy of Non-co-operation, Hungary, Ireland, Egypt, Korea have adopted it in their struggles for Freedom. And it coincides with the Indian ideal. But the physical force, India must not use, as India has lost faith in the moderate method of patience and paper petitions. India has adopted a new method of Non-co-operation, but the Government of India Resolution condemns us as unconstructive. 1 Muslims and Hindus feel they cannot agree to it, they do not believe that it can bring the desired result; the Government of India Resolution condemns us as unconstructive. 1 Muslims and Hindus feel they cannot agree to it, they do not believe that it can bring the desired result; the Government of India Resolution condemns us as unconstructive. 1 Muslims and Hindus feel they cannot agree to it, they do not believe that it can bring the desired result; the Government of India Resolution condemns us as unconstructive. 1 Muslims and Hindus feel they cannot agree to it, they do not believe that it can bring the desired result; the Government of India Resolution condemns us as unconstructive. 1 Muslims and Hindus feel they cannot agree to it, they do not believe that it can bring the desired result; the Government of India Resolution condemns us as unconstructive. 1 Muslims and Hindus feel they cannot agree to it, they do not believe that it can bring the desired result; the Government of India Resolution condemns us as unconstructive. 1 Muslims and Hindus feel they cannot agree to it, they do not believe that it can bring the desired result; the Government of India Resolution condemns us as unconstructive. 1 Muslims and Hindus feel they cannot agree to it, they do not believe that it can bring the desired result; the Government of India Resolution condemns us as unconstructive. 1 Muslims and Hindus feel they cannot agree to it, they do not believe that it can bring the desired result; the Government of India Resolution condemns us as unconstructive. 1 Muslims and Hindus feel they cannot agree to it, they do not believe that it can bring the desired result; the Government of India Resolution condemns us as unconstructive.
The youth of Italy under Masani and the youth of Egypt under Zaydak Pasha could not be brushed aside by Crescent and Indian youth's unrespected unregarded. They swore the Mother.

They have rowed in the Tamar of their hearts that India's bonds shall be broken. And in each Agency will be born, I believe, a new strength for the Nation and they will achieve what no armies are—the Freedom of India.

GUJARAT VIDYAPITHE NOTES

The Gujarati Political Conference held at Ahmedabad in the month of August last appointed a small committee of 13 members (with power to add) to organise national education and a national university in Gujarat.

The members issued a provincial constitution for the national university, which was adopted by the Committee on 13th October 1920.

Under the terms of the constitution, the committee with added members (not exceeding 50 in all) was appointed to set up the University for a period of one year.

At present the Senate consists of 10 members with Mahatma Gandhi as Chancellor, and Principal Ghansamp of the Gujarat Maturity as vice-Chancellor. Over 3000 students have joined institutions under the control of the Vidyapithe.

The committee and the Senate opened on 15th November National Arts College at Ahmedabad with 70 students.

They have also affiliated a second grade National College at Surat, opened on the 26th with about 20 students.

The following High Schools have been affiliated:
1. Vadodara—Rashtriya High School (formerly known as the Garnand High School) with about 250 students.
2. Surat—Lokmanya Rashtriya Shala, a new institution, affiliated to the University, with about 100 students.
3. Bhavnagar—Lokmanya Rashtriya Shala, affiliated to the University, with about 70 students.
4. Ahmedabad—Proprietary High School, 1500 students.
5. Ahmedabad—The Model High School, 500 students.

Further the following High Schools have been nationalized, though not formally affiliated:
1. The New English High School, Gujra

Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular Schools have also been nationalized at the following places:
1. Nadiad, where a national school has been established, and the Municipality has also declared the intention to throw off Government recognition and grant.
2. Mehndihabad, where the people have decided to send their children to national schools only—a school with about 200 students was to be opened on Monday last.
TWO ENGLISHMEN REPLY

Dear Mr. Basu,

Thank you for your letter to every Englishman in India, with its hearty and sincere wishes. Something within me resists the idea of the new India. We are not representative of any corporate body, but think this million of our countrymen in England, and not a few in India, feel as we. In the reading of your letter came with you and we can make no mistake.

Mr. J. H. Hopper, as far as the British Empire stands for the instruction and education of other races for their benefit, for desolating treatment of any, for the task of converting human beings for religious purposes, for administration and for that which led to the American armies, we share the need of it as much as you do. We quite understand that in the midst of the present crisis, over the entire state of the British Administration, which we put with you in our denouncing, the Empire presents itself to you under the aspect alone. But from personal contact with our countrymen, we know that working like thousands, as you and we do, the faith is a better ideal. The idea of a race of white people voluntarily linked together by the ties of common experiences in the past and common aspirations for the future, a race of white people which may hope to spread liberty and progress through the whole earth. With many members of our countrymen, we value the British Empire merely as an instrument of the possibility of the realization of such an ideal, and on that ground give it our loyal allegiance.

Meanwhile we do repent of the arrogant attitude to Indians which has been all too common among our contemporaries. We do feel that our brothers and equals, many of them are our superiors, and we would rather it were towards them that we speak. We do not stand with these in a political opposition or by any other means we can. In everything in accordance with the best democratic principles. We should welcome the convocation of a National Assembly of recognized leaders of the people representing all shades of political opinion, of every caste, sect, and creed, and in doing so we seek to make none of the great things that you and we can do. But we must stand firm and united, as the government does. We cannot understand your continued refusal to yield, as you put it, in the good sense of the word. The British government is a great and powerful thing. The Indian government is a great and powerful thing. The Indian Empire is a great and powerful thing. The Indian Empire is a great and powerful thing.

Yours very sincerely,
Mr. J. H. Hopper

THE UNIVERSITY

The University is also organizing an Oriental Research Institute in the line of the Ahmadnagar Research Institute of Poona. It has already given a grant to a National College of which a number of students will be enrolled. The college is under the Messrs. N. V. Malhotra and N. V. Malhotra.

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Yours very sincerely,
Mr. J. H. Hopper
To sum up, we thank you for the spirit of your letter, to which we have tried to respond in the same spirit. We are with you in the dance, for he who generously frees, the host that we are, and in the belief that host is something wonderful of which the world to-day stands in need.

We are ready to co-operate with you, and with every other man of any race or nationality who will help India to realize her true destination. Are you going to insist that you can have nothing to do with us if we reject a Government grant (i.e., a Indian money) for an Indian School? Surely, some more inspiring, altruistic, than non-co-operation can be discovered. We have gathered quite frankly to put out these items in your present programme, which seems to us likely to hasten the solution of your true ideals for Indian greatness. But those ideals themselves command our warm sympathy and we desire to work, so far as we have opportunity, for their attainment. In fact, it is only thus that we can interpret our Indian citizenship.

Yours sincerely,

(1) H. A. Page;

(2) J. Phillips.

Bangalore,
November 10, 1930

REPORTED DISGRACEFUL BEHAVIOUR AT DHARWAD

To the Editor, Young India,

The disturbance created by a large crowd of young men at the Funnel Banquet in Dharmapur, which was attended by Mr. Gandhi’s followers, is of a nature and magnitude which cannot be ignored. It is a serious matter and must be dealt with seriously. The fact that the disturbance was caused by a few young men does not detract from its seriousness. The behaviour of these young men was disgraceful and ought to be condemned. The authorities should take stern measures to prevent such incidents in the future.

Yours sincerely,

(1)סור

NON-CO-OPERATION IN EDUCATION

Respected Sir,

The recent disturbances in India have caused great concern and distress. The principles of non-co-operation, which are the foundation of our programme, must be upheld at all costs. The authorities must take strong measures to prevent any further incidents of this nature. The Government should be firm in its determination to maintain law and order.

Yours sincerely,

(1) Editor

November 10, 1930

NOTICE

Our different agents are requested to settle their outstanding accounts by the 5th of December.
On the Wrong Track: Lord Ronaldshay has been doing me the favour of reading my booklet on Indian House Rule which is a translation of his. Swaraj: His Lordship told his audience that if Swaraj meant what I had described it to be in his booklet, the Bengalis would have none of it. I am sorry that Swaraj of the Congress resolution does not mean the Swaraj depicted in the booklet. Swaraj according to the Congress means Swaraj that the people of India want, not what the British Government may concede to give. In so far as I can see, Swaraj will be a Parliament chosen by the people with the fullest power over the Finance, the police, the military, the navy, the courts, and the educational institutions.

I am free to confess that the Swaraj I expect to gain within one year if India responds, will be such Swaraj as will make practically impossible the perpetuation of the Hindustan and the Punjab wrongs, and will enable the natives to do good or evil as they please, and not be 'good,' as the definition of an irresponsible, insolent, and godless bureaucracy. Under that Swaraj the option will have the power to impose a heavy protector tariff on such foreign goods as are capable of being made manufactured in India, as also the power to refuse to send a single soldier outside India for the purpose of observing the surrounding or remote nationalities. The Swaraj that I dream of will be a possibility only when the nation is free to make its own both of good and evil.

I adhere to all I have said in that booklet and I would certainly recommend it to the reader. Government over self is the truest Swaraj, it is synonymous with make or save, and I have seen nothing to alter the view that doctors, lawyers, and railways are no help, and are often a hindrance, to the one thing worth working after. But I know that association with a certain notable, such as the Government is engaged in, makes even an effort for such freedom a practical impossibility. I cannot tender allegiance to God and Satan at the same time.

The stated sign of the ecumenical nature of the present system is that even a gentleman of the type of Lord Ronaldshay is obliged to put us off the track. He will not deal with the one thing useful. Why is he silent about the Panchayat? Why does he evade the Hindustan? Can nationalists become a patient who is suffering under corrupting surgery? Does his Lordship not see that it is not the inadequacy of the reforms that has set India afloat, but that it is the influence of the two wrongs and the wasted attempt to make us forget them? Does he not see that a complete change of heart is required before reconciliation?

But it has become the fashion nowadays to ascribe hatred to non-co-operation. And I regret to find that even Sir Wedgwood has fallen into the trap. I make bold to say that the only way to remove hatred is to give it disciplined vent. No man can—cannot—perform the impossible task of removing hatred so long as outwitted and despised for the feelings of India are sedulously aroused. It is a mockery to ask India not to hate when the same breath India's most sacred feelings are contumaciously trampled under Indian feet weak and helpless and so oppressed by beating the tyrant who despises her and makes her crawl on the belly to the veil of her innocent women and compels her tender children to acknowledge his power by saluting his flag four times a day. The spirit of non-co-operation addresses itself to the task of making the people strong and self-reliant. It is an attempt to transform hatred into pity.

A strong and self-reliant India will cease to hate Balfour, Smuts and Franklin Johnson, for she will have the power to punish them and therefore the power who to pity and forgive them. Today she can neither pity nor forgive, and therefore helplessly1 wastes hatred. If the Mussalmans were strong they would not hate the English but would fight and wrest from them the dear possessions of Islam. I know that the Ahl Brotherhoods who live only for the honour of the prestige of Islam, and are pre
After weighing the opium is forwarded to the Government factory at Ghanpur, where it is manufactured in these forms:

(a) Opium intended for export to foreign countries, officially known as "provision opium," it is sold by public auction at Calcutta. Sales are conducted by the Bengal Government, month by month.

(b) Opium intended for consumption in India, and Burma, officially known as "excess opium," and

(c) Medicinal opium, for export to London, where according to Mr. Macdonald in his "Trade, Politics and Christianity in India and the East," it is being manufactured into morphine by three British firms, two in Edinburgh and one in London, from which place the Miss La Motte uniformed Japanese and their mandarins buy it for smuggling to other countries where intoxicating drugs are not permitted to natives.

India is thus the source and supply of the British Opium Trade, and it is from Indian Opium, that the drug is supplied to other countries. The Havana demand for the year 1916-1917 from the direct sale or auction of opium in India alone, was $9,100,000. Apart from this sum, the revenue derived from the sale of opium under the Excise department, including duties collected on country spirits, beer, rum, gin, and other intoxicating drugs was $2,013,000. The total nearly 19,000,000 opium or 16% of the total revenue, besides the revenue derived from foreign liquors at Customs Duty. Figures for the years 1916-19 were $2,191,800 and $3,073,100, a about 20,000,000.

"During the ten years ending with 1915-17 the net receipts from opium (estimated in India, not exported) being at the rate of 45%. The net receipts from liquor and from drugs other than opium, have increased at the rate of 45%. The revenue from drugs (excluding opium) has risen in ten years from 60% to 80%..." - Financial Statement for British India 1916-17.

Upon this, Miss La Motte remarks:

"A nation, that can subjugate 300,000,000 helpless people and turn them into drug addicts, for the sake of revenue, is a nation which commits a cold-blooded atrocity unparalleled by any atrocities committed in the rage and heat of War. The Blue Book shows no horror at these figures. Complacent approval greets the increase of 45% opium consumption, and the increase of 67% in the use of other habit-forming drugs. Approval, and a shrewed appreciation of possibilities for more revenue from progressively higher rates of duty, knowing well that drug-addicts will sell soul and body in order to procure their daily supply." Miss La Motte concludes that one outstanding fact in this study of the opium monopoly is that wherever the British flag waves over subject people, whether it be in India, in the South Sea Islands, or even in South America, these opium is sold, as opium, are sold in the United States. The British Isles are carefully guarded against opium and drugs, as are Canada, Australia, and South Africa.
Young India.
Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 22nd, December, 1920.

SOCIAL BOYCOTT
(By M. K. Gandhi.)

A correspondent writes from Hyderabad and asks a letter regarding boycott which I gladly publish. He refers to what is alleged to have happened to Mr. Khaparde Hyderabad under conditions that the correspondent relates. Mr. Khaparde is well able to take care of himself, I hope, however, that there is much exaggeration in the information supplied to the correspondent about the treatment.

Nevertheless, the issue raised by the correspondent is important and serious. It would be a dangerous thing if, for differences of opinion, we were to prosecute social boycott.

It would be totally opposed to the doctrine of non-violence to stop the supply of water and food. This battle of Non-co-operation as a programme of propaganda by reducing power to practice, not one of compelling others to yield obedience by violence direct or indirect. We must try patiently to convert our opponents. If we wish to evolve the spirit of democracy out of slavery, we must be completely exact in our dealings with opponents. We may not replace the slavery of the Government by that of the non-co-operationists. We must concede to our opponents the freedom we claim for ourselves, and for which we are fighting. The strongest non-co-operationist will bend to the stern necessities of progress if there is real response from the people.

But there is a non-violent boycott which we shall be bound to practice if we are to make any impression. We must not compromise with what we believe to be an untruth, however it appears in a free world or a brown. Such boycott is political boycott. We may not receive favours from the new Councils. The voices, if they are true to their pledges, will be bound to refrain from making use of the services of those whom they have declared to regard as their representatives. They must clarify their verdicts by complete abstinence from all encouragement of the so-called representatives.

The public will be bound, if they are non-co-operationists to refrain from giving those representatives any prestige by attending their political functions or parties.

One can conceive the possibility of non-violent social ostracism under certain extremities, when a definite minority refuses to heed to the majority, not out of any regard for principle but from sheer defensiveness or worse. But that time has certainly not arrived. Ostracism of a violent character, such as the denial of the use of public wells and a species of barbarism, which I hope never will be practiced by any body of men having any desire for national self-respect and national spirit. We will free neither Islam nor India by processes of coercion, whether among ourselves or against foreigners.

THE CASTE SYSTEM
(By M. K. Gandhi.)

I have received several angry letters about my remarks during my recent tour on the caste system. I am not publishing these letters because there is nothing but vituperation in them, and when there is no vituperation, there is little argument about them. I am anxious to open the columns of "Young India" to opinions expressing dissent from its views, but the writers must be brief and interesting. Anonymity is no argument. I am obliged to make these remarks because two writers of at least would have gained publicity for their letters, if they had not been prolix and uninteresting in their expression. The question, however, that my correspondents have raised, demands attention and deserves an answer. They argue that the retention of the caste system spells ruin for India and that it is caste which has reduced India to slavery.

In my opinion it is not casteism that has made us what we are. It was our greed and disregard of essential virtues which enslaved us. I believe that caste has saved Hinduism from disintegration.

But like every other institution it has suffered from excesses. I consider the four divisions alone to be fundamental, natural, and essential. The innumerable sub-castes are sometimes a convenience, often a hindrance. The number there is fiction better. The strict destruction and reconstruction of sub-castes has ever gone on and are used to continue to control social pressure and public opinion can be treated to deal with the problem. But I am certainly against any attempt to destroy the fundamental divisions. The caste system is not based on equality, there is no question of inferiority, and so far as there is any such question arising, as in Madras, Mysore or elsewhere, the tendency should undoubtedly be checked. But there appears to be no valid reason for ending the system because of its abuse. It lends itself easily to reformation. The spirit of democracy, which is fast spreading throughout India and the rest of the world, with its shadow of doubt, purges the institution of the idea of predominance and subordination. The spirit of democracy is not a mechanical thing to be adjusted by aborning of forms. It requires change of the heart. If caste is a bar to the spread of the spirit, the existence of five religions in India—Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Judaism—can also be a bar. The spirit of democracy requires the evolution of the spirit of brotherhood and I can find no difficulty in considering a Christian or a Mohammedan to be my brother in absolutely the same sense as a blood brother and one who is responsible for the doctrine of the caste is also responsible for the evolution of the essential brotherhood, not merely of man but even of all that lives.

One of my correspondents suggests that we should abolish the caste but adopt the class system of Europe—meaning thereby I suppose that the idea of heredity in caste should be retained. I am in-
THE HALLUCINATION OF GOVERNMENT 

SYMPATHY.

Of late we have been receiving a lot of correspondence regarding the question of the "depressed" castes and the untouchability. We have not been able to give the whole of the correspondence for want of space. Most of our correspondents are full of righteous indignation at the existing disability of our down trodden and suppressed brother. There are some of them, however, who seem to be working under the hallucination that the Government has been doing all that it possibly can for a genuine opith of the "depressed classes." Are not all legal rights secured to them under the Act Bntamana, under the age of the Uthtah Rule I . . . Are not entitled to the same rights and privileges which the present amongst us can claim! That is the line of argument.

Now it is one thing for the law to lay down injunctions, it is another thing for these injunctions to be put into practical operation. And no law can make a people a little better, when it merely sends it down the path to its own betterment, to do a piece of work, or a brick, or a voluntee, as the others themselves. The elevation of the so-called "depressed" classes depends much more upon the actual fulfillment of their moral and material condition than a more recognition of equal political status. And we would ask our correspondents to tell us by solid facts and figures what the contribution of our Indian Government to this has been. Has the Indian Government done for the education of the "depressed" classes who form one fifth of the total population of the country? Facts and figures tell us that over 270 millions of the total population of India are illiterate, and hardly (own) 1/20 of the literate belong to the "untouchable" class. How the old pre-Indian educational institutions met their end and how systematically the masses have been deprived of this education is described in our usual manner. The facts and figures that exist here and there for the children of the Parochian and O.H. C. "untouchables" are merely the result of the efforts of a few patriotic Indians of such exalted status, and of some religious or Reform associations like the Brahmapuri Society, the Social Service League, etc.

What has the Government done to educate them out of their habits of mentalising, neglect and neglect, which are amongst the causes which induce the holders classes to keep away from their fallen brethren? What has the Government done to educate them to give up their habits of idleness and taking other intoxicating and debilitating drugs, which is unfortunately too much ingrained in them? The fearful figures, amounting, over eight digits, of income from exactions quoted elsewhere is the only answer and contribution of the Government.

The American Government which we wanted to emulate their classes and suppress the slave trade did not only it, but it also saw that it was an accomplished fact even at the cost of a civil war, and millions of men and money. If the
"Depressed" classes has been allocated to a true sense and conception of their manhood, duty, and dignity, it would have been impossible for the classes to deny them, even for a day, rights and privileges that were legitimately theirs, as it would be impossible for this Government to deny the entire mass its rights, once the nation demonstrates its sense of self-respect and soul honour.

The national educational movement inaugurated in accordance with the programme of non-co-operation attempts to fulfill this double mission. It aims at converting this nation of the "Pariah of the Empire" into a nation of self-respecting, self-supporting, and self-sufficient. It holds out the means of reaching this goal, the elevation of "pariah" we have created in our midst as equal brethren and partners sharing with us the same rights that we claim for ourselves.

Unfortunately, it is not a religious or caste religion. Krishna refused the invitation of Bang邽 as he went into the house of Vedanta, the eleven son Rama would have a friend named Gokul of Moksha caste as supreme deity, and pray to him to a Bhuridhandh Bhava as a house of Sankarapada (Gadchiroli) and on that Hunda religion. A careful study of our religious authorities would convince any open-minded student that all the social laws and rules of the Hindu organization were made to keep our men, their wives, and their children, their bodies, pure—who can not to a small extent depending upon the other. When certain foods are prohibited, it is to keep the body unaided with the mouth and to keep the senses under control. The Hindu religion press on equality of men, making difference only according to character and quality. But in the principle which we understand to be underlying the caste system, the superiority of a man rises, the wicked and the deluded and cast out with the humble born. The non-co-operation movement may consider the colonial Government and its laws as "unenforceable", but it works for the uplift of the "depressed" classes as it works for Hindu-Muslim Unity.

THE DECLINE OF MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA.

(By Daulat Ram Gopali M. A.)

It is generally believed that from the time the British Government have taken in their hands the duty of educating the people of India, in accordance with the Parliamentary debates of 1854, the country has made remarkable progress in education, as far as the number of schools, the number of scholars, and the standard of education are concerned. It will be my business to prove, that we have made such progress in these respects—a fact which will be startling to some and a revelation to others—and in so far as our mass education is concerned, it is certain that the mass move have passed to the British Crown.

The advent of British Rule found in India systems of education of great antiquity and value existing among both Hindus and Musulmans in each one simply bound up with their religious and civil religions. There was not a mosque, a temple, a Dharma, that had not a school attached to it. To give and receive instruction was regarded as a religious duty. Schools of learning were formed in scribes, containing a considerable large mass population, where the student gave instruction in Sanskrit, grammar, logic, philosophy, and law.

For the lower classes village schools were scattered over the country in which a good rudimentary education was given to the children of petty traders, cultivators, and landowners. The very fact that every family of the Dharma (town-born) and every guild of the mixed eastern and every village of any importance, had its own priest, and that it was enjoined upon the priest to teach as well as to minister to religion, leads one to believe, as strong priests disseminated, that education was very widely diffused among the people.

The higher education of the Musalmans was in the hands of men of learning. Schools were attached to mosques and shrines and supported by the state, great or small, or by private liberality. The course of study in a Muslim Madrasa included grammar, rhetoric, logic, literature, jurisprudence, and science.

Thus, in Mysore, in an enquiry conducted by Sir Thomas Munro in 1820, it is stated that in 1820 there were 11,753 indigenous schools and 749 Collegiums giving instruction to 2,675,008 boys and 4,043 girls. (Yule Education Commission Report by the Madras Provincial Committee 1884.) It is therefore estimated, that considering the population in that period (126,30,941) elementary indigenous education was imparted to about one-fourth of the boys of school-going age. It was also estimated that there was at least one school to every 1000 of the population. But as only a few females were taught in schools, we may reckon one school to every 500 of the population.

Mr. Munro (as he then was) further supplemented this estimate of the spread of education with the following observation: "I am, however, inclined to estimate the portion of the male population, who receive school education, to one-third than one-fourth of the whole, because we have no return of the numbers taught at home." In 1832, such was the state of purely indigenous education in a province which had been under British influence for over a century and a half, therefore we must discounting old institutions and adopting new ones.

In Bengal, Mr. W. Adam, conducted an inquiry and found that in 1835, a system of primary vernacular Schools existed throughout Bengal, and he estimated their number to be about one in six. The School Committee has pointed out that his attempt was made to develop these schools. The Government preferred to devote its energies to secondary and higher schools, on the theory, that, if Western education were introduced among the upper classes, it would "silt down" by a natural process to the lower classes. Practically all the
pahke funds available for education were expended on schools and colleges founded and controlled by Government, and nothing was spent upon indigenous schools, and as read-free lands attached to them schools were resumed, the schools were left without any financial aid and naturally collapsed.

The purpose of all this was political. Sir Sunkara Nair in his masterly Munti of Dissent writes—

"Efforts were made by the Government to confine higher education and secondary education, leading to higher education, to boys in affluent circumstances.


But as were made calculated to restrict the diffusion of education generally and among the poorer boys in particular. Conditions for 'grants'—staff and buildings—were laid down and enforced, and the non-fulfilment of any one of these conditions was habitual to his followers by serious consequences. Fees were raised to a degree, which, considering the circumstances of the students that resort to schools were abnormal. When it was objected that immoderate fees would be a great hardship to poor students, the answer was such students had no business to receive that kind of education. Managers of private schools, who resorted here in whole or in part, were pressed by reduced grants-in-aid.

Thus, by this policy, education was only confined to the well-to-do classes. "They, it was believed, would give no trouble to the Government!" Sir Sunkara Nair, therefore, concludes that it is the universal belief, and the world doubts that facts unfortunately tend to prove it, that primary English Education for the masses, and higher education for the middle classes are discouraged for political reasons. Higher, professional, industrial, and technical education is discouraged to favour English industries and recruitment in English officials."

In the Punjab the state of indigenous education was much better because of the special efforts made by Maharaj Karam Singh to promote learning. Dr. Leitner, who was the Principal of the Oriental College and Governmental College, Lahore, and who also officiated for some time as Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, conducted a very thorough going inquiry into the state of indigenous education in the Punjab, and in his book on the History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab, he writes, "I am at a loss—In hope without exhaustion or malice—the history of the contact of a form of European, with one of the Amata, civilization, how in spite of the best intentions, the most public-spirited officers, and a generous Government that had the benefit of the traditions of other provinces, the true education of the Punjab was crippled, check and, in nearly destroyed, how opportunities for its healthy revival and development were either neglected or perverted, and how, far beyond the blame attaching to individuals, our system stands convicted of worse than official failure. I therefore write, 'If I fear that my account of the decline of indigenous education in the Punjab may offend some prejudices and oppose some interests, I have to appeal to rulers to put themselves in the position of the ruled, if they wish to understand them, and both the writer of these pages and the reader must endeavour to divert themselves of every pre-conception. Indeed, the man has so often described the struggle with the low, that it would be well to sketch a picture which the low might have drawn had he been a painter."

Referring to the educational glory of the Punjab before annexation he writes, "From the Punjab has always been the redeeming feature of the East. To this the Punjab has formed no exception. Tore by invasion and war, it ever preserved and added to educational endowments. The most unscrupulous chief, the extravagant money-lender and even the free-booter, vied with the land-owner in making pacts with hissometimes by founding schools and rewarding the learned. There was not a mosque, a temple, a Dharma-kula, that had not a school attached to it, and in which the youth looked chiefly for religious education. There were few wealthy men who did not entertain a Moulvi, Pandit, or Guru to teach their sons, and alongside them the sons of friends and dependents. There were also schools of secular schools, frequented alike by Mahomedans, Hindus, and Sikhs, in which Persian or Hindi was taught. There were hundreds of learned men who gratuitously taught their sojourners, and sometimes all comers, for the sake of God, 'Lallah.' There was not a single village who did not take a pride in devoting a portion of his produce to a respected teacher. In respectable Mahomedan families husbands taught their wives, and those their children, nor did the Sikhs prove in that respect to be unworthy of the appellation of 'learners and disciples.' In short, the lowest computation gives us 3,00,988 pupils in the schools of the various denominations who were acquainted with reading, writing, and some method of computation, whilst thousands of these belonged to Arab and Sanskrit Colleges, in which oriental literature and systems of oriental law, logic, philosophy, and medicine were taught to the highest standard. Tens of thousands also required a proficiency in Persian which is now rarely reached in Government and aided schools and Colleges. Through all schools there breathed a spirit of devotion in education for its own sake, and for its influence on the character and on religious culture, whilst even the sons of Bania who merely learnt what they absolutely required in order to gain a livelihood, looked with respect, amounting to admiration, on their humble grammaries, who taught them the elements of two 'Rs.'

Dr. Leitner further describes the state of feeling with respect to education in the Punjab. He writes, 'The Punjab is a shame ground. Not merely the celebrated country between Sutlej and the Jumna, but also the whole province teams with noble recollections. The history of its culture will tell us of a simple worship......of an ardent republicanism allied to the most chivalrous devotion to
THE COUNTRY'S CAUSE FIRST.

Mr. Sahi, the writer of the following letter, has had a truly brilliant academic career at the Muz College, Allahabad, where he won the Ramcke Essay Medal and the Gokhale Orations Medal. He was one of the nominees of the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University for Deputy Collectorship. His worldly success was assured, but, answering the call, he was decided to work for the country and makes of Non-co-operation a success—Ed. Y. Y. —

To The Chief Secretary,
U. P. Government,
Allahabad.

Sir,
I beg to submit that in July 1928, I was nominated by the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University for Deputy Collectorship. I was approved by the Board and was informed of my final selection as a Probationary Deputy Collector by the Registrar of the Allahabad University through the Muz College Allahabad on October 2, 1929.

This is to inform you that I went to my home to hark back on the task of Deputy Collectors as I wish to make myself useful in other ways. Luckily or otherwise, Mr. Gandhi's Non-co-operation movement is gaining momentum in volume and in intensity, the immature youths, who order Mr. Gandhi's unrealistic instructions are leaving their schools and colleges, may work themselves up to heat and excitement and may bring harm to the movement and to themselves. There are also other elements of excitement in and out of the movement. I, therefore, take this duty of educating Indians, to exert all our power in guiding and directing this great national movement along peaceful, non-violent lines, to see all our industries of present and example in order to keep the movement pure and free from degenerating into a storm of oppression and fury.

My experience of the past shows me that the non-cooperator can never be broken. What we need is to help Mr. Gandhi by guiding his devoted followers in our parts of the province so that they may educate themselves. That is to say we should keep away from violence and hatred, and carry on the campaign of soul forces against material power in a calm and spiritual atmosphere. I am convinced that Mr. Gandhi's movement is so real that it can be dismissed with jest, is too deep and strong to be apportioned by threats of force or actual force. It is a challenge—the boldest that was ever thrown to any power in the world—towards the rulers of India to do their best or their worst. It has emerged from the true national awakening whose symptoms Mr. Gandhi is clearly realism and which he is building problems.

Thus my convictions about which I have arrived after long, careful, and dispassionate thinking, and not under the inspiration of a catch-word or war-cry, compel me to throw over my past forever, and not making personal loss, devote myself heart and soul, to make Mr. Gandhi's absolutely constitutional, non-violent, Non-Co-operation movement a real success. I request that the Appointments Board be impressed accordingly.

I am sending a copy of this to the Press.

Lakshman Bhanu,

Gorelhpur,
SOCIAL OSTRACISM RUN MAD

Ye, The Editor of "Young India"

Sir,

Last February I had put you a question in connection with Satyagrah and you very kindly had sent me the following reply:

"It is true that ostracism should be the ideal or later ... A true Satyagrahi does not expect others to look into his eyes with him. He is always tolerant and polite to others even to those who differ from him. He tries to win others to his cause by kindness and graceful attitude."

I am a Non-co-operator but I am exceedingly pleased at the attitude adopted by many Non-co-operativists against those whose honesty of purpose in opposing Non-cooperation is questionable. An ardent patriot like Mr. Khaspera, a close friend of Lokamanya Tilak Maharya, differs in some part of the Non-cooperation programme, specially the boycott of councils, therefore he has been boycotted by his Panchayat and other people who support Non-cooperation. His arrest was seen for hidden awe to draw water from a Panchayat well. A case of his position could of course manage to get out with that water but what about an ordinary man? What, if even Mr. Khaspera happened to be in a remote village with only a few Panchayat wells in it? I have spoken about this to some young Non-co-operativists here at Hyderbad and a Non-co-operativist Friend. The latter said: "If a man differs from the Panchayat and acts against its will, he can be socially boycotted, even to the extent of not letting him eat from food and water, and it does not matter if thereby he dies. And this is according to HINDU RELIGION." The other young Non-co-operativists also supported this doctrine most voluntarily. I think there can be no greater meanness and cowardice than this. The religion which teaches such meanness, and its adherents, need be boycotted more than anything else, for it is laid down in NIZI SHASTRA that the religion which is devoted to mercy should be boycotted.

My view is that a man has the right to differ from the majority and act accordingly, but if the majority honestly believes that such action is very dangerous to public interests they may restrain him by lawful means or by impressing him—but they must not strike him to death.

Mr. Khaspera is a leader of the Extremist Party and his views and objectives are same as those of the Non-co-operativists, but he is only differing in the method of achieving the object, in one or two points only. When the attitude of some of the Non-co-operativists towards a man like Mr. Khaspera is so extremely intolerant, it is not difficult to imagine their attitude towards the Medicsians and the Bonsairians who are also doing their best to serve the country according to their lights. I very humbly request that you will kindly throw light on this question, hearing in mind the connection in which these words were uttered by the Non-co-operativist Pronunder,

Begging to be excused for the trouble that I have given you.

Enthused Quarter,
Hyderbad Secd.
Your Most obedient Servant.
Dayaram Purnam, Moinchandani.
THE ASIATIC WAR

(By Major J. M. Chalmers)

Even Princes is the Winston Churchill of Turkey, impudent and ceremonially reckless, yet nevertheless of his purpose, and with a quick transmission of impropriety over all and sundry which impresses one. He has scored some failures which were the outcome of an adventurous career, and the failures have been of a catastrophic nature, yet he personally has managed to preserve the sum of success. Talaat Pasha is a greater man, yet when they shared the Government of Turkey, he put him in the shade. There are a dozen better generals in the Turkish Army, yet Enver managed to engross that Army's name. He has grown so vast to carry all before him that he now takes his superiority for granted, and therein lies his weakness as a leader. The Germans honored and clicked their heels to him and called him “Highness”, and used him for their ruthless exploitation of the Turkish Empire.

Unrest in Turkey has changed his character, he is about the worst man who could have been chosen to command the Muslim Army of the Soviets from the Muslim point of view—and possibly the first from Lenin's standpoint. I am taking it for granted that our name and Russian name are not identical. The Basman is to spread Bolshevism throughout Asia, and, at the same time, to strike a death-blow at the British Empire in the East. The Muslim aim is to secure the independence of Islam, to work a wary and far-seeing plan to safeguard Muslim interests in an alliance in which the material and financial resources are all with the non-Muslims. But Enver Pasha is the opposite of wary. The most adventurous politicians have appealed to him, and I believe that he would undertake the conquest of the world if he were asked.

The Turks perhaps more than any other nation, possess those strong, outstandingly strong individuals who make up a purgatorial wherever they are thrown but such men have usually different ways and show their strength singly, not in companies. Talat, Enver, Djemal, Revel and a hundred more were similarly trained at the universities. They were reared from their early years under the rule of death, and early scattered. This whole world would seem to be against me, but now, after only two years, they are more powerful than ever. How is that? Because they are trained, and supported by an organization which is strong enough to reach its present numbers and efficiency, was called by an English author, Mr. G. Knight, the most wonderful secret society in the world. The appointment of Enver in the council of the Great Armies and the unanimous vote by Talat and Djemal in Moscow show that the Bolsheviks have reorganized the importance of a Committee of Union and Progress which was increased in power constantly since the others. I think it is lying outside of the purely Ottoman association and period.

Seven years ago, it was pretty plain that Russia and her Allies intended to destroy the Ottoman Empire as the first opportunity, thinking that by so doing they would crush out the progressive movement in Islam. I wrote in the "New Age" that the attempt would gradually spread the revolution among the Muslim world. And this has happened. The Committee is to-day the greatest Power in Central Asia, and it has acquired the hold on Turkey and the Arab Princes. It has passed from the status of feudal powers for Islam to the status of a great Power. This will end the thing and they say I have far since expressed by Indian Muslims that I have a revolution to the leaders who have escaped, I think, with moments of the power of the Albanian Turks to the bottom of the ocean towards in the

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which the other heads of the Committee think a mad adventure, but which is urged upon them strongly by the Bolsheviki, for whom the remaining wealth of India has a powerful attraction. It remains to be seen whether Lenin Peals, whose light-hearted adventures cost his country dear during the late war, will once again be led away by visions of world-annihilation, or whether calls and advenire have altered him, and he will now submit to guidance from his wiser colleagues.

It seems to me that India has to face the prospect of a war in Asia, in which she may be forced to play the part that England played in the great war in Europe, with the difference that the great majority of the Indian people will be held neutral. I have doubts as to the opening phases of that war, but I feel certain that the final phase will be a struggle between the Committee of Union and Progress and the Bolsheviki organization and that the Committee will win, and this success, I believe, will mean to British Power in the result of England's bargaining, and seeking to destroy the Turkish Empire—

For the sake of what? I doubt if any argument presented could influence me. For the sake of bargaining and scheming and betraying, for the love of mischief, so it seems to me. For, from gaining anything of worth by the proceeding, England has lost enormously in glory, in prestige, in loyal subjects, and stands to lose still more if she persists in the same course of policy.

Notes.

Repression in Bengal—Does Government of India consider the measure for Non-co-operation says that, for the time being, at any rate, there is to be no repression, no stoppage of Non-co-operation, no violence, and so long as speakers do not travel beyond the limits set by the leaders. This reads fine. I am at the time that there was not much truth.

Whereas the Commissioner of Police, calcutta, in opinion of the delivery of public hallucinations by you, Nageswar Nath Bhattacharja of Calcutta, is likely to make the commencement of an offence and to a disturbance in the public peace and resistance to and contempt of law and lawful authority, the Commissioner of Police, in pursuance of the powers vested in him under Section 32-A, Clause 3, of Act 1 of 1869, and section 294, clauses 3, of Act 11, 1898—

is modified up to 1st June, 1910, prohibits

the delivery of public hallucinations by you, Nageswar Nath Bhattacharja, from delivering any hallucination for a period of one year from this 6th, the 5th November, 1910, within the limits of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta.

The order was dated the 5th November. It is the old dodge—no reason is given. Vague fear of a disturbance is trotted out as sufficient reason for
gagging a young man. Even a formal trial serves no useful purpose. It enables an accused person to know the reason for restriction on his liberty.

And in the Punjab—The Punjab is not behind Bengal in the matter of administrative, as distinguished from judicial, repression. Mahatma Anand Toshali was tried and convicted. Now Aga Shafiq, a worker of unapproachable character, commanding great local influence, and secretary of the Kothari Committee, has received an administrative order not to speak in public. I have seen a telegram to that effect. I am making further inquiries into the matter. But there appears to be no reason to doubt the accuracy of the information. Granting it to be true, the order shows that the Punjab Government cannot tolerate free speech. Lahur Lingrat Rai, in his latest letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, has shown clearly that under Sir Edward Macaulay the Punjabis have not fared much better than under Sir Michael O'Dwyer. No doubt Sir Edward, with all his roughness and ready smecticism, but what difference can it to the Punjabis whether they wear clothes with or without a skull cap? Real articles will no day be preferable in the minds of guided one. In the Punjab essentially finer for the million methods of the present administration! Do the people feel better? It is time we revised the true situation. The spirit of the administration of India is evil, degrading, and ruining. It therefore matters little whether it is an angel who administers our affairs or Satan. My purpose in quoting Aga Shafiq's case, however, was merely to show that acts of the Government below its pompous declarations.

Some doubts—Babu Jnan Chandra Frased was a staunch co-worker with me in Chamban. He has written a letter and says he has not been over the reason for his belief that India has a great mission before her, and that she can achieve her purpose only by non-violent Non-co-operation. Be it said doubts which he would have no answer publish. The better being 1905, I am withholding. But the doubts are entitled to respect and I must endeavor to answer them. Here they are as framed by Babu Jnan Chandra Frased:

(a) Is not the Non-co-operation movement creating a sort of race-hatred between Englishmen and Indians, and is it in accordance with the Divine plan of universal love and brotherhood?

Does not the use of words "savages," "natives," etc., savour of unbrotherly sentiment and make us feel that we are inferior?

Should not the Non-co-operation movement be conducted on strictly non-violent and non-emotional lines both as speech and action?
In the view of the Government of India, that if the independent secession of any Provincial Government was not an emergency which had to be dealt with quickly as it now was?

Question—We have been some very serious riots in the Punjab which might have spread over the whole Province. Do you think that a government, the parts of which are to work independently, would be able to deal with a great emergency of that kind?

Answer—Yes. We looked into that question very carefully and I think I have the clear authority of the Viceroy for saying that under the scheme of the Bill there would be no power lacking which he expressed in dealing with the Punjab disturbances. I know he felt that very strongly and I think he would undertake to say so.

Question—Is there no danger of the movement going out of control and leading to violence?

Answer—As to (a), I must say that the movement is not ‘extensive’ race-strained. It certainly gives, as we have already said, disciplined expression to it. You cannot eradicate evil by ignoring it. It is because I want to promote universal brotherhood that I have taken up Non-co-operation so that, by self-purification, India may make the world better than it is.

As to (b), I know that the words ‘extensive’ and ‘violence’ are strong, but they describe the exact truth. They describe a system of persons. We are bound to hate evil, if we would shun it. But by some of the Non-co-operation we are able to distinguish between the evil and the evil-doer. I have found no difficulty in describing a particular activity of a brother of mine to be deplorable, but I am not aware of having hallowed any hatred about him. Non-co-operation teaches us to love our fellow-men in spite of their faults, not by ignoring or overlooking them.

As to (c), the movement is certainly being conducted on strictly non-violent lines. That all non-co-operatives have not yet thoroughly imbued the doctrine is true. But that just shows what an evil legacy we have inherited. Emotion there is in the movement. And it will remain. A man without emotion is a man without feeling.

As to (d), there certainly is danger of the movement becoming violent. But we may now drop the non-violent Non-co-operation because of its dangers, that we may stop freedom because of the danger of its abuse.

M. K. G.

Value of the New Councils—Some prominent workers of the Anti-Non-co-operation movement have been telling their audiences that under the new Reform Act, the tragedy of the Punjab would be impossible. What truth there is in this assertion is clear from the following questions and answers printed on page 492 of the minutes of evidence taken before the Joint Parliamentary Committee Sir James Massey, who represented the Government of India before the committee was under examination, Lord Sydenham asked him:

Question—The Punjab has a certain reputation as a hotbed of violence. Is there any likelihood of this reputation being transferred to the new Councils?

Answer—Yes. We have been some very serious riots in the Punjab which might have spread over the whole Province. Do you think that a government, the parts of which are to work independently, would be able to deal with a great emergency of that kind?

Answer—Yes. We looked into that question very carefully and I think I have the clear authority of the Viceroy for saying that under the scheme of the Bill there would be no power lacking which he expressed in dealing with the Punjab disturbances. I know he felt that very strongly and I think he would undertake to say so.

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M. K. G.
An armed man will no doubt be convicted on convicted evidence. Of all the plans in failure, most perjury committed on either side is in Champaran. Incredible as it may appear, the Omerniks I have reported is not the last of its kind. The Champaran dynasty is the most haughty and the most terror-stricken of all I have seen. They dread the approach of the police and leave their villages as soon as they appear on the scene. The police have become equally demoralized by bribery and corruption are rampant among them. And each time the people have resisted the police treatment, as in the case in point, they have been reduced to greater helplessness by a system of terrorism, in which the majesty has taken no mean part on behalf of the local Dyaurs.

At times the police have been represented by magistrates or the Government. That they do not mind. The lower police never even know anything about such reprimands, and they care less. The system of terrorism continues and flourishes.

How are the people to be helped? How is the corruption to be removed? Certainly not by continuing an official inquiry that must result in only strengthening the police. Already the police is fortifying its position. Certainly not by the village seeking the protection of the courts. It is a settled conviction, based on a study of the records of cases that in the vast majority of them the people have lost both in money and in power. An isolated discharge of an innocent man is all they can show as a result of paying fortunes to the lawyers and the bribe-takers.

This police, composed of our own men, must be reformed and won over by non-resistance. We have unnecessarily vilified them instead of paying them. They are victims of a vicious and unenlightened system. I declare that they have not been Indians. The Government is powerless to reform them. On the contrary, the system of Government is such as to corrupt even the most honest of men. It is based upon the practice of securing the greatest immunity for itself. It has made of justice a farce and has estranged itself from the position of justice and protection.

Local men everywhere must therefore preside over the police, and the best way of befriending them is to cease to fear them or their authority.

In the case in point the village must be advised to forget the wrong if they can recover stolen property by seeking the intervention of friends, they must do so. They must patiently suffer imprisonment. As defendants, they must unconditionally decline to be represented by pleaders. They must give an unvarnished veracity to the Court. They must submit to misrepresentation, even to the taunt of having no case.

And in future, if and when such measures happen, they must be prepared to defend themselves. It is better if they can carefully stand protection and allow themselves to be robbed, instead of fighting in defence of their persons or property. That would

undoubtedly be their growing triumph. But such endurance can only be exercised out of strength and not out of weakness. Till that power is acquired, they must be prepared to meet the wrong-doer by force. When a policeman cannot be arrested but must molest, he travels beyond his authority. The critic has drawn the unhesitating right of treating him as a robber and dealing with him as such. He will therefore use sufficient force to prevent him from robbing. He will most industriously use force in order to defend the honour of his womanhood. The doctrine of non-violence is not for the weak and the cowardly; it is meant for the brave and the strong. The bravest man allows himself to be killed without killing. And he dares from killing or injuring, because he knows that it is wrong to injure Ns; so the village of Champaran. They rose from the police. They would strike and even kill a policeman, if they had no fear of the law. They gain no merit of non-violence but on the contrary incur the reproach of cowardice and unmanliness, they stand condemned before Government and man.

But the workers among a people so fallen as in Champaran will have to be most careful about what they do. They and the people will put themselves in the wrong, if they resist the police in the lawful execution of their office, even though the execution may prove to be unlawful. The police must not be resisted if they arrest without a warrant. They must not take the law into their own hands interdependently do it. The safeguard against any serious blunder has the fact that no account are they to seek the protection of the law. If, therefore, they are in the wrong, they will invariably suffer punishment. And when they are in the right, they will most probably not suffer punishment, and they will always have the satisfaction of having saved, or attempted to save, the property, or what is infinitely better, the honour of their women. In the case in point, it was wrong to recover the man who was arrested even though in the opinion of the villagers he was innocent. It was wrong because the police had the authority in law to effect arrests. It was cowardly on their part to have fled on the approach of the police, it would have been right for them to have defended their women and their goods. If they had acted fled, they, being so numerous, would easily have saved their property and protected their women merely by standing on their ground. In no case would the villagers have been justified in doing more boldly injury than was needed on the occasion. It is invariably a sign of cowardice and meanness to use excessive force. A brave man does not kill a thief but arrests him and hands him to the police. A brave man uses just enough force to draw him out and think no more about it. The bravest realism that the thiefs knows no better, reason with him, risk being thrashed and even killed, but does not retaliate. We must at any cost come to be cowardly and unmansly.
REJOINER.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Messer Popeley and Phillips have been good enough to reply to my letter in your Englishman in India. I recognize and appreciate the friendly spirit of their letter. But I see that there are fundamental differences on which much of the time being spent and the thing is getting longer. So long as I felt that, despite of previous lapses, the British Empire represented an activity for the world’s and India’s good, I clung to it like a child to its mother’s breast. But that is gone. The British nation has endorsed the Punjab and the Khilafat cause. There is no doubt a dissenting minority. But a dissenting minority that satisfies itself with a mere expression of its opinion and continues to help the wrong-doers partially in the wrong-doing.

And when the sum total of its energy represents a minute quantity one may not pick out the plus quantities, hold them up for admiration, and ask an admiring public to help regarding them, as is the present day design of Satish and Nanjamsetty with a claim of good and thus lure the energies into the tin. If only the world has known of Satish’s claim by shunning his words on Babasaheb, who could work out the ideal they believe in, to join the ranks of non-co-operationists, W. T. Steed, perhaps, for the reverse of the British arms during the Boer war! Miss Hobhouse invited the Boers to keep up the fight. The betrayal of India is much worse than this injustice done to the Boers. The Boers fought and died for their rights. When, therefore, we are prepared to bleed, the right will have become debased, and the ideological world will perceive it and do homage to it.

But Messer Popeley and Phillips object that I have allied myself with those who would draw the sword if they could. I see no harm in it. They represent the right, so long as I do. And if it is not worth while trying to prevent the unmasking of the sword by helping to win a bloodless battle! Those who recognize the truth of the Indian position can only do God’s work by assisting this non-violent campaign.

The second objection raised by these English friends is more to the point. I would be guilty of wrong-doing myself if the Muslim cause was not just. The fact is that the Muslim claim is not to perpetuate foreign domination of non-Muslim or non-Turkish races. The Indian Moslems do not resist self-determination, but they would fight to the last the nefarious plan of expelling Musotumpar under the plea of self determination. They must resist the studied attempt to humiliate Tipu, and thereby Islam, under the pretext of ensuring Arabian independance.

The third objection has reference to schools. I do object to missionary or any schools being carried on with Government money. It is true that it was at one time our money. Will these good missionaries be justified in educating me with funds given to them by a robber who has robbed me of my money, religion and honour because the money was originally mine?

I personally believe the financial robbery of India, but it would have been a sin to have tolerated the robbery of honour through the Punjab, and of religion through Turkey. This is strong language. But nothing less would truly describe my deep conviction. Needless to say that the emporium of Government, aided, or affiliated, schools does not mean starving the young mind. National Schools are coming into being as fast as the others are emptied.

Messer Popeley and Phillips think that my sense of justice has been blurred by the knowledge of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs. I hope not. I have asked friends to show me some good fruit (intended and deliberately produced) of the British occupation of India. I repeat the request. And I assure them that I shall make the utmost a-grade of it. I have tried in my eagerness about the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs.

SLAVES OR REBELS?

(By Principal A. T. Gulzar.)

Three great upheavals of this century, that stand out as landmarks in India’s struggle for freedom, have inspired three distinct movements for National Education: Bengal established its National Council of Education at the time that she awakened India from her age-long slumber to save her from a cruel partition. Mrs. Besant inaugurated another society for Promotion of National Education in the electric atmosphere of her whirlwind campaign for Home Rule, and now that Gandhi’s mentor of Satyagraha and Self-help have started a radical reconstruction, there is yet another effort to overhaul our educational system. Is it not significant that the leaders of all these vital movements, otherwise differing so widely in their entire outlook, should agree in regarding the re-organization of education on national lines as essential for the uplift of India? Whatever one may think of the failure or success of the various essays in National Education, it is beyond doubt that there must be something radically wrong with the present system to lead reformers—religious, political, social—of combating complexities to declare it incompatible with the Nation’s ideals and aspirations.

Whenever India has been agitated out of the comfortable complacency of normal life, whenever a crisis has come to disturb the placid calm of every-day existence with universal mystics, leading thinkers have seen in our arid and artificial culture the greatest obstacle to our advancement. Nor did this revolt begin when Bengal organised to save the future from the helplessness of the present. There are earlier individual attempts like the Gurukul of Mahatma Kabir at Hardwar, and, even on the organization of institutions like the Dayamand Anglo-Vedic College of Lahore and the Central Hindu College of Benares, a vague feeling of the inadequacy, if not harmfulness, of the prevailing system did enter.
As the Government Educational Services becomes more and more rigid, and deadening official pressure, which shriveled out patriotism and the sense of pride in the country, because heavier, those who work for India's Freedom within the Empire are faced with a grim alternative. Either they must stand aside and see the yoke of the country divided into two groups—civics and uncivil; useless to the country and fit only to be the servants of the bureaucracy; the other, high-spirited and patriotic with despairing, plunging into anarchy and violence, it is therefore necessary to do something to save these unfortunate youths from becoming either slaves or rebels. Thus wrote Mrs Anna Bhansali long before the terrible humiliation of the Punjab showed that the price we pay for the degrees of the bureaucratic universal is our own blood. John Johnson gave the whole thing away. There was no civil engagement about his action. With the business of a soldier he said: "Your souls are in your degree; which will you have?" And our proctor chose 'degree.' Mrs Bhansali's first group—those of those who are servile and uncivil; it only to be the servants of the bureaucracy—was meant to include the teachers and the taught. In one comprehensive category. To those who work for India's freedom it was clear as daylight, that educators in the service of the Motherland must be men of stern mettle, then training could no longer be tolerated to those who sought to sow seeds of slavery in their souls. Not an institution here and an institution there, but the whole of our education must be independent of official control.

Mrs Bhansali's scheme aimed at building up a system of National Education, entirely apart from, but not in hostility to, the official system. The present movement is seeking to build up a system, both apart from and hostile to the official system. How could it be otherwise if the official system aims to educate Mrs Bhansali again can produce only slaves and rebels! We want Free Men and there is no room for Schools of Slavery.

Most of those who fight the case of this bold adventurer are not enmeshed of government institutions, few among them doubt the necessity of national control of education. What they lack is faith in the Nation. They survey the past and see failure with rage on the part of institutions that started with National ideals. They fear a weakening of purpose, they doubt the determination if they appreciate the daring of the workers in the field.

Bengal in particular is a restricted mood. The 'Servant' assumes her accredited duties. The other day, with the belief that Bengal had gained a right to rest on her own bed and fully the other non-co-operating provinces into alliance on the ground that she had tried this movement and failed, Bengal forgets that what was only a sectional affair fifteen years back has surged up to sweep the whole of India with its life-giving waters. This is not the time to lower the tare but to

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... All we want from the Council was true education and that the Council did impart... Strength in the arms, courage in the breast, intelligence and learning in the brain, and above all, faith in God we did receive. Now of no one does our parliament purchase a foreign vehicle where an indigenous one is available. We always look upon India and anything Indian with respectful eyes. As further writes that they are all as well situated in life as graduates of the Calcutta University. But the Bengal Council did not fail, it did not discern. Why? The canes are of great interest, for, if we understand them, we get at the same time the strength of our present situation. Bengal worked undaunted, the impulse was provincial and the activity immense. Provincial Tumut is a community of Bengal stood still with more and sympathetically than indifference. The promoters, it was said, had not faith enough in the movement to risk the careers of their own children.

Where do we stand today? The national humiliation in the Punjab and the dishonour of our women, who were mutilated and outraged, are felt and resented by India and Muslims alike all over the country, the international wrong of the Turkish treaty has dateless and immortal. It has been the measure of the need for action. India's women have made the grievance her own, the Congress and the League give the self-same lead to Swaraj not as a propaganda but as an immediate necessity has been accepted as our objective. "Leiser forces have led to greater result in human history." Shall we spend our present in an impotent rage or secure our freedom by reason to feed the forces that turn out slaves? Out of the unprecedented Arment of thought and feeling in the country have already evolved two universes and voices of education, scattered all over the world. The progress of these institutions and the augmentation of new ones depends on the growing determination of our people who see thrice from all what they spend on needleless luxuries. Meanwhile the duty of those who run the government and aided institutions is not merely to express sympathy. I have heard many of them declare that it is only for want of Free institutions that they lag behind. No one has watched the progress of the movement in various ranks of activity could have missed to see how soon new national institutions have sprung up where students' response has been truer than that of the trustee. Our professional virtues must know that they too have their part to play in ensuring the New India into existence. They must come out and create the institutions in which the foundations of the future are to be firmly laid.

BUSINESS NOTICE

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The smuggling of opium into China, which led to the two Opium Wars, has had its origin in India. Under the British East India Company, British smugglers were dealing China with Opium. The Chinese protested and had a little Boston Tea Party destroying 20,000 chests of good British Opium. "The resources of a Christian Nation" were too much for "a pagan monarch." Great Britain defeated China China was forced to give up Hong Kong to the British, also an indemnity of £6,000,000. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Fuzhou, Ningpo, and Shanghaï were closed for China for the importation of opium.

In the second war, which ended in the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, China paid another indemnity of about £10,000,000, and five more treaty ports were opened. Thousands of Chinese lost their lives in the war. In one scene of carnage, the Times correspondent reported that "half an army of 10,000 men was destroyed by the sword in ten minutes, or forced into the broad river.

Hong Kong was taken from China by England in January 1841, as an indemnity following the first Opium War, when China challenged England's right to trade with the country with opium. Hong Kong, an island 90 miles south of Canton, is the market for British Opium. The opposite peninsula of Kowloon is also British territory. The island of Lantau and various outlying islands of China -- much larger than Shanghai, also belong to England.

These islands are not subject to British control. There is situated a government-opium factory, and the imports of Indian opium into Hong Kong for the year 1913-14, were 110,172 chests. This figure is lower by 1,000,000 than the year preceding, because of the outbreak of the European war there were fewer ships. The Hong Kong revenue reports show that about one-third of the total revenue is derived from opium trade.

Shanghai is another Chinese city. It is divided into two sections, one is under nominal Chinese control, and the other under foreign concessions, known as the International Settlement. Over the latter section China has no control. Although Opium is abolished in the Chinese territory, in this International Settlement "any one may buy as much opium as he wishes merely by stepping over an imaginary line, into a portion where the rigid anti-opium laws do not apply. In 1913, revenues derived from opium licenses in the International Settlement amounted to $83,386. The Statistical Abstract relating to British India for 1912-13 shows that the export of British opium into Chinese Treaty Ports, over which the Chinese have no control, amounted to 6 million pounds. It showed a tremendous increase over preceding years.

Yet, China according to reports is being decimated with morphine, cocaine, and other refined forms of opium manufactured mostly in England. The Board of Trade of Great Britain shows that during 1914, 14 tons of morphia were exported from Great Britain. Figures compiled later than 1917, when all the Chinese opium markets were closed, show that the amount has risen to 20 tons.

Since 1917, there have been slumps in Chinese opium consumption, but Mrs. La Motte points out the customs is being made up by finding new markets, and new peoples to drug. The statement is indirectly supported by the Statistical Abstract of India for the year 1918-19 and by a member of other British and Colonial Blue Books.

The Colonial Report for 1917 gives the imports and exports of opium (page 7). It states:

"The imports and exports of certified opium during the year amounted to 7,000 chests imported and 8,000 chests exported. Of these the imports all come from Shanghai, and of the total export of 6,000 chests, 1,000 went to Shanghai, 1,000 to Penang, and 400 to Persia. 910 chests of unregistered opium were imported, 500 chests by the Government monopoly, and the remainder 500, for the Hong opium farmer."

Macao is a Portuguese settlement, an island near Canton, where the opium trade is in full swing. Persia has also restored the old French monopoly once in full swing. British and Persia are both involved. Great Britain by gaining control of these countries, can not only control the routes to Asia and thus reach her hold on India, but she now has virtual control of the world's output of opium.

Samark, near British North Borneo, is another British possession. When the last rule, an English trader, died, a great tribute was paid to him by the National Geographical Magazine. He had due credit to British India in the Far East. Nearly 10 years ago, he governed, an absolute sovereignty, a mixed population of Chinese, Malays, and numerous pagan tribes scattered through the villages and dense jungles of an extensive territory of the north-west coast of Borneo. The country is a thankless and laborious one, but the British in trying to take the country from the Chinese has won the sympathy and devotion which enabled them to whitewash the system supported by an insignificant army and police, to establish peaceful occupation of civilization in place of barbarous tyranny and oppression.

The "purchasers" promise Mrs. La Motte points out, may be judged from the Colonial Office list for 1917, which states that the "principal sources of revenue are the opium, gambling, gunpowder and hemp." In 1917 this "well governed" little colony showed a return of nearly £100,000 from such sources.

British North Borneo, itself depends partly upon opium for its revenue. In 1918 the official reports showed a net revenue under the head of taxes of about £125,000. An another British possession where opium is used widely is the island of Manipur. The statistics for British India, Eighth edition, show that in 1918-19, twenty chests were exported to the island from India. This is a double the amount exported in 1915-16, and shows a steady increase in consumption.

Opium is freely sold in Singapore, the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States. A
large portion of the revenue of these dependencies depends upon opium trade. A steady increase in the use of the drug is shown by official figures.

Siam is supposed to be an independent kingdom, but is "protected very stely and thoroughly by Great Britain." Siam has been permitted by the English to impose duties on all commodities except British opium. This agreement was reached in the treaty between Siam and Great Britain in 1836. The Statistical Year Books for the Kingdom of Siam show that in the year 1917-18, 1900 chests of opium were exported. Each chest contained about 140 lb. 7 lb. weight. The number of retail opium shops in 1916-17 was 3,111.

British trade in South America shows opium imports in 1916 to the amount of £3,500. The sum must have undoubtedly increased, since Argentina is now feasting the effects of the drug, which finds its way over into bordering countries. Argentina is lighting the drug evil, but without much effect.

According to the English argument, opium as a good thing for Orientals Miss La Motte relates a number of stories short, brutal, and little things demonstrating this in Siam an Englishman gave it to her. He was traveling through the jungle, he said, with a number of coolies. By nightfall they were exhausted with the long march. But since he was rushed for time, he merely gave them each a stick of opium in the arms, whereupon all traces of fatigue vanished and they marched all night.

But Japan and Philippines which are two Oriental countries but independent of Great Britain do not permit the sale of opium and guard their people against the drug habit as carefully as do western peoples, as do England and her daughter colonies their own people.

It is a well-known phenomenon that drugged peoples are usually deed and subservient. Miss La Motte thinks that that is the secret of much of the successful British civilization. She has successfully demonstrated by facts and figures which we have quoted copiously that whenever the British flag waves over subject peoples there opium is sold and its use zealously encouraged, as did the English merchant of the illustration to Siam.

"It would seem at first glance," Miss La Motte concludes, "as if subject races were fair game if there is money in it. Subject races, dependents, who have no vote, no share in the Government, and who are powerless to protect themselves — fair game for exploitation. In the double-dealing in which we seem when we speak of "our responsibility to backward nations," or of "the sacred trust of civilization," or still again, when we refer to the "white man's burden."

And we ask Will the Reform bonfires save India from this black-stone crime she is made to perpetrate upon the world, and upon thousands of her own children, by the growth, use, and export of the opium poison? We pass for an answer.

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But what is the justification for the application of such extreme measures? The commissions issued by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi may be summarized in the following two sentences: These organizations and messengers have now become as serious an issue to the social life and public liberties of peaceful and law-abiding citizens of Delhi as the Government has so far been able to believe that the Government view the question of the public peace and order are entirely repugnant to the law-abiding population of Delhi and in their interest, have resolved to impose the Sedition Act's provisions and the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

In their eagerness to secure a solution towards peaceful law-abiding citizens of Delhi, the Government have given way to base and baseless the confusion of their mind. Attendance at meetings of law-abiding citizens of Delhi to always absolutely voluntary, and the right of holding public meetings should not be wrested away from them, because, according to the Government themselves, none speak as happen to abuse the right. The ordinary laws of the Government are all sufficient and even elastic enough to punish those alleged—whether the allegations be true or otherwise—to have abused the right and resorted to intimidation etc. Our experience of the working of the ordinary laws, however, is a better exponent.
written might be Indiscerned, but in the proportion of 2½ p.c. addition of Indians annually, till after seven years full 33 1/3 p.c. is reached. There may be popular legislatures where members, re-

Notes.

Representatives 5, 10, 15, or at the most 20 p.c., of the entire strength of voters, act and deliberate against the explicit wish and will of the majority of the absenteers. And where, in such particular instance, a new era of liberty may arise, but without the afo-

mencioned rights of association, of public meeting and of free expression of opinion, and where the Government may exact confiscation of these rights, of the "peaceful and law abiding mass" of the population because of their supposed abuse by "some unknown and undescribed persons.

Thus the constitution can live and move and have its being either by total rendition and non-re-

germination of the fundamental rights of the nation, or by keeping the masses of the population at the point of the bayonet, compelling them thereby into an unwilling co-operation.

But where the man has once heard of coercion being successful in engendering and fully developing a voluntary co-operation either on the part of an individual or a community? The Sedition meetings Act, with a hundred other kindness enactments may succeed, in a measure, in restraining men from physical action, and securing their re-

sultant acquiescence in their provisions, but we have not yet learnt whether such measures, or however many like them, being the invention of some evil genius, can ever restrain a free and high spirited people from giving full play to the requirements of the spirit, whose present, for what reasons no matter, they may refrain from action. And India, the free and free spirited India, will, despite all, continue to think and hold her opinion, as the freest in the world, of the Government of the day and the policy of dishonesty and dishonesty that it connotes.

Parsis Customize's Donation of Rs. 40,000 for National Schools

Mr. Romanje Jivraj of Durban who always had a lead in public affairs and has suffered an imprisonment as a Satya Grah writes to Mr. Gokhle:

I am watching your grand movement and wish you success. If you boycott the Government Schools you must start national schools in the villages for the poor children. You may on my account build your new schools each costing Rs. 10,000, more or less, the condition being that the local leader guarantees that the school will be maintained per-

The other side—But the men are impotent and dangerously wrong as they are reported to have done at Delhi and in Bengal. It was cruel and unwise to deny the rights of protest to the corporal of a man whom the acridized non-co-operators (if they were non-co-operators) detested. It was folly to throw, at a place in East Bengal, night and on a candidate who had stood for election as a candidate, or to cut the ears of a voter for daring to express his vote. There are just the ways of defeating our own purpose. Non-co-operation is non-violent but merely in regard to the Legislatures and go-

vemment officials. It has to be equally so between ourselves. A co-operator is as much entitled to freedom of action, speech and thought as the tallest among non-co-operators. Non-co-operation is directed against all slavery. Every non-co-operator therefore retards the function of his cause by resorting to violence. It is a sure sign of want of faith in his mission.

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menantly, and let there be a dead drawn up.

I feel that he is short and therefore I must ask you to allow me, through you, to do something for my motherland in her time of need. I am especially anxious about the schools, and make a donation of Rs. 40,000 for four new school buildings, the np upkeep to be undertaken by the people. You may use this as you like. If you like to build eight schools costing half the amount each you may do so. Please cable me if necessary for funds and I will send an arrangement for payment to be made to you.

to the Delegates and Visitors at Nagpur Congress

Those of the delegates and visitors who will assemble at Nagpur and who are not subscribers are to this journal and desire to do so can pay their subscription to Manasa Pathak and Shankar at Gandhi's camp, Nagpur.

M. K. O.
THE SIN OF SECRECY

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

One of the ills of India is often the sin of secrecy. For fear of an unknown consequence we talk in whispers. No one has this secrecy oppressed more than in Bengal. Everybody wishes to speak to you in private. The spectacle of innocent young girls looking around, before opening their lips, to see that no third party overhears their conversation has given me the greatest grief. Every stranger is suspected of belonging to the secret service. I have been warned to beware of strangers. The cup of my misery was filled when I was told that the unknown student who presided at the students' meeting belonged to the secret service department. I could recall the names of at least two prominent leaders who are suspected in high Indian circles of being agents of the Government.

I feel thankful to God that for years past I have been to regard secrecy as a sin more especially in politics. If we realised the pressures of God as witness to all we say and do, we would not have anything to conceal from anybody on earth. For, we would not think unclean thoughts before our Maker, much less speak them. It is not uncommon that makes secrecy and darkness. The tendency of human nature is to hide dirt; we do not want to see or touch dirty things. We want to put them out of sight. And so must it be with our speech. I would suggest that we should avoid even thinking thoughts we would hide from the world.

The desire for secrecy has bred cowardice amongst us and has made us desable our speech. The last and the quickest way of getting rid of this corroding and degrading Secret Service is for us to make a final effort to think as God has thought, and to cease to fear the spy. We must ignore his presence and treat everyone as a friend entitled to know all our thoughts and plans. I know that I have achieved most satisfactory results from avowing the boldness of my plans in broad daylight. I have never lost a minute's peace for having detectives by my side. The public may not know that I have been shadowed throughout my stay in India. That has not only not worried me but I have even taken friendly services from these gentlemen. Many have apologised for having to shadow me. As a rule what I have spoken in their presence has already been published to the world. The result is that now I do not even notice the presence of these men and I do not know that the government is much the wiser for having watched my movements through its secret agency. My opinion is that these agents accompany me as a matter of form or routine. They certainly never bother me. I venture to make a present of my experience to every young man in Bengal and for that matter in India. No one need think that my public position, and not my openness, saves me from offensive situations. It is the simplest thing to see that the moment you cease to dread the presence of the spy and therefore refuse to treat him as such, that moment his presence ceases to offend you. Soon the government will feel ashamed to have its secret service department exist. If it does not, the secret police will be mock of an occupation which serves no use.

Non-co-operation is essentially a cleansing process. It deals with cause rather than symptoms. The detective department is a symptom of the secrecy which is the cause. Removal of secrecy brings about the full disappearance of the secret service without further effort. The Press Act is a symptom of the desire of cowardice. If we would boldly declare our intentions, the Press Act will die of natural causes. The ordinary people will have to suffer for their so-called daring. I hear that the "Servant" of Calcutta has been served with a warrant for its tannery to take over an article from "Young India" condoning Mr. Rajagopalachari's admirable instructions to voters. I notice too that the most telling passages of my speech in Calcutta have been omitted by the press evidently for fear of the censor. I would far rather see a complete stoppage of a newspaper if the editor cannot without fear of the consequences freely express his sentiments or publish ideas which he approves.

Non-co-operation while it gladly avails itself of the assistance that may be rendered by the Press, it is, in its very nature independent of the Press. There can be no doubt that every thought that we print is being painted on it. As soon as its circulation takes effect, the Government fears for its existence, will try to prohibit it. We may not expect this or any government to commit suicide. It must either reform or suppress.

In the ordinary course repression must precede reform under a despotic government and as such, the stoppage of the circulation of potent ideas that may destroy the government or compel repentance will be the least among the weapons in its repressive armoury. We must therefore devise methods of circulating our ideas unless and until the whole press becomes fearless, dares consequences and publishes ideas, even when it is in indigence with them, just for the purpose of securing its freedom. An editor with an original idea or an effective prescriptive for India's ill can easily write them out, a hundred hands can copy them, many more can read them out to thousands of listeners. I do hope therefore that non-co-operation editors, at any rate, will not refrain from expressing their thoughts for fear of the Press Act. They should regard it as their duty to keep their thoughts secret—a wasting of energy to construct a newspaper that promotes their thoughts. It is a negation of one's calling for an editor to have to suppress his best thoughts.
YOUNG INDIA,
December 22, 1920.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN BEHAR.

Behar has led to host all other provinces as far as non-co-operation in session is concerned, Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Shabkrit had set their Behar tour only a week ago.

They addressed largely attended meetings of students at every place they visited, and nowhere have they visited as good results as in Behar. Soon after they left Patna, the students of the Engineering College there—no less than 110 in number—left their College in a body and sought shelter in the peaceful hamlet on the Ganges—Sadatpur Ashram conducted by that great Father, Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Roy, who has liberally burnt his boats has left his palace, 'Shivamur Manzil' for good, sent his family to his country house in Calcutta, where they are living on a monthly pin she, and having thrown overboard all his luxuries, dresses himself from top to toe in flawless Khadder, and is now living in Sadatpur Ashram having determined to give the rest of his life to Swaraj work. He has got together a select number of workers and was working out his programme at the Ashram, when suddenly this strong constituent of Engineering students invaded his peaceful abode, and, however, to disturb the peace thereof but to make it more an abode of 'stillness unwarmed from tranquility.' Seven of the students have since been called away by their parents, but the remaining 103 are busy digging foundations for a workshop and making spinning wheels and even the long the Ashram will be a busy spinning and weaving workshop. Many students of the Behar Arts College have followed suit, and they and a large number of students of the Mussoorie College—no less than 250 in number—have created an unceasing demand for a national college, where the leaders are busy making every endeavour to satisfy Babu Raj Kishore Prasad, one of the leading co-workers of Mr. Gandhi in the form of the Champaran Agrarian reform, in a letter to Mr. Mahatma Das, writes that all arrangements—including the appointment of a professorial staff composed entirely of local non-co-operatives—have been made. An education committee also has been formed, which will control all the mutual duties in the province.

He also writes that a Swaraj Sabha for the province has been formed which has amongst its members all the leading non-co-operatives; many of the Vakils on the general body of the Sabha will probably retire from practice from 30th instant, and these whose licenses expire in the month will no more renew them.

It will be remembered that when Mr. Gandhi was in Behar he himself laid the foundation of a national school at Hajipur, and a national school at Chhapra was also soon to be opened. Babu Brij Kishore Prasad writes as to the Sarawan Academy in his own town, of which he is the president of the Board of trustees, that he is making every effort to see that the institution is soon constituted—so it is purely privately maintained—and that if it fails he will never have to trustship.

The Behar workers thus deserve to be warmly congratulated on the progress they have been making.

Subscriptions too were collected at all meetings. Over Rs. 1,500 were paid in cash. The women gave away their ornaments including pearls and diamond bangles and rings. They ought to yield no less than an additional Rs. 1,500.

THE REVIVAL OF HANDICRAFTS IN INDIA.

(By S. F. Andrews)

Along with Mahatma Gandhi, I firmly believe that the revival of handicrafts in India—the superannuated varieties of machine-made and foreign goods by hand-made and Swadeshi goods—will bring about the revival of India as a nation. The revival of handicrafts in our villages may ultimately mean the regeneration of India herself, because the villages are the nucleus of India and the villages are the great central factors in the problem of Indian village revival.

The British Raj has more profoundly affected the villages of India than any previous rulers. Other conquests swept over the surface the British invasion attacked the inner principles of village life itself—the principles of self-support and self-sufficiency. It made the village household more and more dependent, for the very necessities of common life, on the outside and foreign world. Perhaps no more material change has ever happened in India than this, and—let it be again and again repeated and remembered.—Indian village life is the heart and soul of Indian history.

I wish to trace some of these undermining causes which have thus destroyed the dependance of Indian village life.

(1) First of all there was the wholesale piracy by the East India Company itself and its officers, from the highest to the lowest. The evidence for this is abundant. While searching through the Historical Records of the East India Company, a short time ago, I came across one single statement, which has not yet, as far as I am aware, been published in modern times. There is an allusion to it in Herbert Spencer's "Science," but it is not quoted. It runs as follows:—

"To the Honourable, the Court of Directors, London.

"The effects of a dreadful famine, which visited these provinces in the year 1770, and raging during the whole course of that year, have been regularly made known to you by our former advices. But the influence on the Revenue has been
December 23, 1920. YOUNG INDIA.

The atrocities of the revenue should have kept an equal pace with the other consequences of so great a calamity. That it did not, was owing to its being violently kept up to its former standard.

There are the signatures of the other Council members, which I did not copy down at the time.

I wish to go over the passage once more, in order to make its significance abundantly clear. It means that, at a time when at least one-third of the population of Bengal had perished in a single year from famine, and a very large area of land had become a wilderness because the ruinous population was too large and turned to till the soil, at such a time Warren Hastings and the Council, ignoring the evident peril, at the point of the sword, an even larger revenue than in the most prosperous previous years. I will now write down again those terrible concluding words, which no Indian can afford to forget.

"It is naturally to be expected that the diminution of the revenue should have kept pace with the other consequences of so great a calamity. That it did not, was owing to its being violently kept up to its former standard."

(ii) Furthermore, the East India Company's revenues were not the only collections of money that were violently kept up. The private profit of every officer who came out from England in order to 'shake the sardar tree', produced a still greater depletion of wealth from India. From Clive to Cawaswallah, this wholesale plunder went on in Bengal. It was so less outrageous in Madras and in the West of India. To take one instance only, the family wealth of the Pitt family in the Elizabethan century was based on the plunder from Madras.

This ill-gotten money enriched England in exactly the same way that Spain was suddenly enriched nearly two centuries earlier by the plunder of the American 'aborigines'. There is practically no difference between the free-booters of the New World and the Old.

All this inhuman wealth, which poured into England from India, impoverished the Indian villages. It soon began to bring about, more and more, the indigence of the villagers and their dependence on outside help, for they were forced to sell their produce outside and to live heavily into debt in order to obtain money to satisfy the fore greets lust for gold, and the exactions of the revenue which were violently kept up."

(iii) But this was only the beginning of slavery. The very money, which they paid to these foreign free-booters, was used, as capital in England itself, for India's own further destruction. The English manufacturers used this new wealth from India, —

(a) to increase manufactures and commerce,

(b) to defend Napoleon in war,

(c) to control the markets of the world and to exploit weaker races.

(To be Continued.)

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR BEN SPOOR.

(Special to Young India.)

Mr Ben Spoor, the official delegate of the British Labour Party, was here at Ahmedabad for a few days. A welcome meeting was held in his honour where Mr Spoor gave a very impressive address. During his stay Mr Spoor visited some of the local naturalizations. Before his departure we had an interesting interview with Mr Spoor of which the following is an authorized version.

INDIA AND LABOUR PARTY.

Q.—Did the Labour Conference adopt a resolution in favour of self-determination for India at its last session?

A.—Yes, I voted against it. There was no qualification about it whatsoever. Having adopted it, the party is entitled to the posse of self-determination. And it will continue to strive for that principle being secured and applied.

Q.—Then it follows that the Labour Party is bound to support the Congress in this struggle when it comes into power?

A.—There is no logical reason not that.

Q.—What are the prospects of the Labour Party coming into power?

A.—I am no prophet. But I will tell you what our expectations are. We will contest about 600 seats at the next election. The prospects of our securing at least 200 seats are exceedingly good, so that, you see, we do not come into power in the next elections. But after the life of the next Parliament, very likely Labour will come into power.

If you like I will guess as any other. The Labour party has almost ceased to exist in Britain. That does not mean that Liberalism is dead. But in increasing degree true Liberalism is manifesting through the Labour Party. It seems quite clear that we shall have two parties: Labour on one side and Tory capitalists on the other.

THE CRISIS.

Q.—Mr. Spoor, you realize the serious situation created by the Bengal and the Dehra Dun tragedies. What do you think the countryman would have done under such circumstances?

A.—Why, the whole of our history is an answer to that question. For back in the 16th century we had the Peasants' Rising, and you know, the other events that have made Britain the great country in the world. Our people would never have rested without serious resistance.
Q.—I suppose you mean by resistance that there would have been violence?
A.—Yes, I fear so.

**THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NON-CO-OPERATION**

Q.—Then, don’t you think that it is rather difficult, if not altogether impossible, for Westerners to understand and appreciate the spiritual aspect of the Non-co-operation movement in India because of their training and outlook?
A.—Yes, I think it is very difficult for Westerners to comprehend this quite. It strikes me I may be wrong—that the conception is essentially Eastern.

Q.—Do you think Egypt profited by boycotting the Khmer mission?
A.—The rapid descent and merely attitude of Egyptian leaders did impress England and reduced the chances of the mission for good.

Q.—Have you not during your tour in this part of the country encountered everywhere that idea regarding the non-violent character of the Non-co-operation movement which are being preached in, and isolated among the minds of the people of this country?
A.—Yes, at all the meetings I have attended I found great emphasis put on the non-violent character of the movement, the speeches that I have heard did have an effect on the minds of a certain brood, rather than narrow extremists and the people seemed to respond to these sentiments.

**ITS INFLUENCE**

Q.—You appreciate, then, that Mr. Gandhi’s propaganda has been successful in that direction?
A.—I certainly believe in the moral value of Mr. Gandhi’s propaganda—this does not mean to me the support of his as an immediately practical step.

Q.—Of course you mean to see that for yourself. You have seen it on this side of the country and you propose to visit other parts of the country and the Congress, and meet Mr. Gandhi before coming to final conclusion?
A.—Yes, that is so.

Q.—But don’t you think that if India carried on this movement successfully, it would tell the whole world that moral force is stronger than brute force?
A.—Yes, undoubtedly, I have dealt with this point in my speech as the sands.

**BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS**

Q.—Have you noticed that a very significant percentage of votes in each constituency have voted as a whole of the Non-co-operation movement?
A.—Yes, this has been brought to my notice, and as far as I can see the last points to successful propaganda of the non-co-operation movement.

Q.—What would you do if 75 per cent of votes in your constituency declares openly that they do not wish to be represented in the council and that you are there against their wishes?
A.—All I can say is that I would not like to be in that unhappy position.

Q.—Is it true that is representative institutions, a member can be on them only as representing the whole constituency?
A.—Yes.

**EMPTING OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES**

Q.—It has been suggested that emptying of schools and colleges will not worry the Government at all. Do you think it does not affect their prestige?
A.—Certainly, it lowers the prestige of the Government. It would particularly raise the prestige of the movement and if institutions spring up to replace Government ones as an absolute.
lease is part of my religion, a matter of creed. But with the great number of Mussulmans non-violence is a policy, with thousands, if not millions of Hindus, it is equally a matter of policy. And whether it is a sacred or not, it is utterly impossible for us to finish the programme for the enforcement of the avowal of India, without recognizing the necessity and the value of non-violence. Violence may for a moment avail to secure a certain measure of success but it could not in the long run achieve any appreciable result. On the other hand, all violence would prove destructive to the honour and self-respect of the nation. The blue books issued by the Government of India show that as much as we have used violence, military expenditure has gone up, not proportionately but in geometric progression. The bonds of our slavery have been forged still stronger for our having offered violence. And the whole history of British rule in India is a demonstration of the fact that we have never been able to offer successful violence. While therefore I say that rather than have the pangs of a Government that has so accumulated us, I would wallow in violence, I would urge with all the emphasis that I can command that India will never be able to regain her own by methods of violence.

THE SWARAJ OF MY IDEAL.

Lord Robertshaw who has done me the honour of reading my booklet on House Rule abuse made my countrymen against engaging themselves in a struggle for a Swaraj as bad as is described in that booklet. Now I want to withdraw a struggle word of it, I would say to you on this occasion that I do not ask India to follow out today the methods prescribed in my booklet. If they would do that they would have to be in a year but a day, and India by remaining that ideal wants to remain an anomaly over the rest of the world. But it must remain a day dream more or less for the time being. When I am dying to day that I am giving the country a partial programme not the substance of law courts, police, telegraphs and railways but for the attainment of Parliamentary Swaraj. I am telling you to do that as long as we do not exclude ourselves from this Government, you are so operating with it through schools, law courts and councils, through service civil and military and payment of taxes and foreign trade.

WHY NON-OPERATIVE.

The moment this fact to realise and non-operation is affected, this Government must better to press. If I knew that the masses were prepared for the whole programme at once, I would not delay as putting it at once to work. It is not possible, at the present moment, to press the masses from bursting out into white against those who have the power to execute the law. It is not possible, that the military would lay down their arms without the slightest violence. If that were possible to-dow, I would propose all the phases of non-operation to be worked simultaneously. But we have not secured that control over the masses, we have not been trained away previous years of the nation's life in mastering a language which we read least for winning our liberty, we have not trained away all these years in learning liberty from Milton and Shakespeare, in deriving inspiration from the pages of Mill, whilst liberty could be learnt at our doors. We have thus succeeded in isolating ourselves from the masses, we have been weathercocked. We have bailed them 30 years to

utilize our education in order to permeate the masses. We have set upon the pedant and from there delivered hundreds of thousands to them in a language they do not understand and we see to-day that we are unable to conduct large gatherings in a disciplined manner. And the capture the essence of masses. Here is therefore one reason why I have introduced the word "progressive" in the non-operation incipient. Without any premonition I may say that I understand the mess until better than any one amongst the educated Indians. I contend that the masses are not ready for expiration of payment of taxes. They have not yet learnt sufficient self-control. If I were sure of non-violence on their part I would ask them to suspend payment to-day and not waste a single moment of the nation's time with me I would give the liberty of India a little more dignity of being in the clear that I would not therefore delay a moment if I found that the whole of the programme could be enforced at once.

WHY NON-VIOLENCE.

It is given me to miss the friends of clear and revered leaders at this assembly. We must here the trumpet voice of Swamimala Swaraj, who has required immediate service to the country. And though we stand as polemics today, though we may have sharp differences with him, we must express them with becoming restraint. I do not ask you to give up a single iota of principle, I urge non-violence in language and in deed. If non-violence is essential to our dealings with the Government it is more essential in our dealings with our leaders. And it grieves me deeply to bear of recent instances of violence reported to have been used in East Bengal against our own people. I was told to hear that the ears of a man who had voted at the recent elections had been cut, and another had been thrown to the bed of a man who had good cause to defend. Now non-operation and non-violence is more necessary in this day. It will not succeed unless we create an atmosphere of perfect freedom, unless we press our oppositions liberty as much as our own. The liberty of faith, conscience, thought and action which we claim for ourselves must be extended equally to others. Non-operation is a process of purification and we must always try to touch the hearts of those who differ from us, their minds, and their emotions, but never their body. Discipline and restraint are the sacred principles of our conduct and I want you to see at any sort of byzantine social political I was deeply moved therefore to hear of the insult offered to a dead body in Dacca and feel that it was the action of non-operatives they have disgraced themselves and their cause. I repeat we cannot deliver our land through violence.

SWARAJ IN ONE YEAR.

It was not a joke when I said on the congress platform that Swaraj could be established in one year if there was sufficient response from the nation. Three months of this year are gone. If we are true to our salt, true to the Indian cause, true to the cause of the freedom we want, the Swaraj could be established in one year. In the Shoreditch City and the Korea, we would finish the programme in the remaining nine months and deliver India the Punjab and India.

I have proposed a limited programme workable within one year, having especial regard to the educated classes. We seem to be labouring under the illusion that we cannot propose a programme to all classes, law courts and schools and provided by the Government. The moment we are conclusively over the programme we have Swaraj. It is demonstrable both for Government and the governed that a hundred thousand pilgrims should dictate terms to a nation composed of three hundred millions. And how can they say that in the dictation term? It is because we have been divided and they have failed. We have never forgotten Benares' blank Cameron
ly expects the lawyers who have hitherto led public agitation to recognize the new awakening.

CONCLUSION

I have used strong language but I have done so with the greatest deliberation. I am not actuated by any feeling of revenge. I do not consider Englishmen as my enemies. I recognize the worth of many. I enjoy the privilege of having many English friends, but I am a determined enemy of the English law as interpreted and enforced in India and if the powers-that-be, if one man could destroy it, I would certainly destroy it, if it would not be exposed. An Empire that stands for injustice and breach of faith does not deserve to stand if its character will not repent and Non-co-operation has been devised in order to enable the nation to compel justice.

I hope that Bengal will take her proper place in this movement of self-purification. Bengal has aped Swadeshi and native education when the rest of India was sleeping. I hope that Bengal will come to the front in this movement for giving Swaraj and gaining justice for the Khilafat and the Punjabis through pardonnings and self-sacrifice.

PROGRESS OF NON-CO-OPERATION

We have received numerous letters from correspondents in different parts of the country, which go to indicate the headway that Non-co-operation is making. Mr. Clive Ramu Sarja of Ajmer has returned the degree of M.A. from the Allahabad University on the ground that he is an unmarriageable and humiliating burden of slavery which he could not willingly accept. Three teachers of the Hubli Primary School, Mekhla, V. V. Siraj, B. V. Nagar and R. K. Vaneja have resigned in pursuance of the wise resolution of Non-co-operation. Three students of the Vivekananda College, Nagpur have also withdrawn. Mr. S. Tarich Singh, 4th Mule Corps, Siolick has resigned in compliance with the resolution of Non-co-operation passed in the Sixth League. Mr. Ismail Basir Beg A. A. and Teacher M. H. School, Agra has tendered his resignation as the Manager of the School "had refused to stop the Government aid.

ALL-INDIA WEAVERS' CONFERENCE.

On Saturday, the 23rd December at 12 noon, the All-India Weavers' Conference will be held under the Presidency of Mr. Gandu. All weavers, Kotsi, Marathi Kotsi, Halichi, Lad, Gudewali, Sat, Devanga Kotsi and others are requested to be present.

The Chairman and Secretaries of the Reception Committee of the BIKANER JAIN MAHILAMANDAL earnestly requests all the ladies of India to attend the meeting of the Mandal to be held in the Town Hall Nagpur on the 28th and 29th Dec., 1920 from 10-30 a.m. to 10-30 p.m. The All-India Jana Mukti Conference will also be held at Nagpur on 28th and 29th Dec., 1920.
Notes.

A gospel of hate?—The Indian Interpreter has much to say against non-co-operation. I do wish Easterners will try to understand public questions before dealing with them. The Indian Interpreter is a Christian journal and has a right to expect a fair knowledge of subjects handled in a responsible journal devoted to religious matters. India will never, says the Interpreter, attain unity by means of a common hated. That appears as far as an outsider can judge, to be the means to which Mr. Gandhi, the idealist, has surrendered himself. Mr. Bokha, who has endeavored to study the movement as an onlooker says that it is not based on hate. I have said no myself but prejudice dies hard. And to these days of mad rush to which modern journalism is making the largest contributions, people lend their prejudices, unconsciously it may be, by coming to hasty conclusions or insufficient data.

A common danger—It is a common danger, a common affliction, that is binding Hindus and Mussulmans. I know no greater or greater affliction. It makes strange bed fellows. With us it has knit together not strangers but neighbours, sons of the same soil.

British rule—an evil—The Interpreter is however more to the point in saying, "Does Mr. Gandhi hold without hesitation or reservation that British rule in India is altogether evil and that the people of India, are to be taught so to regard it? He must hold it to be so evil that the wrongs it does outweigh the benefits it confers, for only so co-operation to be justified at the bar of conscience or of Christ?" My answer is emphatically in the affirmative. So long as I believe that the sum total of the energy of the British Empire was good, I cling to it despite what I used to regard as temporary aberrations. I am not sorry for having done so. But having my eyes opened, I would be no more to accommodate myself with the Empire unless it purges itself of its evil character. I write this with sorrow and I should be pleased if I discovered that I was in error and that my present attitude was a reaction. The continuous financial drain, the embarrassment of the Punjab and the betrayal of the Muslim constituent, to my humble opinion, a thorough robbery of India. The blessings of our Britishness I reckon, therefore, to be a curse. We would have at least remained like the other nations brave men and women, instead of being as we do utterly helpless, if we had had British rule imposing on us an armed peace. The blessings of roads and railways is a return to self-respecting nation would accept for its degradation. The blessing of situation is proving one of the greatest obstacles in our progress towards freedom.

A movement of purification—The fact is that non-co-operation by reason of its non-violence has become a religious and purifying movement. It is daily bringing strength to the nation, showing it its weak spots and the remedy for removing them. It is a movement of self-reliance. It is a mighty force for revolutionary opinion and stimulating thought. It is a movement of self-imposed suffering and therefore possesses automatic checks against extravagance of impatience. The capacity of the nation for suffering regulates its advance towards freedom. It unites the forces of evil by removing from participation in it, in any shape or form.

A cry from Fiji—The letter published elsewhere finds powerful support to the movement. My esteemed correspondent analyses the reason for our countrymen having returned in such large numbers as they have done and are still doing in Fiji, not even the women were immune from provocations and reproach. Of course there is no reason why the sex should secure immunity from punishment for a proved crime. But all the accounts received from Fiji go to prove that the provocations of Fiji were very like those of the Lucknow method of terrorism adopted for crushing the spirit of a people struggling to be somewhat free. I fear that we shall bring little comfort to our distressed countrymen in Fiji by sending a Congress deputation. I am thoroughly dissatisfied with the Fiji Government. It will afford no facility to the deputation for conducting an inquiry. The deputation may even be stopped by the Fiji government from leaving the Indian shore for want of the trouble that affects more reason for quickening the non-co-operation movement. Meanwhile we must do everything we can to look after those who may return to India. I am returning Indians must not be left to shift for themselves. I have been disappointed, and then think of going back to Fiji. I am glad therefore that the men who have returned are being looked after by Mr. A. V. Thakkar who has just published his letters in the Times, and Mr. Banerjee of "Shuddhi", a man who is entitled Mr. Andrews in his humanizing work.

M. M. G.
Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 29th, December, 1920.

'ONE STEP ENOUGH FOR ME'

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Stokes is a Christian who wants to follow the light that God gives him. He has adopted India as his home. He is watching the non-co-operation movement from the kotagars hills where he is living in isolation from the India of the plains, and serving the khalasses. He has contributed three articles on non-co-operation to the columns of the Servant of Calcutta and other papers. I had the pleasure of reading them during my Bengal tour.

Mr. Stokes approves of non-co-operation but dreads the consequences that may follow complete success, a evacuation of India by the British. He conjures up before his mind a picture of India bonded by the Afghan from the North-West, plundered by the Gurkhas from the Hills, to me I say with Cardinal Newman I do not ask to see the distant scene, one step enough for me. The movement is essentially religious. The business of every god-fearing man is to disassociate himself from evil in total disregard of consequences. He must have faith on a good deed producing only a good result that in my opinion is the Gita doctrine of work without attachment. God does not permit him to reap the future. He follows truth although the following of it may endanger his very life. He knows that it is better to die in the way of God than to live in the way of Satan. Therefore whoever is satisfied that this Government represents the activity of Satan has no choice left to him but to disassociate himself from it.

However, let us consider the worst that can happen to India on a sudden evacuation of India by the British. What does it matter that the Gurkhas and the Pathans attack us? Surely we would be better able to deal with their violence than we are with the continued violence, moral and physical, perpetuated by the present government. Mr. Stokes does not seem to realize the use of physical force. Surely the combined labour of the Rajput, the Sikh and the Mussulman warrior in a united India may be trusted to deal with plunderers from any or all the sides. Imagine however, the worst Japan overthrowing us from the Bay of Bengal, the Gurkhas from the Hills, and the Pathans from the North-West. If we do not succeed in driving them out, we must face with them and drive them out at the first opportunity. This will be a more real task than a helpless submission to an admittedly wrongful State.

But I refuse to contemplate the dismal outlook. If the movement succeeds through non-violent non-co-operation, and that is the supposition Mr. Stokes has started with, the British whether they remain or retire, they will do so as friends and under a well-ordered agreement as between partners. I still believe in the goodness of human nature, whether it is English or any other. I therefore do not believe that the British will leave us a night.

And do I consider the Gurkhas and the Afghan being inscrutable thieves and robbers without ability to respond to paralyzing influence? I do not. If India returns in her spirituality, it will react upon the neighbouring tribes, they will internalize in the welfare of these hardy but poor people, and even support them if necessary, not out of fear but as a matter of neighborly duty. She will have dealings with Japan simultaneously with the British Japan will not want to invade India, if India has learnt to consider it a sin to use a single foreign article that she cannot manufacture within her own borders. She produces enough to eat, and her men and women can without difficulty manufacture enough cloth to cover their nakedness and protect themselves from heat and cold. We become prey to invasion if we expect the greed of foreign nations by dealing with them under a fearfully dependence on them. We must learn to be independent of everyone of them.

Whether therefore we really succeed through violence or no violence in my opinion, the prospect is by no means so gloomy as Mr. Stokes has imagined. Any conceivable prospect is, in my opinion, less bleak than the present uneasy and helpless condition. And we cannot do better than following our fearlessly and with confidence the open and honorable programs of non-violence and service that we have mapped for ourselves.

CASTE VS. CLASS

Man being a social being has to devise some method of social organization. We in India have evolved caste-they in Europe have organized class. Neither has the solidarity and naturalness of a family which perhaps is a God-ordained institution. If caste has produced certain evils, class has not been productive of anything less. As Swami Vivekananda once put it, "Here the child-whore makes her home in secrecy—there, forced maidenhood marked its right to heaven." All the arguments of the Socialists and the Communists go to prove that class is neither a natural nor a healthy arrangement of society.

If class helps to conserve certain social virtues, caste does the same in equal, if not greater, degree. The beauty of the caste system is that it does not base itself upon distinction of wealth possessions. Money, as history has proved, is the greatest disruptive force in the world. Even the sacrazness of family ties is not main against the pollution of wealth,—says Shankaracharya. Caste is but an extension of the principle of the Family. Both are governed by blood and heredity. Western socialism are too trying to prove that heredity is an illusion and that classifies as everything. The solid experience of many lands puts against the conclusion of these sanctums, but even accepting their
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Doctrine of Brahmans, it is easy to prove that millions can be conserved and developed more through caste than through class. The Anglo-Saxon is temperamentally incapable of appreciating any outlook but his own. One can understand his violent opposition to everything that goes against his grain. But Indians, whether Hindu or Christian, ought to be able to see that the spirit behind caste is not one of arrogant superiority, but the classification of different systems of self-culture. It is the use of caste in the classification of the members of a particular group in terms of their descent to change their mode of life for the better. As we all know, change comes very slowly in social life, and thus, as a matter of fact, caste has allowed new groupings to make the changes in human life. But these changes are not gradual and may be as a change in the shape of the clouds. It is difficult to imagine a better harmonious human adjustment.

Caste does not connote superiority or inferiority. It simply recognizes different outlooks and corresponding modes of life. But it is not to deny the fact that a certain hierarchy has been evolved in the caste-system, but it cannot be called the creation of the Brahmins. When all castes accept the common goal of life, a hierarchy is inevitable because all castes cannot realize the ideal to a uniform degree. If all the castes believe that vegetarian diet is superior to animal diet, the vegetarian caste will naturally be looked up to. These are certain sub-nas in India that have never been on a par with each other, and yet have not intermarried or interbred. Just as a Buddha or a Mahometan does not think himself an inferior of the other because of his difference of faith, or as a Brahmin or a Kshatriya in Southern India mutually refuses to intermarry, all castes can confine their food and drink to their own caste. Only by accepting the standard of the Brahmins or the Vaishnavas as the best, have the other castes consented to live at the hands of the "upper" castes.

Touch, drink, food and marriage are progressively private affairs. By refusing to touch a man, you practically refuse all intercourse with him. He is thus denied all the fruits of social development. The untouchables, for instance, can all attend the Hindu, the Kshatriya (religious services). They can enter temples and thus get the free education of religion, rituals and arts. In the temple, all the untouchables exchange their love and service, and the fruits of civilization. The "untouchables" are automatically barred from all that. In many places the untouchables are deprived of even the protection of their life and property. In the social division of labour, they do not get one of the most important duties to society, and they are deprived of the fruits of the great social life which is evolved by the family of castes. Untouchability has made the "depressed" classes, the outcastes of Hindu society. The question of food and drink has or ought to have no social value. It is merely the satisfaction of physical wants. It is, on the other hand, an opportunity for the control of the senses. In India there has never been known to promote brotherhood in any special sense. But the restrictions about interdining have to a great extent helped the cultivation of will-power and conservation of certain social virtues.

HOW INDIGENOUS EDUCATION WAS CRUSHED IN THE PUNJAB 1849-53

(By Mr. Davinder Singh M. A.)

The Punjab was the last of all the Provinces of India to come under the direct influence of the English. The people the East India Company had during a couple of centuries, extended their sphere of influence from Cape to the Jumna, but its administration never thought it worth the trouble to go beyond the Moghul Court. The Moghul Court was jealous of any encroachment upon its northern provinces -the gateway to Kabul-which they still looked upon as their ancestral home.

When the descendants of Aurangzeb began to bend things in this province, the invaders from the North and the people from within threw it in a state of anarchy and misrule. Under such circumstances the hardy Sikh began to realize his own importance and individuality. Even after the 1849, the Sikhs kept the banks of Hiss from all diplomatic or martial overtures. They preferred their own incapacity to govern to an established order of things where their liberty would be restrained and their religion interfered with. The Sikh like the Hindus is essentially devout, and his devotion always lands him on the side of conservators of the past, its institutions and traditions.

So that, when the reins of Government and authority passed into the hands of the Sikhs, both from lack of initiative and an adulteration of diplomacy, they left unattached all the old village institutions. Whereas, British administrators in other provinces were changing and modifying ancient ways and means to suit their own conceptions, the Sikh Sikhs was content to let things have their own way, so long as he got the revenue, that he wanted. The result of it all was that much work of village schools which traditions of a thousand years past had spread all over India, was in its full strength here. If any change was made at all, it was to add the Grahswa or Bhas, to the Maulvi and the Pandit. Instead of these being two traditional teachers of village youth, now there became three.
The village education was an essential part of the village administration and the provision for it was made in the village expenses. The village master's field, the "watchman's field" never disappeared from the village books. There were no such schools in the Punjab, a school of some sort, in which elementary education, having a direct bearing on the secular needs of the pupil, was imparted either free of cost, or at a nominal rate of monthly fee. In addition to these schools, there were spread all over the province 'colleges' of various grades and denominations in which the ancient ideals of the academicians were kept alive and potent. There were centres of advanced study of Metaphysics, Astronomy, Mathematics, Grammar, Philosophy and other sciences.

That much good was done to all sections of the community by these indigenous schools and colleges, is beyond doubt, a fact recognised even by the bitter antagonists of indigenous systems. From the advanced 'colleges', in which classical education (Arabic and Sanskrit) was imparted to students of mature age and thought, to the elementary Madhyama Sacral, and Landi schools, there was a very large variety of guns, grammar vernacular and technical schools. The teachers always kept in view the requirements of individual students and the 'professors' they were qualifying for.

There was no class instruction, as in our schools, reducing all intellects in the same level and retarding the instruction for the sake of the dullest. But recitations in Sanskrit and the system of repeating lessons in chorus on the depression of the school encouraged such emulation as may be necessary, whilst the separate instruction of the pupil and his devotion to his work during the time that he was not reading with his tutor stimulated those habits of industry and of private study, in which the students of present day schools are sadly deficient. Then again when the student grew older, he travelled to learn philosophy under one tutor, and law under another, much in the same way as students of German Universities visit various seats of learning in order to hear, say, international law at Heidelberg, the Puisneest at Bergh.

It would not be without interest to point out that from the humblest beginnings in education up to the highest courses in Hindu metaphysics and ancient Sanskrit literature were displayed. Traces of the 'Kisahajarman system are still found, the simplest methods for arithmetical and logical reasoning were resorted to and the moral and mental capacities of children, according to their sphere of life, were everywhere carefully studied and cultivated. As for the mode of instruction, it also bore in every one of its features the emphatically preachers as well as ideal aims of the Hindu legislator.

That the above statements are not unsupported assertions, I will quote a paragraph from the first educational despatch of the Court of Directors which was issued on the 2nd June 1814:

The Directors point out that "the indigenous village schools are a part of the village system and that they have formed a model to schools in England. Again they point out this venerable and benevolent institution of the Hindus is represented to have withstood the shock of revolutions, and to its operations is ascribed the general intelligence of the native.

In 1853 the Government of the Punjab passed into the hands of the East India Company. The first Board of Administration in the Punjab recognised the full value of the civil educational legacy, which they inherited from the despotic and despotising Sikh constitution. Recognising the wide spread character of the indigenous education, and the necessity of keeping up the old educational traditions alive, Sir John and Sir Henry Lawrence defined their policy in matters of education in the following words — "We intend to set up our school, if not in every village, at least in every circle of villages, so that at least there should be something throughout the land to which the children do not attend any rudimentary school." How far this policy was actually carried out will be explained in another article.

REVIVAL OF HANDICRAFTS
(By C F Andrews).

CONCLUDED FROM OUR LAST ISSUE.

Let us see what happened to India. First, the hand-made textile goods from India were prevented from entering England by a prohibitive tariff. They were not allowed to compete with English goods. Then, when the home market was thus completely protected, the manufacturers went on to capture the Indian market itself. The very wealth which had been drained from India was utilised in building up the new machinery, run by steam power, and with this new mechanical power the textile market of the whole world was soon at England's feet.

The weavers of the Indian villages were the first to suffer. No protective tariff was allowed to safeguard them, interests and unscrupulous and unlimited competition was now the creed of England, when the odds were all in England's favour. There, the wealthy classes grew more wealthy out of the poverty of the poor of other countries.

The village life of India had all along, in former times, possessed two sources of income, the village industries and the village agriculture. Much of the village industry was carried on by the cultivators during the annual periods of temperate and rainy weather which agriculture was at a standstill. While the crops were growing, the village 'hand-looms' were hung up in flax. But now the hand-looms were thrown out of use altogether by the introduction of cheap Manchester goods. The British rulers naturally encouraged in every way the sale of British goods. Thus the Indian villages were exploited, and their textile industries were destroyed (iv) First of all, it must never be forgotten, that all the while, the burden of the foreign en


administrative system was growing heavier upon the 
edenied villages. I propose here again to go to 
the first hand document for my facts.

Siceman, the suppressor of the murders earned 
out by the Thugs, had a more intimate experience 
of Indian village life than any Englishman of his 
times. He has drawn the following picture of the 
foreign administrative burdens, while comparing it 
with the rules of the independent administration of 
Oudh—

"There were," he says, "in those shaggy 

days of turmoil, outside British territory, neither 
saluting errors of land revenue nor vainous 
red flag debt, to weigh down the village proprietors. 
There were no unceasing decrees of Court to drive 
debtors to hopeless despair. The villagers came back 
from their Court of Bankruptcy, the jungle forest, 
free from encomiums. The land-tax was fixed 
with some regard to the coming harvest. Arrests 
were remitted when the impossibility of paying 
within the year was clearly demonstrated. The 
people generally, or at least the greater part of 
them; would prefer to reside in Oudh than in our 
own British territory, under the axle they are 
exposed to from the uncertainty of our laws, the 
monopoly and insolvency of our Courts, the pride 
of negligence of those who preside over them, and 
the corruption and insouciance of those who must 
be employed to prosecute or defend a cause in them. 
Siceman adds the passage as follows—

"I am persuaded that, if it were not to the 
vote among the people of Oudh, nobody man out of 
a hundred would rather remain as they are, with 
out any feeling of insecurity in life or property than 
have our system introduced in its present compli 
cated state."

The management in Oudh, at the time when 
Siceman wrote, was reformatory, and Misquoty 
has depicted it in lurid colours. Yet Siceman 
now positively states that even a badly managed 
dependent administration was preferred by nearly 
70 per cent of the people themselves to the hard 
mechanism of British rule. If now the whole argument be repeated for the 

takes of clearness, it amounts to this—

(i) The revenue system under the East India 
Company was "voluntarily kept up" and the wealth 
of India was drained from the villages.

(ii) The private pinching which went on for 
nearly fifty years, with hardly any check, enormously 
added to the wealth of England and the 
poverty of the villages of India.

(iii) This very wealth was misused in England 
to finance the new machinery of the new machine-

made textile industries which were to prove the 
destruction of Indian village handlooms.

(iv) The textiles in England and to India were 
employed by the complotors quite unscrupulously to 
complete this destruction of Indian village 
handlooms.

It should not be difficult now clearly to understand 
how, under these economic and political and 
social disadvantages, the villages industries were 
forced, one by one, to disappear. I have been 
hundreds of times down the Chandoli Chowk, at 
Bhilwara,—which used to be, at one time, the central 
market for some of the most flourishing village 
industries in the world. Yet I have searched from 
one end to the other for a single village hand- 
roads article, and I have not found one. In order to purchase 
some hand-made drapery, I had to go to 
Lum-Schauzer, the Austrian vardo dealer, who 
keeps (before the war) such things for foreign vardo 
dealers and globe-brothers and American museums. 

What the revival of Indian village handicrafts 
may mean to India I shall describe in another articles.

CONGRESS NEWS.

(Special Telegram)

Congress Session began at two o'clock. The 
delgates number over fourteen thousand, President's 
speech which was originally written against two 
principal items of Neo-co-operation, viz., boycott 
of Schools and Colleges and suspension of practices 
by lawyers, was radically altered in those parts while being read. It was coldly received. 
The Pandal was a sea of human water. No speaker's 
voice could reach all An overflow meeting held 
outside the Pandal was addressed by Godley and 
others. The Students Conference, passed by 
overwhelming majority, immediate, unconditional and 
complete withdrawal from schools and colleges. 
The Congress Subject Committee meets to-day 
soon. From talks in Camps we expect animosity 
between Maharashtra and Kanyakumari. 
Gandhajeevasa at Bhopal completed his 
Swami Satyadas addressing large meeting explaining 
Neo-co-operation. Shankaracharyes of Kartarpur 
and Sharadpur attending Congress.

Thousands of delegates (farmer delegates) and 
a large contingent of educated sadness also 
attend as delegates. Maharashtra is undisposed 
and could not attend yesterday. Mr. G. R. Des 
comes with large following. The Warwick Conferences was 
great success, mostly due to demonstrations of 
hand-spining handweaving given by Mr. Mangalji 
Gandhi who was sent to Nagpur with a large 
party from Gandhiji's Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati 
spatially for the purpose. Large crowd want to 
watch Swedish Exhitions and demonstrations 
which have made many of them swadeshiites. There 
is an insistent demand from ladies that the demonstra 
tions be continued for few days, and the party 
is laying to response. Congress meets again on 
Tuesday.

PRESIDENTS ADDRESS

The President had prepared a draft statute containing 
a declaration of rights or what he also called, a 'written 
covenant,' a scheme of Responsible Government in 
the lines of the Prince's constitution making the 
legislature not only a law making body but also a 
constituent body, i.e. empowering legislature to alter the constitution. 
This responsible government could be immediately established 
by Mr. Montage co-operating with us, including Cabinet 
to confer with him and advise the King Emperor to issue 
appropriate instructions by Jalland Patents under the Great 
 Seal.
He attributed the present situation to (a) More Repressive legislation immediately after completion of Great war in face of diverse pledges (b) The Punjab Tragedy, (c) Rallia, enclaves and even approximations with which Punjab agency was dealt by Government of India, the British Government and Parliament and even British public (d) The Hindu Khutbah Fused by which pledges solemnly made were violated and quibbled away (e) Treatment of Indians Abroad and (f) An already crushed, pietistic science of Reform, mutilated and deformed by an inscrutable will and regulations

Recently-announced establishment of Responsible Government on the principle of equal months by all in the country is an honest opinion as to the necessity of organized non-co-operation. The Visitor has pronounced non co-operation as unconstitutional. But does the Excellency know that the whole system of British administration in India rests on N.O.O., or against against the sequestered, of Europe against Asia, of white people against coloured peoples, several discriminatory laws, and administratively measures in India bristle with number principles of non-co-operation and are wholly unconstitutianal from the stand point of British Constitution. New declarant system of provincial assembly one cause homage to the shorn in doctrine of non-co-operation, of the British hierarchy, with children of all. It is a mockery therefore on the part of Government to characterize Gandhi's movement with its essential principles of renunciation, self-sacrifice and on violence as unconstitutional, whereas their non-co-operation Haggar ethos, andcord

Having said this, Pandit examines the program we express indifference to resurrection of titles, seeking disapproval of abandonment of hum, moral moral posts, an emphasis upon the boycott of Schools and Colleges, and to the boycott of law courts and the suspension of practice by lawyers. Instead he advocated, what he characterized, "Nathan Building." The Congress must at once appoint one special committee with power to appoint sub-committees charged with this important business and nothing else. They must collect funds and appoint active menemaces for starting vernacular schools by day and by night for the benefit of laborers, for holding lectures, demonstrations and so forth. Thus we must deal with problems of our men abroad, especially in the British Colonies. We must attend to the question of their immediate rehabilitation. This country needs the activities, both mental and bodily, of all her children for the development of our resources. Then there is the question of labor organization and measures for the elevation of the depressed classes. The country has been hit by the neglecting the vital problem of the collection of co-operative sections of our countrymen and countrymen designated as "Oriental crimes" and "Criminal classes," and so on. Congress must appoint committees for the purpose of starting and so cooperating in movements in connection with all these problems. He also advocated what he called "Starring the English"

We must strive the English planters, the English merchants, traders and manufacturers into gradual evacuation and into a satisfactory Neville towards us by producing external strikes of inferior and unskilled work men in Railways, Postal Telegraph and so forth. Congress must appoint a select committee of experts with branch committees throughout the country for making suitable arrangements for gradual boycott of foreign goods and for stopping of exportation of raw produce. He considered that as the most effective method of asserting Englishmen into our friends. hastily he urged alliances with British Labour.

The Chairman, Seshanand Bap-Shopping in Hindusthan gave his whole-hearted support to the Non-co-operation programme. He asked those who lay great stress upon constructive work, why they were not applying themselves to constructive work instead of wasting their energies over futile controversies, or quarrelling with those who wanted to work out the Non-co-operation programme.

SWARAJ IN NINE MONTHS.

Asked by the Times representative as to his impression formed as a result of his activities during the last three months, Mr. Gandhi said—"My own impression of these three months' extensive experience is that the movement of non-co-operation has some to stay, and it is most desirably a purifying movement, in spite of isolated instances of crudity, as for instance at Mrs. Bannister's meeting in Bombay, at some places in Delhi, Bengal and even in Calcutta. The people are accumulating day after day the spirit of non-violence, and consequently, as a creed, as an invincible policy I expect most startling results, more startling than, say, the declarations of Sir J. O. Bence, or the acceptance, by the people of one violence. If the Government could be assured beyond any possibility of doubt that no violence would ever be offered by us the Government would from that moment alter its character, unconditionally and involuntarily, but not the less surely than some other.""A""After its character—to what directions?"" asked the Times representative.

"Certainly in the direction which we ask it should move—that being in the direction of Government becoming responsive to every call of the aham."

"Will you kindly explain further?" asked our representative.

"By that I mean," said Mr. Gandhi, "people will be able by associating themselves through fixed determination and self-sacrifice in the readiness of the Khilafats wrong, the Punjab wrong, and attain the Swaraj of their choice."

"What is your Swaraj, and where does the Government come in—then the Government which you say will alter its character unconditionally?"

SWARAJ OF MY IDEAL.

"My Swaraj," said Mr. Gandhi, "is the Parliamentary government of India in the modern sense of the term for the time being, and that government would be secured to be either through the friendly offices of the British people or without them."

"What do you mean by the phrase, 'without them?" questioned the interviewer.

"This movement," answered Mr. Gandhi, "is an endeavor to purge the present Government of futile use and greed which determine almost every one of their activities. Suppose that we have made it impossible by disassociation from them to heed their greed. They might not wish to continue in India, as happened in the case of Scullinland, where the moment the administration ceased to be a paying proposition they evacuated it."

"How do you think," queried the representative, "in practice this will work out?"

"What I have sketched before you," said Mr. Gandhi, "is the first possibility. What I expect is that
nothing of that kind will happen. It is far as I understand the British people will recognize the force of public opinion when it has become real and patent. Then, and only then, will they realize the ludicrous position in which their name the Imperial ambassadors and their representatives in India have perpetrated. They will then forth bear the two wrongs in accordance with the wishes of the people, and they will also offer remuneration exactly in accordance with the wishes of the people of India, as represented by their chosen leaders.

Supposing that the British Government wishes to retain ancient India is not a paying concern, what do you think will be the position of India?"

THE LION AND THE LAMB.

Mr. Ghandi answered, "At the stage surely it is easy to understand that India will then have evolved, or existing, political, political, and moral conditions favorable for India to take over the Indian administration as a going concern and work for the benefit and advancement of the Nation?"

Mr. Ghandi answered the question with an affirmative. "My experience during the last months, all of which have been spent in Swarajia for India, we shall correct these two wrongs and we shall see Swarajia established in accord with the wishes of the people of India.""

"Where will the present Government be at the end of the same months?" Asked the State representatives.

Mr. Ghandi, with a significant smile, said — "The Lion will then be with the Lamb."

NON-CO-OPERATION AND DEPRESSED CLASSES.

To The Editor of Young India.

May I take advantage of your columns for making a few observations on the question you have taken up on the subject of the Depressed Classes? These observations embody not only my own personal views but also those of some educated and intelligent members of the Depressed Classes with whom I have talked on the subject.

In your article under the heading "Depressed Classes" published in the issue of "Young India" dated the 27th ultimo, you have appealed to the Depressed Classes to join the Non-co-operation movement. You say that you have now made up your mind to devote exclusive attention to National Non-co-operation, and you further express your confident belief that the success of National Non-co-operation will necessarily lead to the removal of the disabilities from which the Depressed Classes are suffering. The belief of yours in one which I am afraid, will not be shared by many thoughtful people who have carefully studied the attitude of those who are at present taking an active part in the movement of Swarajia. A very large number of these people, who hold advanced political views are, I regret to say, social reactionaries, they do not realize the necessity of removing all these social wrongs and injustices which have been retarding our national unification and progress. What guarantee is there that, in case the Non-co-operation movement is successful and full Swarajia established in 1920, if you have been promoting the people, the untouchability and other grievances of the Depressed Classes will be removed? On the contrary, the danger is that the reactionary and orthodox elements to Hindu society will become more powerful than they are at present and add to the difficulties of the Depressed Classes in making even such social progress as they are making at present.

Many educated and thinking members of the Depressed Classes have expressed to me the fear that the establishment of Swarajia, before the suppressive forces, fearing the maintenance of the existing order are any thoroughly shaken as to ever revive again in their present strength, will simply perpetuate the slavery to which they have been condemned for centuries past. They would very much like to join the movement for Swarajia and do their best to promote its success, but they feel convinced that the one preliminary condition is that the forces which are opposed to the abolition of untouchability and other disabilities from which they suffer, should be destroyed once and for all. It is a mistake to suppose that their indifference to the movement of Non-co-operation or Swarajia is due to the desire on their part to play into the hands of the orthodox British Government. Nothing is further from their mind than to call in the assistance of the Government. They realize as well as you do that thereby they will fall from the frying pan into the fire. They are not anti-national, and have no desire to rely on the British Government for getting their disabilities removed. The British Government, despite of their rules for ever a century, have not been able to help them in the matter, and indeed, on the social, and in the opinion of orthodox Hindus, religion, question this, it is difficult to see how the British Government can come to their aid and abolish their untouchability.

If therefore they have not yet joined the movement of Non-co-operation or Swarajia, it is partly due to their feeling that the establishment of Swarajia must be preceded by such a weakening of the orthodox classes in the Hindu society that they will never again control the secular or religious order. These elements are still powerful and can hardly be dismissed. The Shankara-bhaya of Karwar recently held a Rajagira Conference at Nanik. In that Conference the Depressed Classes were treated as untouchables and were subjected to a separate location, and very few people even raised protest against this treatment given to them. The Indian National Congress has passed a resolution in favor of the abolition of untouchability, but that resolution has practically remained a dead letter. Most Congressmen look upon the Non-co-operation resolution as a sort of a joke, and insist that each and everyone should abide by that resolution whatever be his or her views may be. But these very people have not shown the slightest desire to come up to the Congress resolution regarding the removal of untouchability. These are clear indications that the Hindus as a whole do not yet desire that the wrong that are doing to the Depressed Classes in still maintaining their untouchability. You appeal to those classes to join the movement of Non-co-operation, but under these circumstances, it is not that appeal likely to be a point with which may not be realized. More sententious appeals, however able, cannot bring about co-operation between the Depressed Classes and other members
INDIANS IN FIJI

Why Are They Returning Home?

(The Editor The Young India)

The readers of your paper are aware that thirty thousand Indians of Fiji are selling off their property and are ready to start for India. It has often been asked why such a large number of our countrymen there have determined to take this step which means a lot of sacrifice and trouble to them. I have talked with many persons who have returned from Fiji by the last two ships and they have been able to throw some light on this problem.

The most important reason is that during the recent disturbances in Fiji, the Indians were terrorized by the Government, the planters and the European community of the Colony. I need not repeat here how the strike of half-starved Indian labourers for higher wages was declared by the Fijian authorities as an "Open rebellion" and how this so-called rebellion was put down by the military. The latest news from Fiji has brought a list of the punishments that were awarded to our countrymen during the recent disturbances.

Unlawfully assembling more than five-8 men, 12 months each and 1 man 9 months.
Rest in Torok-108 men 1 month each, 16 men 3 weeks, 10 women one month, 1 woman three weeks, and 2 woman 2 weeks.

BRIDGE-WRECKING IN NAMA-
17 men 6 months each, 1 man 19 months, 4 men 18 months and one man 2 years.

RUINS.—3 men 18 months, 1 man 2 years, 2 women 12 months, 1 man 10 months and one man 18 months. 

Wounding and assault-3 men 5 years, 1 man 3 years, 2 women 18 months, 1 woman 2 months, 1 man 3 years, 1 man 10 months and one man 18 months.

The 19th Indians—men and women—were sentenced to imprisonment. Most of these have already finished their terms but still there are not less than 20 Indians in the jails of the colony.

The second reason is the deportation of Mr. and Mrs. Mandal. Our countrymen in Fiji sent a memorandum to the Fiji Government, signed by thousands of Indians, requesting them to try Mrs. Mandal before an open court. They denied that they stated in their memorandum that they would leave the colony if justice was not done to Mr. and Mrs. Mandal.

The Fiji Government sent a very tantalizing reply to the Indians. Now the Indians are leaving the colony in large numbers and are thus proving that what they stated in their memorandum was not an empty threat.

The fourth reason is the spate of the Indian public in the Fijian Government and the Downsing Street. The public has not done anything for the Indians in Fiji. The Indian papers have now—after 9 months—taken up the question when the Indians in Fiji has already been done to a very great extent. The Indian Government has definitely refused to do anything for the Fijian Indians. Sir George Bakers has told as clearly that the Government of India doe not feel prepared to press the colonial office for an independent agency, and the colonial office has informed the Indian Overseas Association that the question of the return of the Indians to Fiji has been closed. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered why the Indians in Fiji, depressed and disappointed on every side, have determined to leave Fiji. Our countrymen in Fiji know and know this perfectly well that the departure of some thousands of Indians from the Colony is sure to give a great blow to Fiji from which it will not recover soon.

Besides these there are two more reasons to be taken into account. For the last five years no Indians could return from Fiji on account of the war and so many of them must be a rush now for repatriation. The unfortunate propaganda that was started in Fiji by some Indians, for sending the Indians to British Guiana, has also had its effect.

On the morning of the 18th December I was fortunate enough to hear your views on this subject. You suggest that there is some body in Fiji urging the Indians to leave the colony. This is quite possible but it is difficult to believe that the Fiji Government will allow any propaganda of this sort, for the departure of thousands of Indians from Fiji means absolute ruin of the Colony.

The Indians in Fiji have asked the opinion of the leaders here, but the problem is a very complicated one and our leaders should not give any definite opinion unless they can get first hand knowledge of the state of affairs in the colony. It has been suggested that the Congress should send a delegation to Fiji to study the situation on the spot. The suggestion is worth consideration.

The question of Fiji Indians was altogether neglected by the Special Congress at Calcutta. Will the congress at Nagpur take it up right earnestly?—R.C. Bhattacharya.

{Substantiised by Shankaralal G. Banerji as Novii Jivan Madrasmaya, Chandi C. Pathar, Naka, Almudhali
and published by Mr. D. Das at the same place.
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