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34

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT  
ON ENGLISH AND VERNA-CLAR  
NEWS PAPERS

1-200

1921

Extract from the

Report on English & Vernacular  
News papers for the year 1921

Pages 1-200

1<sup>st</sup> Jan to 12<sup>th</sup> Feb 1921



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REPORTS ON ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY NATIVES EXAMINED BY THE  
ASSISTANT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS AND ON VERNACULAR  
PAPERS EXAMINED BY THE TRANSLATOR TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

(JANUARY TO JUNE 1921).

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For the week ending 1st January 1921.

No.1 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS -(nil)

Vernacular Papers.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

3. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th December, reproduces, in Tamil a publication explaining the objects of an association in Durban, one of the several Indians in South Africa. associations started by the Europeans in South Africa for the purpose of ousting the Indians from there, and observes:- Many of the Europeans are acting high-handedly without realising the truth of the adage that mischief breedeth evil. The Europeans in South Africa deserve the first rank in this matter. They speak very lightly of the Indians and would not relish the idea of the blacks being given equal status and privileges. It appears they will allow the Indians to stay there as long as they continue to be carried of burden but will otherwise turn them out bag and baggage. If Indians are thus to be ill-treated in the Colonies under the British Empire, how can Mr. Andrewes refrain from asking the people if they are to be content with demanding SWARAJ under the British Empire?

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

10. Referring to the articles contributed by Lord Birkenhead, the Lord Chancellor of England, to the LONDON TIMES Urging the necessity for the reconstruction of the Privy Council, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 22nd December, observes:-Apart

from the fact that, in spite of the inordinate delay and expenses involved, the Indians do not in most cases obtain justice in this tribunal, we reiterate the view that the highest court of justice should be stationed in India itself. The attempt of <sup>a</sup> a tribunal 4,000 miles away from India, consisting mostly of Englishmen, to decide cases arising in this country, having a population of 30 crores, results only in inordinate expenditure and miscarriage of justice. Instead of trying to mend a thing which is beyond rectification, it will be wise to end it.

(k) General.

19. Adverting to the letter of Lord Willingdon to Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiar, the leader of the JUSTICE party, asking him to accept a Minister's post for "Proposals of the party that won" himself as the leader of the party that won in the elections and to suggest names for the other two Minister's Posts, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th December, writes: For a party to be referred to as the successful party in the elections, it must have secured more than half the number of the ~~the~~ elective seats in the council. It is only when that the reference of the Governor to Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar as the leader of the successful party, will be appropriate. But it can be shown from the JUSTICE itself, that the JUSTICE party has not secured such a majority of seats. This paper in its issue of the 17th instant, while writing about the future political work of the JUSTICE party, has observed that it is not possible to state definitely at present whether all the non-Brahman (in the council) members of the council will be of ~~one~~ one political complexion. No other argument is needed to prove that, from the preponderance of the non-Brahman in the council, it cannot be inferred that the majority of them belong to the JUSTICE party. A very few of the non-Brahman <sup>to</sup> members belong to this Party. So there is no reason other than Lord Willingdon's inclination, <sup>e</sup> either for referring to the JUSTICE PARTY as a successful party in the elections or for choosing Ministers therefrom. The Justice says that as, at present, its



party is lacking in strength to make it successful in the council, it should strengthen itself by taking Christians, Muhammadans, Europeans and others to its side. Christians and Muhammadans are indeed Indians, and there is no harm in forming a party including them. But from the strong opposition raised by the European in India against the reforms, and the impression of these Europeans (and others to its side.) that progress of India will be prejudicial to their interests, we can infer with advancement Indians can expect from a party that proposes to conduct the administration effecting a compromise with the representatives of these Europeans. It appears the JUSTICE party accepts in toto the limitations and conditions prescribed in the Declaration of August 1917 for the grant of complete Swaraj to India. Had the Justice stated definitely the number of years that will take according to that Declaration for India to acquire complete SWARAJ, it would instil confidence in the minds of the people. It seems that this party is not willing to proceed in haste towards the goal of responsible government. With a view to pave the way for responsible government. With a view to pave the way for responsible

Government providing advantageous, it is said that this party will strive to effect progress in social, educational and Economic matters. It is only to secure this end the bureaucracy has toiled for the past 150 years. Because, as a result of these efforts, the country has been reduced to such an abject condition as to provoke laughter in others, the JUSTICE party wants to proceed on the same lines! The JUSTICE says that it is confident that there will be no opposition on the part of Christians, Muhammadans and Europeans to accept this condition and work Unitedly. When the JUSTICE party affirms that it will proceed on the very same lines now followed by the bureaucrats, there is no reason at all for the Europeans to raise any objection. It observes that the Nationalists and the Moderates proposed to go in such hot haste as to risk a fall. It appears that, though the latter believe that responsible Government can be

established in India within ten years, the JUSTICE party cannot do so. The JUSTICE has given one or two instances of the steps proposed to be taken by its party. It states, that, in point of education all the available funds will be spent on primary, scientific and technical education and that higher education will be left where it is. The former no doubt will improve the financial condition of the country, but it is only higher education that will raise us in public estimation. It is only as a result of the spread of higher education in the land that the Indians have begun to entertain a feeling of self-respect and to trouble the bureaucracy. It is ~~as~~ quite appropriate that this party, which proposes to go in the wake of the bureaucrats, also proposes to impede the progress of higher education. It is stated that the vain threat of European exploitation of the economic resources of India will not affect this party. It appears the members of this party will not agree to the queer views of effecting protective measures for safeguarding Indian industries against foreigners. If, in the interests of Indian Industries, they come forward to take protective measures, that very moment they will lose the co-operation of Europeans and others and with it the administration of the JUSTICE party will come to an end.

21. Referring to the Report of the Labour Commissioner for the year 1919-20, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 20th December,

<p>Report of the Labour Commissioner.</p>	<p>observes:- There are certain comments in this report</p>
<p>relating to the recent labour troubles in Madras. These Comments are so worded as to create an impression among the leaders that the Government are supporting the capitalists. It is stated that the latter capitalists are ready to attend to the grievances of the labourers but that the latter are only urging that their unions should be recognised. The Government should consider why, if the capitalists redress the legitimate grievances of the labourers, there should be labour strikes unnecessarily. The wording of the report also gives the impression that the capitalists decline</p>	



to recognise these unions because of the interference of strangers therein. We strongly condemn this action of the Government as being one-sided.

22. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 15 th December, publishes some verses from the pen of correspondent, in which the following

Non-co-operation. sentiments find place among others:- Are we to seek the

friendship of cruel persons, who bring about the imprisonment of our heroes that have been serving the country, of vicious youths who ravished virgin women, of officials, who appreciate the action of those that killed a thousand of the innocent Punjabees, of ministers who conduct the administration breaking pledges given openly and of wicked men who afflict our people daily and threat them as untouchables?

The ~~WUSHIRI~~ <sup>W</sup>USHIRI-~~DAKHAN~~ <sup>DAKHAN</sup>, of the 23rd December, in contradicting the report of the issue of a Farman by His ~~Exalted~~ Exalted Highness on the subject of non-co-operation among students, writes :- "The Press communique in English, dated the 19th December 1920, issued by the Press Commissioner, shows that a fabricated and forged Farman was published in the ~~4~~ QUAMI REPORT .....of the 25th Rabiulawal 1339 Hijri, 7th December 1920 (12th December 1920 -- Tr.) approving the action of the students who have recently withdrawn from Government schools. In order to remove popular ~~mis~~ understanding on the subject, it is notified in a communique that the Farman published in the QUAMI REPORT is a fabrication and a forgery. As a matter of fact no such Farman has even been issued by His Exalted Highness. The Associated Press is requested to give wide publicity to this contradiction."

The paper observes that the RAISON D' ETRE of the press is really for the purpose of spreading civilisation, morality and honesty in the world, but that evil-minded and corrupt persons do not hesitate to use it as an instrument for the attainment of their selfish aims.

23. Referring to the Government of Madras having stopped the telegraphic message send by Mr. Wadia to England regarding death of two boys as a result of the Stoppage of telegrams.

Police in Perambur, the

SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd December, observes:- In this country, we have not even the liberty to communicate to others by means of telegrams the cruel actions of some officials. It appears that the authorities declined to accept even the telegram to the CHRONICLE about the cruel treatment of the Khilafat propagandists in the North West Provinces and the branch Khilafat Committees having been threatened to get back the amount of Rs.3,000 sent by them to the Central Khilafat Committee. It is certain that such imprudent stoppage of telegrams and rough treatment of Khilafat propagandists will not only <sup>not</sup> reflect any credit upon the Government but will also increase the excitement and grief of the people.

27. Expressing its surprise at a reported statement of Mr. Mongagu, while replying to a question of Sir John Rees in Parliament, that news has been received of a general labour strike based on

Labour strikes in coal mines in India.

political grounds being apprehended in the regions in

India where coal mines exists and that the government of India are doing the needful in the matter, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 22nd December, observes:- It is only in the northern part of India that coal mines are found and we have not till now heard of the fear of any strike being based on political grounds; nor have we heard of the steps taken by the Government of India in connexion with this strike, of which the authorities are dreaming. Everything is curious.

28. The Navasakti, of the 17th December, refers to the

The shooting of labourers by the Police.

shooting incident at Perambur and, reiterating the view that

the Government on this subject is based only on the Police version, observes:- Resort has of late been had to opening fire on the people in



some places in India and we presume there should be some secret reason for this, which is sure to come out in course of time. It is not clearly why Lord Willingdon, who earned a name for sympathising with the labourers, has suddenly changed into a Sir Michael O'Dwyer. It is not creditable that one in the position of a Governor should get excited and transgress justice. The shooting is attributed to the throwing of stones by the labourers. ~~There~~ We understand it is only some youths that pelted stones. Even granting that it was done by labourers, we ask His Excellency whether fire should have been opened to prevent this. We do not know how the Police contend that the labourers alone threw stones; for the place where they opened fire is frequented by all classes of people. Looking at it from any standpoint, the action of the police can be proved to be wrong. We are sorry that Lord Willingdon is not inclined to turn his immediate attention to the effect of the opening of fire upon innocent people. That he should have thrown the responsibility for the shooting on Mr. Wadia and others, while an order has been passed prohibiting their lectures, ~~showing~~ the legal knowledge of His Excellency. His Excellency's letter to Mr. Wadia confirms the view that the usual method of the bureaucrats is unnecessarily blaming the patriots, without forethought and an attempt to find out the truth by an inquiry, has not yet disappeared. The Police of the G. Division were rendering help to the mill authorities from the beginning of the lock-out, and <sup>there</sup> ~~there~~ is reason to presume that they were at the bottom of the recent incident. A committee of inquiry is necessary to find out the truth. This incident has perturbed the minds of all people in city and the Government can gauge the temperament of the people by the enthusiasm evinced by them when the two youths, who died as a result of the shooting, were taken to the burial-ground. It is not wise to try to suppress the soul-force of the people by the use of fire-arms. Will Lord Willingdon note that this will lead only <sup>to</sup> ~~to~~ danger. He is not far off from the Labour Union and he can have a direct idea of the condition of labourers and ~~to~~

the needful. Mr. Lloyd George is doing much in regard to the troubles of the English labourers. Why cannot Lord Willingdon do so here? Perhaps that is England and this is India!

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 23rd December, wonders why the many labour unions in the city and elsewhere are keeping quiet about the shooting incident in Perambur, and, raising the question whether it is proper on their part to remain silent even after the Governor has appreciated the action of the Police, exhorts the unions to be up and doing to express their feeling in this matter.

30. The DRAVIDAN, of the 22nd December, published a communication from the pen of a correspondent, in which he dilates

upon the hardships inflicted

The conditions of the Dravidas.

upon the Dravidas by the

Aryans and observes as follows in passing:- The Aryans are still following their old custom and eating sheep and ~~X~~ horse cooked and un-cooked, in performing ASWAMEDA and other YAGAS. They eat up also human beings in performing PURUSHAMEDA YAGAM. They have continued to be MELECHCHAS, in as much as they consume liquor and other ~~wise~~ narcotics, while performing SOMAYAGA, SAKTIPUJA, etc. We have been confiding in the false history of vile persons, who have been ~~contin~~ committing the ~~five~~ vices mentioned above, and paying them without any demur all the contributions levied by them. Dividing a portion of the money we earned by the sweat of our brow between these Indian Aryans on the one hand ~~th~~ and the European Aryans on the ~~but~~ other, we have been suffering without even half rations. Do these evince any gratitude for this? The European Aryans afflict us and thereby please their selfish brethren.

31. Remarking that the convictions of the editor and the Publisher of the RANGOON MAIL betrays the deplorable plight of the

Plight of the Indian Press.

Indian editors, the DESABHAKTAN,

of the 23rd December, observes:-

How are we to describe the position of the Indian editors? They



are surrounded by laws like the Press Act, the Defence of India Act and the Deportation Regulation. They have always to be thinking of the prison, The laws abovementioned do not permit them to express their views freely. This is the plight of Indian editors in this twentieth century under the civilised British rule. The life of the editors depends upon the attitude of the bureaucratic deities. An article in the BOMBAY CHRONICLE, which did not appear objectionable to the head of the administration in Bombay seems such in the eyes of an official in Burma. This shows that the interpretation of laws changes with the views of officials. The bureaucrats and their friends have often been saying that Indian papers are creating class-hatred. Does not this Government, which characterises plain speaking as class-hatred, deem the writings of the Anglo-Indian papers as about the Indians sedition? A white man can afflict an Indian in several ways, and, if this is condemned it is said to be promoting the class-hatred. But the Anglo-Indian papers are not questioned, however disparagingly they may write of Indians. It looks as if the Press Act exists only for the Indian papers.

32. The Balabharati, of the 19th November, (received on the 16th December), says under this heading:- In order to secure the help of India, the British had Swaraj to India? had to delude the Indians with some promises. They had therefore to declare after the war, that it was their intention to grant to India self-government step by step. In what good faith this declaration was made, became manifest on the publication of the Montford scheme of reforms. It became plain that the British would never agree to forego their gains, that they would never grant freedom to India and that their intention was only to hold forth hopes. What little hope that was entertained was frustrated by the draft rules of the Government of India. Differences of opinion cropped up among the Indians. The British laughed at them and being of opinion that their good time still continues, that the Indians themselves are ready to give

them sufficient help that the Indians cannot do anything if self-Government is not granted and that they can rule India for ages together following the divide-and-rule policy, have thrust on the heads of the Indians reforms which they have deserved. Our leaders have at last obtained a lifeless Act. The Government of India, who are the bitter foes of the Act and who would delight to see it die as soon as possible, have been vested with the responsibility of infusing life into it. Who are responsible for the administration of it? They are His Excellency the Viceroy (Lord Chelmsford) and the Governors, who bear the hatred of step-mother from the beginning and who eagerly resort to strangulation whenever there is a chance for it, throw the blame on the people and say that they cannot help it. The Act does not give any powers to the people (and say that they cannot). The people cannot move. If they do, there are the Governors to repress them. It is said that ten years hence, the British Doctors will come from England to examine this corpse of an Act. All this is a guileful farce played by Mr. Montagu, who knowing well our internal quarrels, wants to prove, by placing our own halter on our own neck, that the Indians are unfit for self-government. The people are now divided into parties, of which one being caught in the guile of Mr. Montagu, disregards the welfare of the country, entertains hopes about the reforms and deludes the people . . . . Can so many political parties and internal quarrels bring salvation to the country? When two persons quarrel, there is a third party ready to ridicule them and gain by the quarrel. If the authorities had really wished to give freedom to the Indians, they would not have disregarded public opinion and passed the Rowlatt Law in the great haste, they would not have let off the authors of the Punjab horrors unpunished, they would not have done injustice to the Muhammadans and incensed them in the matter of the Khilafat, they would not have framed rules vesting the Governors with the authority to destroy the aims of the Reforms Act, they would not have increased the salaries and pensions of Europeans, making the cost of administration unbearable, they would have removed the Viceroy from the



office and appointed another who is an advocate of the freedom of the people and they would not have appointed civilians, who are the enemies of the freedom of the people, to responsible posts under the reforms. Leaving these alone, it will be plain that an examination of the recommendations of the Esher Committees, that the British will never consent to grant SWARAJ to India. Is it not strange under such circumstances that some sections of the people are still under a delusion about the reforms? Are the British so unwise as to give up this land in response to mere memorials and resolutions? They know our helplessness and our party disputes. They know that we can never come to an agreement. There is no use of finding fault with the British. We know to what state Ireland, which has been trying to get freedom for centuries, has been reduced. Mr. Lloyd George has been using brute force as a means of <sup>securing</sup> ~~suspecting~~ peace. The British have not solved the Irish question even from fear of bloodshed . . . . .

The British are selfish and are devoid of pity; they are given to <sup>t</sup>egoism, and do not <sup>e</sup>ndure the advancement of others; they are addicted to enjoyment without fear of sin. We know that ~~they~~ <sup>are</sup> moved by a commercial spirit. We can never hope for salvation from them. Not even a mad man can believe that the Parliament and Ministers can give us independence against their wishes and self-interest. Will the British ever like to forego the life of happiness which they <sup>v</sup>have secured by sucking up the vitals of India by means of high offices in the service of the Government, held by the lovers of authority, and by means of trade carried on by the common people. Will they forego the means of maintaining their own people by robbing India of its wealth in every way possible? When our country is <sup>en</sup>riching England, and England is impoverishing our country, are they so very innocent as to grant freedom to us and take our misfortune on themselves? Who will be influenced by mere words, consent to give up a thing which has been obtaining ~~obtained~~ without trouble and which has been the source of all their enjoyment? . . . . Had we but union, the establishment of Government would have been difficult. Even if

possession of some land had been obtained for self-support, there could have been (difficult. Even) no means of extending it. Even if it had been extended, a free, arbitrary and selfish administration could not have been carried on for 150 years. . . . . The non-nationalists are under a delusion that they are serving the country but have they seen what harm they have been <sup>o</sup>doing to the country and how the white men have been grinning at them and ridiculing them saying that the Indians are unfit for Swaraj..... Until the Indians enter upon new methods of agitation with new ideals, the white men cannot give up their foolish opinions and notices the severity of the unrest prevailing among the Indians. They know that by reason of want of union among the 33 crores of Indians, 8 crores of Europeans are ruling the country without let or hindrance, that on the day when Indian nationality is established, Government will have to be transferred to the Indians, and that such an inauspicious day will never come. . . . . They know that if they adopt the policy of divide and rule, the coax the Muhammadans for sometime, then the moderates and then the non-Brahmans, the people will quarrel among themselves, and that they can enjoy the fun. They know that the moderates are ~~ready~~ ready to oppose the nationalists, and the non-Brahmans to oppose the advocates of union . . . . . O ! men! awake . . . . . If you really wish to cross the sea of bureaucracy soon, find out a vessel which can take you to the other shore in the face of all tests and obstacles. Such a vessel is the National Congress. Mr. Gandhi, who has taken the vow to guide the vessel, is inviting voyagers at the top of his ~~voyage~~ voice. Voice.

42. Writing about the Buckingham Mills Police Shooting affair, the ~~PAURAN~~ PAURAN, of the 17th December, observes that the circumstances did not warrant the opening of fire by the police on unarmed people and that the firing on the people without notice and without warning was atrocious. The paper trusts that an impartial inquiry will be instituted by the Government, and that



adequate reparation will be made to the mother of the boy that was killed and to the wounded. It advises His Excellency the ~~Governor~~ Governor not to increase popular agitation by doing anything on the preconceived notion that the police acted right. The letter which His Excellency has written to Mr. Wadia is improper in many respects. It was not at all right on the part of the Government to have expressed an opinion based entirely on the report of the offending officers.

In an English leader on the same subject the Lokaprakasam, of the 20th December, writes:- "No body can convince (can be convinced?) that there was sufficient necessity for emulating the ~~un~~forgettable exploit of the hero of Jallianwalla' as has been observed by a Madras contemporary of ours.. ~~At~~ sifting and impartial ~~in~~quiry on the facts of the affairs as well as on the intervention of the police in disputes between capital and labour must result in a deal of revelations and we are sure that the Government will embark on it at once."

45. The QUAMI REPORT, of the 18th December, referring to the Government notification of the 17th instant relating to the new

Reforms Act, Remarks:- We much

The new Government of Madras.  
The Government's new Chessboard. regret to have sympathy with the moderates and to find that the Government have, in the end, ignored their porposals and resolutions, but still cling to their supporters. The new Government, which succeeds the old one and will rule over our Presidency, will consist more or less the old ~~faces~~ faces which the community and the country dislike. The beauty of it all is that many flatterers and most of the moderates are dissatisfied. Undoubtedly the chessboard, which the Government had spread and the selection which they have made of chessmen from among their devote followers, will very soon spoil the game and the Government will find that they cannot ~~and~~ adopt any course against the will of the country and the people.

The writer referring to the appointment of Diwan Bahadur Sir P. Ragagopala Achariyar in the new Government remarks that he has been made the king of the chessboard. He is an old Government Servant who has just stepped into the new Government. He had hitherto been following the hints given by His Excellency the Governor and will continue assent.

Referring to the appointment of four members of the council, the writer remarks that ~~these~~<sup>one</sup> new knights of the Chess board have been appointed either to drag the Royal coach or to guard ~~of~~ the life of the Government. They are in fact just ~~the~~ men to pull the coach themselves, enter into ~~bondage~~<sup>^</sup> and make others submit to such servitude.

Referring to the formation of the new ministry the writer remarks that the appointment of new pawns to the new chessboard, viz., three footmen, who are exclusively non-Brahmans, has been made simply that they may run after the knights, while the ~~skatists~~ selection seems as if that community alone represents the country and the nation. Even the moderates are at a loss to understand the latest policy of the Government.

Referring to the change of service from national to Governmental, the writer observes that the most interesting case is that of Mr. C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar, who having succeeded in securing votes for himself after such hard endeavours, has chosen to enter Government bondage by accepting the office of the Advocate-General conferred on him, and remarks that this is the policy of the moderates. They render service to the nation simply to create apprehension in the minds of the Government in order to induce them to draw them a big piece which they may immediately pounce upon.

Referring to the translation of Sir Abdur Rahim from the Bench of Madras High Court to the Bengal Executive Council, the writer remarks that he has been enlisted as one of the troopers of the Bengal Executive council. The Viceroy, who had taken Sir Abdur Rahim to task for ridiculing the Press Act, is now conferring on him a salute. It is regrettable to find that he is now departing from Madras and so that the independent Judge of the High Court has departed.



For the week ending 8th January 1921.

No.2 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, of the 29th December, has the following:- ~~It is~~ "It may not be proper to criticise a document which is issued over His Majesty's sign Instructions to Governors. manual, but every body is aware of the constitutional fiction which shoves on the Responsibility to the Sovereign when the hand that draws up the document is the Minister's concerned. The instrument of instructions issued to the Governors of the various provinces of India for the proper administration of the reforms is admirable in ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> abstract, and speaks to Mr. Montagu's anxiety that no contretemps should mar their smooth working. But, an impartial critic will ask, is it necessary? The object of the instructions is set forth to be the furtherance of Mr. Montagu's Reform Act so that the institutions and methods therein provided shall be laid upon the best and surest foundations.' In the face of the opposition both in and outside Parliament to not a few of the institutions and methods therein provided -- and we have Mr. Montagu's admission that the diarchy was accepted not on its own merits but for lack of a better alternative -- it is hard to appreciate the propriety of committing His Majesty to an expression of opinion which amounts to saying that the future of India lies in laying the particular institutions and methods embodied in the Montagu Act on the surest foundations. . . . . The instrument of instructions presumes Utopian conditions on which, of course, Mr. Montagu has built up an imposing political edifice. We have no quarrel with him for forcing upon the country administrative reforms for which conditions are not propitious; nor we do quarrel with him for his questionable manouvres in <sup>in</sup> canvassing support to his scheme of reforms from his henchmen in Parliament and outside of it. But we should certainly protest against his unconstitutional attempt to make it appear that the Sovereign unreservedly approves of the particular institutions and methods provided therein."

2. Writing under this heading, the WEDNESDAY REVIEW, for the week ending 5th January, observes:- "The British Press is at last waking to the fact that the Reform Act has failed to

The British Press on the Indian Situation.

prove the anodyne which Mr. Montagu described it to be

when he hustled the parliament into passing it. The atmosphere has continued to be greatly disturbed, and there is no sign of the calm-ness which the Secretary of State and the viceroy had bargained for. Great things were predicted for the Act and, for the nonce, the British newspapers with an exception or two were led or misled ~~kw~~ into believing that those who did not see ~~xx~~ eye to eye with Mr. Montagu in respect of some of the features of the Reform Act were reactionaries and from some sinister and selfish motive or other wished to keep India in a state of abject slavery to England. Extraordinary intolerance was displayed towards those who dared to criticise such proposals in the reform scheme as seemed to them to be either premature or unworkable in the present conditions of the country. . . . . In the face of such fanaticism it was both in an uphill and a thankless task for those who knew Indian conditions better to convince a Parliament which is notoriously indifferent to and ignorant of Indian affairs, to the contrary and enable it to realise that a scheme of violence administrative changes conceived and matured in the course of a few weeks' tour over the country deserved to be carefully sifted and sanctioned. And the British Press was gradually led to believe that if Mr. Montagu's scheme was not forthwith sanctioned by Parliament there would be a cataclysm in India for which the responsibility would be on the shoulders of those who opposed it. By a process which can be summed up as SUPPRESSIO VERI and SUGGESTIO FALSI the exact state of affairs here was never made known in England. If there was a black cloud in the silver lining it was taken as only setting off the silver to better advantage. If Political agitators were seducing school boys from their studies it was dismissed as an inconvenient interlude in an otherwise ideal state of affairs. If the interlude threatened to assume ugly proportions, the authorities in India were looked



up to see that things righted themselves, without interfering much with the agitators who were all <sup>h</sup>ighminded patriots, but with a screw loose somewhere. On such pabulum, the British Press and the public have been fed so long. But the situation here is so rapidly getting out of hand and things are moving so fast, that they are slowly awaking to <sup>h</sup>the fact that Mr. Montagu's stewardship of India has not altogether proved to be the phenomenal success which he would claim for it...It is no doubt, true that the Government of India are not grappling with the situation energetically and effectively. That is not because they share Mr. Montagu's wrong notions., but they are not allowed to. Their past experience with Mr. Montagu does not encourage them in taking the necessary measures to put down seditious agitation. The MORNING POST explains the difficulty in choosing a successor to Lord Chelmsford as being due to reluctance among eminent men to take up the office of the Viceroy under a Secretary of State whose policy presents such a record of total and dismal failure. We <sup>q</sup>uite believe that. If Mr. Montagu is not allowed to decide the choice, it will not be difficult to appoint a Viceroy who would decline to take his cue from Mr. Montagu but seek to administer India with the sole object of ensuring the ~~security~~ security and contentment of the teeming millions and not with the purpose of being in the good graces of <sup>a</sup>handful of malcontents.... The TELEGRAPH does well to remind <sup>d</sup>the British Government that their primary obligation is to give security to the masses, and for their sake even more than for the sake of the Britishers in India they were bound to see that social stability was not jeopardised by the unscrupulous ambition of a <sup>a</sup>handful of agitators. We shall only add that personal ambition and vanity of individual British politicians should not be allowed to stand in the way of the British nation keeping its trust by the millions of the population of India whose faith in the justice and the strength of the British administration is as unshaken as ever and, nothing should be tolerated which is likely to shake the simple faith."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

8. Referring to its frequent complaint that the Whites in the colonies are treating the blacks there with contempt, the

Indians in the Colonies.

NAVASAKTI of the 24th December,

~~XXXX~~ quotes the objects of

an association of the whites in South Africa to prove <sup>h</sup>ow they are intent on wresting all privileges from the blacks and observes:-

Even in the twentieth ~~century~~ century the whites in South Africa have not realised that all the people in the world are brethren.

Perhaps they do not know that Lord Jesus Christ, whom they worship, is a black Asiatic! If they know it, we think they will not worship him. We consider them to be rude men, devoid of any spiritual feeling. When will the idea dawn on their minds that the world and all that is in it, as created by God, are the common property of all who are His Children? We in India deeming the Europeans also to be human beings and associating with them, claim them to be our brethren. But the plight of the Indians in South Africa is such. To whom are we to complain of this? O God!

9. Remarking that no remedy has yet been found for the miserable plight of the Indians in the colonies and that, though the Government of India has been professing every year to bestow

their consideration on this

Indians in East Africa

matter, it is not known what

has come out of that consideration till now, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 30th December, refers to the Despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the report of Sir Benjamin Rebertson, who was appointed last year to inquire into the condition of Indians in the <sup>C</sup>olonies in Africa and observes:- The Government of India say that the Indians should have all the privileges of ~~Brit~~ British subjects and that the former should be given proper representation in the Legislative Council and Municipal bodies and condemn the Indians being treated otherwise. But our question is whether the East African Government will agree to treat the Indians and the



Whites alike in pursuance of this recommendation of the Government of India in their official capacity. Lord Milner is the Present Secretary of State for the Colonies. How can we expect any benefits to the Indians from him, who<sup>d</sup> is occupying a high position among a body of people having narrow views. The recommendations now made by the Government of India are based on the proceedings of a meeting held at Nairobi on the 22nd of August 1920 to condemn certain proposals made by Lord Milner about the policy of the administration in East Africa. It is the proposal of Lord Milner that the residences and the business premises ~~of~~ of Europeans should be separate from those of Indians and this has been condemned by the Government of India. The British Government have not realised the evils that may result from locating Indians and the Europeans in separate places. This arrangement will only enable the Europeans in power to secure the best places and the Indians will have to suffer in inconvenient localities as usual. The same will be the case even in respect of lands. The sight now allotted to the Indians for dwelling purposes has many defects and has no facilities for sanitation. The details furnished by the Rev. Mr. Andrews, who<sup>d</sup> returned recently from East Africa and other places clearly prove the low condition (of the Indians are going to derive from this Commission) of the Indians there. The Government of India have stated in their Despatch that their representatives should have seats on the commission to be acquired inquire about the general condition of East Africa. But our question is what benefit that Indians are going to derive from this Commission. Numerous Commissions have been appointed before this and have conducted their inquiry on matters like this. What has come out of the inquiry~~s~~ of Sir Benjamin Robertson now? There is only one way of removing all these evils and that is the speedy acquisition of Swaraj by India.

~~xxxxRemarking~~

(k) General.

20. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 23rd December, writes:- The life of Indian has now come to have no value in the eyes of the whites. Dyer, who committed a cowardly massacre of thousands of people in the Punjab, was presented with a sword and £20,000. A white official recently shot a woman and got off by paying Rs.500. Why should we go so far? We have witnessed the Government of

Indians and Europeans.

Lord Willingdon praise those valiant heroes, who killed two youths

and wounded fourteen persons by firing at them. Not only the bureaucrats, but even the European capitalists and planters, are acting in this manner. It is well known that all these have been admitted and published in the papers by Mr. Curtis, an Englishman. The huddling of third-class passengers on railways everyday and the facilities afforded to the whites are rankling in our minds.

21. Referring to the personnel of the advisory Board appointed by the Government of Madras to assist the Labour Commissioner, the

An Advisory Board to the Labour Commissioner.

SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd ~~xxxx~~ December, observes:- Of the

twelve members of the Board only five are Indians, the rest being Europeans, and only one or two of these five are directly connected with trade or industry. We hold that the present constitution of the Board cannot satisfy many. It appears each member is to coercive receive an allowance of Rs.30 every time he attends the meeting of the Board and the question is whether the result will be commensurate with the expenditure.

In commenting on the same subject, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 24th December, points to the delay in the Local Governments giving effect to the recommendations of the Industries Commission in this behalf and remarking that a comparison of this delay with the way in which the Rowlatt Committee was constituted and its suggestions were carried out and the Reforms Act is now being introduced



will make it clear that usually recommendations and measures calculated to benefit the Indians are brought into effect rather slowly and that the Government of India, who are eager to appoint commissions of inquiry for anything, try to give effect promptly only to such recommendations as are favourable to them and as are likely to increase their power adds:--The Board now appointed by the Local Government will be only an advisory one and the Director of Industries is not bound to act on its suggestions. The Industries Commission recommended the appointment of an Advisory Board on the ground that the Director of Industries will generally be a civilian having no direct experience of industrial matters. While so, what purpose will this Board serve, if it is only an advisory body? There is a frequent change in the head of the Department of Industries and it may be that a particular Director does not agree with the principle of his predecessor or is inclined to alter it. If officials go on thus changing the work of the department as it pleases them, how can it benefit the people? We say that, on this very account, recommendations of the Boards and that the public will be under the impression that the Indian members will be swayed by the opinions of the European members. However, these Indian members should have in mind the past industrial greatness of India and her present fallen condition and work for the uplift of Indian industries without fear or favour. They should also recognise that, in the matter of industrial progress, the Madras Presidency lags behind the other provinces.

23. Remarking that the injunction order passed against Mr. Wadia and

and others in the matter of the  
The condition of labourers.

latter addressing the labourers

of the Buckingham Mills against the interests of the Mill authorities practically denies to the labourers in India a natural right available to the people all over the world, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th December, writes:--Every living being in the world struggles for existence and equally so the human species. If the poor seek to live by means of manual labour, the rich amass money through the instrumentality of these poor. It is rather hard to determine how much of the money

in preminence in present

Board

earned by both these classes belongs to either. ( But the fact that capitalists have not closed their factories as a result of the fequent strikes of the labourers and have given the latter increased wages every time, makes it clear that the labourers are entitled to get a larger share of the profits than what they are obtaining at present. That is why they now contend that it will not do for them merely to live and that they must have money enough to provide at least some small comforts and are struggling to secure wages on this scale. They have a right to do this according to the laws of nature and they have a natural right again to come together, work unitedly and take with them such as can advise them so as to secure a victory in that struggle. Of course anything that is advantageous to the labourers will be prejudicial to the capitalists and those, who advise the former to ask for increased wages on the ground of insufficiency of the existing scale, are naturally deemed to be working against the capitalists. According to the decision of the High Court, law is able to prevent any one advising the labourers in their interests having anything to do with them. It is very necessary to rectify this state of affairs. It may be argued that the labourers themselves can conduct their movement and that they need not take in non-labourers with them. But these labourers know only that they are suffering and are unaware of the proper method of relieving it. The majority of them are illiterate on account of the negligence of the Government, and they are not in a position to understand the procedure adopted by labourers in other countries under similar circumstances. So until the Government convert them all into scholars, the help of others is indispensable for them. In England and ~~the~~ other western countries, though the labourers are now capable of managing their own affairs, cultured men not belonging to their ranks like Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Ben Spoor, Colonel Wedgwood and Mr. Handerson are permitted, by the law of that country to take part in the labour movement, they will surely have prevented labourers from having the help of non-labourers, if law



permitted it. So it is certain that no such law exists there. Why should there be a law in India alone which can curb the rights of <sup>the</sup> labourers? It is the provision of facilities for the development of labour unions that will secure the prosperity of the country. ~~If the condition of the labour unions that will secure the prosperity of the country.~~ If the condition of the labourers is improved, the disparity that now exists between different classes of the community will disappear to some extent and the Indians will then forget all their differences and come to feel that they <sup>are</sup> one. Therefore, politicians are bound to bestow their attention on getting such laws as are prejudicial to the labour movement repealed and new laws passed favourable to the labourers.

Inviting attention to the remark in the speech of Mr. Symmonds, who presided at the anniversary of the Association in Capitalists of ~~South~~ South India, that all the capitalists in India should form themselves into a union to

The condition of labourers in  
INDIA.

bestow attention on the  
labourers, the NAVASAKTI,

of the 24th December, observes:- The capitalists may think of getting the mastery over the labourers by means of their money and the latter may, in their turn conquer the former by the unity of their associations. When differences crop up between labourers and capitalists it is incumbent on the Government to mediate and mete out justice. But the experience of the world shows that they are favouring only the capitalists. Though the capitalists have the aid of the Government, it is certain that the labour movement will not abate. No Government can get on without the help of labourers. It is not known what the trend of Indian administration is likely to be hereafter. (Many are under the impression that it will favour only the capitalists.) If, in practice, the Government of India should try to stifle the labour movement in the interests of the capitalists, India

can have no peace. Justice would demand that they should act impartially and safeguard the interests of both the parties. It will be no wise policy to be preaching impartiality and safeguard the interests of time helping the capitalist in practice. We would warn the Government to be impartial in dealing with the capitalists and the labourers.

Every one employed in any institution, with which the Government are connected, is considered to be a slave of the Government. Petty restrictions are imposed on him and it is indeed disgusting. It appears a professor of the Government College in Lahore was warned by his superiors for having attended a meeting of the labourers. Similarly the Government of Lahore have issued orders prohibiting students attending the new school of politics started there by Mr. Lajpat Rai. The country has come to its present plight only because liberty has been trampled under foot from the very outset.

Labour unions formed by famishing labourers <sup>are</sup> ~~are~~ declared by the Government to be political organisations! What justice is this? There is no connexion whatever between political matters and labour unions. But, as our rulers are both ~~of~~ merchants and administrators in the same breath and as co-operation among the labourers affects their trade, they unjustly characterise labour unions <sup>as</sup> ~~as~~ political bodies! These unions are just coming into existence and the Government cannot brook even this untily! We regret the Government cannot succeed in this matter.

25. In commenting upon the address of Mr. Vijayaraghava Achariyar, the President of the Nagpur Congress, the TAMIL NADU, of the 26th December, remarks:

The Nagpur Congress.

that he has evidently been in a deep slumber for the past few years and says:- No one who has observed closely the blind manner in which administration has been conducted by the British in this country for the past



few years can have any faith in English Justice. The whole of the presidential speech is an appeal ~~in~~ to His Majesty from beginning to end. It is highly regrettable that Mr. Achariyar should have failed to learn the lesson that has been learnt by the Indians all these thirty years.

Expressing its satisfaction at the fact that, for some ~~pe~~ years past, the Congress sessions have been conducted in lively manner, the NAVASAKTI, of the 24th December, refers to the opposition of many leaders to the resolution on non-co-operation as passed by the special session at Calcutta having failed and says:- The non-co-operative movement has spread throughout the country. The Majority of the leaders on the Congress platform may be ~~ga~~ against non-co-operation; but the country is not against it. No other test is needed to know <sup>whether</sup> whether the country has taken to non-co-operation than the recent elections. The fact that 75 per cent of the voters abstained from exercising their franchise will sufficiently indicate that the country has accepted non-co-operation. We hope the Nagpur session of the Congress will follow the opinion of the country.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 27th December, points to the observation of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress at Nagpur, that there is no other alternative now than that all people should resort to non-co-operation and writes:- If the bureaucracy is convinced that all will resort to non-co-operation we will attain Swaraj at once. We are not at one with the President in his view that the boycott of Legislative Councils is a defunct question, inasmuch as the as the elections are over. Though the work of electing members is finished, the Legislative Councils do exist and not a single place is vacant therein. When the Congress has to decide the questions whether these councils are to be availed of by the people or not and whether their laws are to be obeyed by them. or not; it cannot be said that the boycott of Legislative council is <sup>a</sup> dead affair. The President does not approve of the

boycott of schools by students and of their remaining idle. Their remaining without any education is as much an evil as their continueing in schools receiving State aid. But, as the latter is comparatively less harmful, he does not favour the boycott of schools. Seeing that the methods now followed cannot enable us to reach our goal, he has suggested nation building as a remedy. As it is, if the people resort to non-payment of taxes, only a few will do so and when the properties of those not paying the taxes are sold in auction, many will come forward to buy them and a political party will also spring up advocating such purchases. Then this method will fail. It will therefore be agreed on all hands that nation-building is necessary, so as to create a feeling that all the people of the country belong to one family. It may take some years for our objects to be gained, if we adopt the suggestions of the President. Preparatory work has to be done to a large extent. It is only in view of this that Mr. C.R. Das brought forward an amendment at the Calcutta Congress and even now he proposes to move a proposition that a definite time limit should be fixed within which England should grant complete SWARAJ to India, ~~failin~~ failing which all of us should resort to thorough non-co-operation and that the intervening time should be spent in preparatory propaganda work. If this method is followed, many benefits will result, a national feeling will be created among the people, the differences among them will disappear and their goal will be reached without any obstacle in the way.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 29th December, writes:- We would request the Government of India and that of Mr. Lloyd George to be vigilant at this time and we do this in the interests of the world and humanity in general. If both these Governments, either through negligence or with the object of maintaining their power and prestige remain quiet now, it is not possible to say how the future of India will be altered. News from Nagpur clearly indicates that Mr. Gandhi's resolution on non-co-operation as passed in the Calcutta Congress



will be carried on the Nagpur session too. What are the Government of India going to do now? Our only question is whether they will side the people or <sup>u c</sup> pounce upon them with repressive weapons. We request them and especially Lord Chelmsford's Government not to discard the Congress as they have been doing till now. If the Government of India still continue to ignore the aspirations and wishes of the Indians as ~~they~~ were doing till now, we wish to impress on them that they ~~were doing~~ will be responsible for the consequences. The Government of India will not deny that (the Nagpur Congress is a representative body and that no other institution can reflect the opinions and feelings of the Indian Public as correctly as this.) Should this congress Carry out the resolution on non-co-operation, it will tantamount to the whole of India having accepted it. Are the Government of Lord Chelmsford, that drove the Indians, the very embodiment of ~~peace~~ patience, to resort to non-co-operation, going to keep quiet still? The civilized administrations in the world are now waiting to test whether the Government of India have any statesmanship or not. If Lord Chelmsford's Government would care to look into the history of the ancient Governments of the world, they will understand what they should do now in regard to India. They should now yield to the wishes of the Indians, if they want that the prestige of <sup>England</sup> ~~the English~~ should be maintained and the connexion between England and India should be continued for ever. If not, they can act any way they like. But if they attempt to show their valour by entering the armoury of repression, they will be deemed to have caused evil not only to India, and the world, but also to the whole of humanity. Are the Government of India prepared to do this? The Indians have resolved to acquire Swaraj immediately and they are going to ~~resort~~ resort to non-co-operation actively for achieving this end. We wish the Government of India heal now at least the wound existing in the minds of the Indians for a long time. Even this advice we are offering only in the interest of the Government. Will the Government of Lord Chelmsford pay heed to the

Adversely criticising the speech of the President of the Nagpur Congress, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 27th December, observes in its leader under this heading:- . . . . . A perusal of the President's speech will make <sup>it</sup> clear that Mr. C. Vijiaraghava Achariyar is not fit to hold that office at the present critical movement. He is again endeavouring to renew the old method of mendicancy. ~~He~~ . . . . . All his hopes are centred in Mr. Montagu and <sup>e</sup> he is under the impression that, by the mere fact that Mr. Montagu recommends the grant of SWARAJ; His Majesty the King-Emperor will grant it. If the wishes of the people are fulfilled <sup>by</sup> the submission of memorials, then Mr. Achariya's Advice may be taken. The people are tired of making memorials in vain and are now overtaken by a sense of shame and are plunged in an ocean of sorrow. They are now receiving lessons in self-help. . . . . If all the 33 crores of Indians consider themselves to be free people, dependence cannot but go away. Mr. Acharya is looking at the present problem for a materialistic standpoint. . . . . We have been asking in the Congress for a declaration of rights ever so long, but that did not prevent the Punjab troubles for making taking place. What is now wanted in the country is soul force. . . . . Mr. Acharya is afraid that it is against the interest of students that they should take part in politics. When highly educated leaders fail to do their duty to their country, the masses and the students cannot but <sup>a</sup> take their place. In the Great War, the Government themselves recruited students for the army. That being so, one cannot understand what harm will result if the students work for the attainment of SWARAJ. Mr. Acharya asks if history can provide an example of self-government having been obtained by following the present methods. But there is nowhere in history an example of a large population of 33 crores being ruled by a handful of foreigners. Mr. Acharya is of opinion that non-cooperation may lead to many evils, but as a matter of fact non-co-operation has resulted in the Hindu-Muslim unity, and the Brahman-non-Brahman difference-s have lost much of their pignancy in this



Presidency. . . . . Mr. Acharya does not understand why Ireland is demanding complete self-government. His opinion is that we should not ask for SWARAJ outside the British ~~Empire~~ Empire. But the English people themselves have granted complete independency of Egypt. We do not know what Mr. Acharya would say to this. While such is the tenor of the President's speech, the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee has exhorted the people to adopt non-co-operation..... If, even for any reason, the Congress retraces its steps, the nation cannot do so. When the sun of freedom is shining before one's eyes no ~~any~~ body will wish for darkness.. Wherever DHARMA is to be found, success is sure to be there. Therefore the movement of self-help which is essentially one of DHARMA cannot but win. We may say that real SWARAJ does not exist in Europe at the present moment.... Mr. Acharya is of opinion that Mr. Gandhi's preachings will make India uncivilised. What ignorance! For a man like Mr. Acharya who thinks the present conditions in India as 'civilised', Mr. Gandhi's message will not appear valuable.... He also thinks that the Labour Government in England may do us some good. . . . . How long would freedom coming as a gift from others stand? If Mr. Acharya's advice is taken and a mendicant policy is adopted by the country, the attainment of Swaraj cannot but become distant.

In its leader under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 3rd January expresses the same sentiments as above, and adds, The message of Mr. Gandhi will not stop merely by spreading in India. The Western countries are now not able to restore peace by the use of manual power. They cannot but adopt this movement when once they understand the underlying truth. (~~India's ideal, it is not well for Mr. Satyamurthi and others to suggest~~) India's duty will not end in winning freedom merely for herself but she must also strive for the uplift of the whole world . . . . While there is the most satisfactory word such as SWARAJ available to denote India's ideal, it is

not well for Mr. Satyamurti and others to suggest other words such as 'responsible government' or 'democracy' in its place . . . . The Tilak memorial fund is sure to swell soon. There can be nothing else so dear to the heart of the people than the memory of the late Mr. Tilak who sacrificed his whole life for India. India will have to sacrifice her all for the attainment of SWARAJ. The Nagpur Congress has clearly dispelled the idea, that our salvation lies in the hands of others, from off the minds of the people. There is little or no profit till now derived by India from the British Congress Committee. The Congress, brushing it aside, has decided to depend on its self-help. Swaraj cannot be attained by our country so long as we depend upon others for it. The Parliament and the British Ministers will be watching the affairs here, and eventually they will grant India's wants overtaken by a sense of remorse . . . . The interest evinced by many of the English Papers in Indian affairs, and the remarks of Sir Valentine Chirol published in the TIMES, clearly show that the time for putting down the movement by Congress repression is gone, and that the 'non-co-operation' movement cannot but be crowned with success in the near future. By his superb intelligence, Mr. Gandhi, has made the Rowlatt Act, the Sedition Act and other repressive measures utterly useless. He made it clear that one can give out what one feels. Where then, is the opportunity for the Criminal Investigation Department people? . . . . In the Congress, everybody gave out his ideas unmistakably. Thus a royal road has been laid for the attainment of SWARAJ. It is thus clear that no body else except Mr. Gandhi can lead us on at the present time. If, under his leadership, SWARAJ IS an accomplished fact, the Ahmadabad Congress will preach the message of DHARMA to the whole world.



The Krishnapatrika, of the 25th December, says under this heading:- (The Congress that is to meet at Nagpur

The Congress. will be more memorable than the previous ones and will mark the commencement of a new history. Never before was there so much awakening in the country as now. The people have opened their eyes. The burden of foreign rule is a thorn on their side. The Punjab evils, the Khilafat dishonesty, the colonial outrages and the artful drama of reforms have all become manifest to the people as a whole. They have noted the changes taking place in the other countries. The time-honoured institutions are all crumbling to dust. The days of statesmen who have administered kingdoms by skilful speech have now set. The state of things in which the people were ~~held~~ held in subjection by force of arms have changed. The sound of freedom is echoing in every direction. This movement is a world movement and India cannot remain unaffected. The strikes of workmen by themselves will show the new force than is gaining ground in India.) Our leaders may not have given up their old ways. Let them become Ministers and put on pretty airs. The present strange situation may appear mad to them. But (the Nagpur Congress will say that this is the beginning of a new era.)

Referring to the presidential address at the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress, the SAMPAD

The Indian National Congress. ABHYUDAYA, of the 30 and 31st December, publishes

a series of contributed articles in English which, among several remarks, contain the following:- Unlike the addresses of Previous years, this year's address is all-embracing and comprehensive, and the President has made out a strong case for the un-conditional grant of responsible Government to the people of India. His arguments are not only convincing but also incisive. .... His age and experience have convinced him that strong arguments clothed in constitutional, though dry,

language are more effective than language flaming with indignation at the wrongs heaped upon India by men of the stamp of General Dyer whom the President Characterises as a splendid beast. The President need not have used even that expression. It would have been sufficient for all practical purposes, if he had quoted some of the choicest sentiments of Dyer, from the deposition given by himself before the Hunter Committee. General Dyer and men of his stamp are the enemies of the British Empire and their enmity is of an un-British and infernal nature. They deserve impeachment before the House of Commons. It is a matter for extreme regret that the sterling British worth has suffered materially of late years. It-s Burkes, its Sheridans, its Foxs, it-s Chathams have unfortunately become curiosities in this degenerate age and even its Morleys, Burkes and other notabilities are out of office in sheer disgust, determined to have nothing to do with the un-British policy of the British Government . . . . It is pity that the Parliament of the United Kingdom has in its supreme wisdom thought it right to lay claim to Divine Right over the people of India. If the British Parliament can do so, hundreds and thousands of people who adorn lunatic asylums deserve to be excused, if they think that they have better claims to be the Lords of the British Empire. This arrogant claim on the part of the British parliament just to hold 315 millions of the Indians under perpetual bondage is one which has no just foundation to stand upon. Poor England! She has lost her historic memory! The greatest statesmen of England wanted her to think over the consequences of forging fetters to keep the United States of America under bondage, fetters not against outsiders but against her own children, children who left her in sheer disgust and sought the jungles of America to build a TAPOVANA for themselves. It is against such pilgrims the fetters and manacles were forged. What was the consequence? Ask Paine, Washington, Franklin, Marra



Murray and the numerous band of patriots who brought about revolution after a war of seven years for independence. ~~They~~ <sup>do</sup> they will tell us that British blood was unwilling to be held in perpetual bondage, that it revolted and that it secured absolute independence. . . . . The 'splendid Beasts' of England showed to the world that the principles inculcated by Christ were for exhibition, not for action, ~~that the principles inculcated by Christ were for exhibition,~~ not for action; that the real principle that underlay the policy of the present British Empire is "Kick when you are kissed. Hate when you are loved. Assault when you are worshipped. Resort to a policy of extermination when you are approached with sincerity, humility and loyalty." . . . . . India wants to be the brightest jewel in the British Crown and it is now allowed the privilege of being even the nether-sole of the British boot. . . . . It is the justest, the noblest, the most righteous and the only British way of getting out of the difficulty and I hope that a good Englishman will be sent out to India as Viceroy to be the defender of British justice and fair-play against hosts of the 'splendid beasts' that have grown like mushrooms all over India. . . . .

The brutes that the President speaks of are indeed terrible, though splendid. You must fight with them with all the pugnacity of an Englishman, if you should win. Weak-kneedness, invertebracy, cowardine and grinning when we are struck are all characteristics which excite contempt in an Englishman. <sup>R</sup>Return gentlemanliness <sup>SS</sup>with gentlemanliness and beastly conduct with constitutional kicks, and you will be respected. Even the Negroes of the United States of America have learnt this and are profiting by them. We have had the association of the English for over 300 years. It is ~~parity~~ <sup>parity</sup> pity that we do not yet know their nature. Mr. Vijayaraghavachar would have died in the Andaman Islands at the time of the Salem riots, if he had not had the exceptional daring

36 of an honest Englishman. What is the use of approaching autocrats with humiliating prayers? Let the Congress be firm in supporting Mr. Gandhi's gospel of non-co-operation. It is powerful engine of correction. The greatest of autocrats will have to quail before it. We fully endorse the last sentence in the address where~~at~~ the President says: "In one word, be a good boy and be a partner with us or get thee gone." This is a bold expression. What does it mean? It means "You British people have taken leave of your goodness. You have obtained victory with our help and co-operation. You now want to trample upon our rights. You show your ingratitude to us. It is not proper for you to do so. Both God and man will be displeased with you if you do so. The curses of both man and God will overtake you and circumstances may so happen that as the Romans left England you may have to leave India. God forbid this!"

Writing on the same subject, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 30th December, writes: On a perusal of the presidential address delivered by Mr. Vijayaraghava Acharyar, it is difficult to say whether it tends to promote or lessen the ill feeling existing between the rulers and the ruled. He has boldly pointed out the short-comings of the Government. Those in power find it difficult to admit their errors, while those that are afflicted owing to the official shortcomings find it difficult to forget their sufferings and to become obedient and loyal. We pray that (the Congress may be enabled to bring about mutual affection between the rulers and the ruled.)

The MYSORE STAR, of the 2~~nd~~<sup>nd</sup> of January, writing on the same subject, observes:- The presidential address is fully in consonance with the farsightedness, mature experience, moral courage and outspokenness of Mr. Vijayaraghava Achariyar,. We wonder how it will be received by those who~~are~~<sup>are</sup> dreaming of winning SWARAJ within nine months. Even while listening to the address, some at least among them could not but have felt that they made a mistake in selecting this old man for the presidential chair.



28. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th December, writes:-  
Many will have to accept the view of the AMRITA BAZAAR PATRIKA

The National Liberal Federation. that this Federation may be more appropriately termed a Conference of Ministers and others rather than one of the moderates, inasmuch as most of those taking part in it have either been or about to be appointed as Executive Councillors, Ministers, or Presidents of Councils. So the moderate party, that professed to be the mouth-piece of a few non-official Indians, ~~now~~ ceases to exist hereafter. In other words, this year's Federation has practically dug its own grave.

Remarking that the day on which the Federation meets is a grand festival day for the Moderates, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 29th December, observes:- It is on this day that Lord Sinha is going to assume the Governorship of Bihar and Orissa. We are not commenting in detail on the presidential speech or the speech of the Chairman, Reception Committee. We cannot but express our pity for the Moderates who, though gifted with knowledge and capacity, are still speaking of antique things, quite unconscious of the velocity of the cycle of time.

29. Referring to the 'authentic statement' of the DAILY MAIL that His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught is going to announce after his visit of the Duke of Connaught. arrival in India that the Rowlatt Act has been repealed by His Majesty, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th December, observes:- Even taking this to be true, India would have been glad in a way only if His Majesty had yielded, when the agitation against the Rowlatt Act was strong in the country. The repeal of the Act as a matter of grace, after such a great delay and after the feelings of the Indians have been trampled under foot and the Punjab incidents have been brought about, will not at all satisfy us. It is a vain attempt to heal the wound caused to the public mind by the Rowlatt Act and the consequential incidents

in the Punjab. This declaration will only afford an opportunity to the British Ministers to boast that this repeal was not the outcome of fear for the agitation of the Indians and we do not believe that it will enthuse the Indians to any degree. It has become habitual with this Government ~~to~~ do things out of time. We hope that better counsel <sup>will</sup> prevail at least after the present situation of the country is realised.

Referring to the news communicated by the DAILY MAIL of London, that His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught will announce that His Majesty has repealed the Rowlatt Act, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 1st January observes:- We are glad of this, but the Rowlatt Act has done its work already. This Act, which brought about the Punjab massacres, is now like a dead snake. The Indians will not care hereafter whether this Act is alive or dead. So the news His Majesty is said to have sent through his uncle will afford no satisfaction to anyone. No news other than that ~~has~~ about the grant of SWARAJ can gladden us now.

30. In the course of a contribution under this heading to the TAMIL NADU, of the 26th December, the following Observations find place among ~~many~~ others:- Ever since India was

"Political Wonders". transferred from the control of the company of that of the Crown.

She has been taking rest after a long period of activity. ~~Ø~~ During this period the people of other countries have entered ~~int~~ into India and are robbing her of her economic resources. ~~What~~ While doing this they are afflicting Saints like Gandhi, who are awake, by means of unjust laws like the Press Act and the Arms Act. It is only a day-dream to expect to suppress the thirst for liberty by means of such unjust repression. The affliction of the patriots cannot last long. The dawn is nigh. The sun of SWARAJ is about to rise in the east and India is doing to do her ~~its~~ legitimate work with a greater force and a greater velocity. Be prepared for incessant effort! Victory is sure!!



33. Remarking that, though the Secretary of State for India exists only to safeguard the Mr. Montagu's policy. rights and prestige of the Indians in Parliament, Mr. Montagu is clever only in speaking, but ~~does~~ nothing tangible, the DASABHAKTAN, of the 30th December, observes:- When he talks of liberty and ~~xxx~~ equality and freternity, he makes one think that he is the very <sup>o</sup>embodiment of these principles. But he supports the actions of the Government of India which are contrary to liberty and humanity. The ~~xxx~~ Indian is treated with great contempt in the world of the Whites, however cultured, rich and good-natured he may be. Numerous instances can be quoted for this in India. The one instance of the difference made between Europeans and Indians in the compensation <sup>o</sup>warded for the sufferers in the Punjab is enough to wound the heart of every Indian. We wish to ask how long Indians are to be ~~treated~~ badly by Europeans, merely because the latter happen to be the ruling race and the former the ruled. Dr. Sutindra Bose, Professor of Philosophy in the Iowa University in America, who has registered himself as an American subject, <sup>o</sup>ught for a passport to come over to India to see his mother who was ill and the passport was refused. Replying to a question in the House of Commons as to why a passport was denied to him even on his promising not to join any political party and as to whether the Secretary of State would offer facilities now for his going over to India, Mr. Montagu is reported to have stated that Dr. Bose did not mention the illness of his mother in his first application and that facilities cannot be afforded as suggested. Did Mr. Montagu forget his position when he/~~xxx~~ <sup>gave</sup> this reply? When Dr. Bose is not a member of any political association and has promised not to join any in the future, why should Mr. Montagu be afraid of him? Even the request of a person that he ~~could~~ <sup>should</sup> be permitted to return to his mother-land is denied under the British Rule in this twentieth century?

Can a more barbarous act be conceived? Is it the British Government or the American Government that are afraid that ~~xxx~~ Dr. Bose would subvert the Government of India? Is this the type of liberty that prevails in Britain and America? To whom are we to point out that it is against the principles of a Government to wound the feelings of innocent persons of culture and character?

34. Referring to the ~~communique~~ now published by the Government about the inquiry~~x~~ of Mr. M.E. Counceman on the disturbances between the Hindus and the Muhammadans that occurred in Nellore on 22nd October 1919, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 30th December, says:- It is stated in this communique that the Taluk Magistrate and the Police acted rightly in opening fire on the people and that but for this the riot would have assumed serious proportions. We have not much to say about this. <sup>When</sup> ~~But~~ they have stated that the conduct of the officials was proper, how can they find officials who committed mistakes? What punishments have been awarded to such officials? Nothing is mentioned about this and why? We would ask whom the Madras Government want to satisfy by a means of this long communique. Can we have a reply to this?

37. Referring to the reply of Sir Michael O'Dwyer~~x~~ to Mr. Curtis' letter challenging the remarks contained in it, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 22nd December, writes in its leader: Sir Michael O'Dwyer's prattle.

under this heading:- .. .. We have hitherto noted that Mr. Curtis is primarily responsible for the inadequate nature of the reforms. He himself knows that the dual system of the Government will not prove successful. The recent advice given to the Governors clearly shows that even Mr. Montagu is not sanguine about the co-operation of the authorities to make the Reforms Act a success. The whole conduct of the machinery of the Reforms Act is in the hands of the Government.



Governors. The Ministers are mere tools in their hands. The King's proclamation asks the Governors to use the power in their hands to direct the Ministers to the right path. How this power has been made use of by the Governor in Madras, either in the appointment of the Ministers or their Secretaries, need not be specially mentioned here. . . . . In suggesting a remedy to the unrest prevailing in India, Mr. Curtis referred to the misdeeds of some of the Punjab officials. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the moment he read this, was highly enraged and a discussion took place between them. . . . . Even today Sir Michael O'Dwyer, perhaps believes that the actions of General Dyer, Smith and Johnson are worthy of commendation. No repentance whatsoever <sup>is to</sup> ~~it to be~~ found in his bosom. What are the remedies he suggests? The lives of the Europeans which are at stake owing to the preachings of Mr. Gandhi must be protected and the guilty should be punished . . . . . But Sir Michael O'Dyer who threw the Punjab into a disturbance and also the whole of India, escaped, without <sup>any</sup> punishment. He is, on the contrary, asking the authorities to subject the people who are already suffering by his actions to further punishments. There <sup>are</sup> ~~are~~, in this country, many officials who concur with his views. It is such persons that have to train the people in self-Government! Mr. Lloyd George is enforcing in Ireland the principle ~~of~~ enunciated by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. . . . . England is not yet feeling repentance for the wrongs done to India. . . . . India must try herself to remove the wrongs <sup>done</sup> ~~to~~ to her. To work, by adopting the path of righteousness, is the chief means to attain this end.

38. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 22nd December, published conversation which took place Mr. Ben Spoor's recognition of the greatness of the new movement. between the Press representatives

of the YOUNG INDIA and Mr. Ben Spoor about the boycott of elections and schools and also about the establishment of national institutions and observes:- It is clear from the above that Mr. Ben Spoor has clearly understood the success ~~as~~ of the non-co-operation movement. That being so, ~~many~~ many of our leaders are now going to Nagpur to bring about a change in Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation programme and establish the old repressive methods. If this is not opposed, it is sure to be a block in the way of speedy self-government. The Nagpur Congress will be failing in its duty if it recedes. Let not such a state of things come to pass!

39. Referring to the hesitation, still being shown by some of the leaders with regard to the carrying out of Mr.

Gandhi's message, the ANDHRA-PATRIKA, of the 28th December, observes in its leader under this heading:-

.. . . .  
Hitherto, there were two or three impediments in the way of the attainment of SWARAJ. One was the Hindu-Mussalman differences; the deep sumber of the common people was another; and the third was the want of confidence among them. Now, after the teachings of Mr. Gandhi, the differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans are disappearing, an extraordinary awakening is noticed among the people, and they are also growing self-confident. They have now understood that they possess great spirituality in them and that, by its use, they can reach their goal soon. All the difficulties in the way of SWARAJ are disappearing. Under these circumstances, cannot it be attained in the near future? .. . .

40. In a note under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the

28th December, writes:- Until  
Glad News. now, the goal of India was

SWARAJ within the British Empire. It will be well if India ~~att~~ attains a fitting place within the British Empire in the near



future. Otherwise, India wants complete SWARAJ. Even the Anglo-Indian papers have said that there is nothing wrong in such an ideal. While England consented to ~~grant~~ grant complete independence to Egypt, we cannot say what will be done to other parts of the British Empire in the future. Such being the case, it is better not to definitely determine the exact form of SWARAJ. The Congress Sub-Committee suggested this change in their report. Some leaders were questioning whether non-co-operation could come under "constitutional methods." To leave no room for any such doubt, the Congress will agree to incorporate this change. One can see from this how soon the ideas of the Nation are changing. Those who ~~don't~~ don't see it are blind.

45. The VENKATESAPATRIKA, of the 4th December, speaking about the success of 'non-co-operation' generally, all over the country, has the following observations in its leader.

Legislative Council ~~elections~~.  
elections.

... .. Colonel Wedgwood is asking the Indians to co-operate if the British Government should promise the grant of SWARAJ in ten or twenty years. While a number of promises made on paper have been shelved in a corner, without being fulfilled, this promise will only add one more to it. Why should we wait for twenty years? Is it because we are not eligible for SWARAJ now, or is it because ~~that~~ the Englishmen have still a desire to enjoy (the pleasures of the whole world) like King YAYATI? ... .. The ~~the~~ ~~appetite~~ appetite for enjoyment can never be appeased. (To become united and not desire the help of others, is the only qualification for the attainment of SWARAJ. ... .. The Government are extravagantly spending the taxes that we pay. They are going to impose a fresh tax for the education etc. of the people in villages. Instead of paying these taxes to the ~~taxes to~~ Government and getting only a small recompense for it, if the people; ~~themselves~~ themselves should look to their own wants, SWARAJ would soon be secured. The British Government

keeping the reins in its own hands, are going to administer the country through the Ministers and the Legislative Councils. Mr. Gandhi says that the sooner this madness after these Councils leaves us, the speedier will be our attainment of SWARAJ.

48. A correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 24th December, says that a drama was enacted in Guntur on the

Non-co-operation.

22nd wherein was represented ~~the~~ affairs beginning with the Punjab disorders and ending with the holding of the Nagpur National Congress. He further wished that such dramas should be represented not only in the ANDHRA country but throughout India.

The LOKA VARTE, of the 26th December, writes:- Though Mr. Gandhi has been toiling night and day to disseminate the principles of non-co-operation, the present condition of India is such that non-co-operation will not take deep root into this land unless a Gandhi be born in every village. None of the four different stages of the movement have progressed apace, as ~~no~~ affectual help came either from the popular leaders or from the masses to the extent expected by Gandhi. . . . . From the time India lost her independence, the Political and economic capacity ~~fe~~ of the people has slowly dwindled and unity has become lax, and all those who wished to have wealth and power have gradually begun to side with Government. We wonder how Mr. Gandhi hopes to be able to secure SWARAJ for such disunited and enervated people.

51. Referring to the success of the 'non-co-operation' resolution in the Nagpur Congress, the 'ANDHRAPATRIKA' of the 31st December, observes in ~~its~~ its leader:- . . . . The Anglo-

The Nagpur Congress: Mr. Indian papers, the moderates, and Gandhi's triumph. the bureaucracy, who have been anxiously awaiting a split in the Congress, will be extremely disappointed. . . . . The resolution of the Nagpur Congress, ~~will~~ may be said to be more in advance and far clearer than the Calcutta resolution.



the Calcutta resolution. The Congress had now resolved to put even the last item of the non-co-operation programme into practice whenever it thinks it necessary. It also determines what the Government officials must necessarily do before they resign their posts. . . . . The Nagpur Congress has also made it clear that SWARAJ alone is the ideal for which India should work. So long as the British fulfil the wishes of the people, they will consent to be under the British Empire. Otherwise, they will only demand complete SWARAJ. Both these ideas are to be found in the word SWARAJ. To-day, the Congress had emerged out of mental ~~serv~~ servility. It has laid the foundations for the edifice of SWARAJ. It has also resolved to attain SWARAJ within one year. The whole country is carried away by such a resolution. This is an illustration of Mr. Gandhi's success. It is a good omen that all the Indian leaders are at last prepared to take his advice. May the coming Congress meet after SWARAJ is attained.

53. The HITAKARINI, of the 20th December says, in a note on the Moderates' Conference:- The fact that the moderates

The moderates. have separated themselves from the National Congress shows that they are not the leaders of the country. Among dependent countries, it is only India that a political party has stooped to do such a treacherous act. Can the moderates show in the history of the world an instance of an act like this? Why did they forget the advice of DHARMARAJA when DURYODHANA fell into the hands of the GANDHARVAS. O! Moderate Brethren! If ~~from~~ possible win the people to your side by force of argument, but do not secede from the Congress and throw obstacles in the way of the people.

56. Criticising as entirely pessimistic, an article in the Pioneer, wherein Muhammad Ali and Gandhi were ridiculed

SWARAJ.

for promising a crore of rupees to the Aligarh students and

SWARAJ within a year, respectively, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 25th December, in the course of an English Article, observes:- "Our contemporary need not ridicule ~~ti~~ either Mr. Muhammad Ali or Mr. Gandhi or any of the Indian Patriots One Crore of rupees is a flea-bite. If the women of India are approached, they will give away their jewels and Mr. Muhammad Ali can given more than 10 crores of rupees. SWARAJ is already attained. It is barely three months since Gandhi and his men took part in the tug of war and we already see the first instalments of SWARAJ in the form of reforms. As we go on showing our fitness for complete SWARAJ, we will have them, whether our contemporary is for it or not."

60. The MANORAMA, of the 21st December, considers it a perverted policy that selections to the ministry were

The Reformed Government.

confined to a very small minority which really does

not represent the bulk of the non-Brahman majority in the Legislative Council, and really important and deserving men among the non-Brahmans have been totally ignored in the selection. It reiterates its strong <sup>C</sup>ondemnation of the excessive increase of expenditure consequent on the increase in the number of Members of Council and Ministers. It writes:- The Burden of proving how administrative affairs have increased in volume and complexity sufficiently to justify the appointment of several persons to manage the work hitherto done by three rests on the authors of this arrangement. While want of funds is advanced as an argument against the carrying out of many things most urgently required and economy is preached, this unnecessary creation of so many big appointments involving the absolute waste of several lakhs of rupees cannot at all be supposed to be intended for the benefit of the people.



Is it that there is no one to question about these things? The people should join together and protest against this waste of public money which is contrary to professions and unnecessary." The paper further proceeds to prove by a comparison of the pay of Members of Council and of Ministers with that of Ministers ~~and~~ in England, America and Japan, that the pay given to Members and Ministers in India is far too excessive and pleads for reduction of this and for improving the condition of the low paid services.

62. Adverting to one of Mr. Churchill's speeches accusing Extremists in India of 'Sedition', an article in the

Are Extremists sedition  
mongers?

KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 27th  
December, observes:- "Ground-

less and false statements made by responsible authorities may imperil a nation or a country. At a time when England was defenceless, the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, looked to Indians and made before God Certain promises to them which they believed. What disgrace, anxiety and loss of power, Indians had to suffer in consequence of having believed the Prime Minister's words is not known to that impartial Minister and his colleagues. There is nothing surprising in this. The <sup>9</sup>reward which Indians have reaped for sacrificing their wealth and life for saving <sup>t</sup>the British was only the disruption of the Muslim Empire, the Punjab-man-hunt, the Rowlatt Bill and the Defence Act. And these clearly manifest the helplessness and destitution of Indians, the autocracy and misdeeds of the bureaucrats and their greed for subjugation of territory and for enslavement of <sup>o</sup>orientals." The patriots that are giving up themselves in the cause of gaining the salvation of their country, freedom from the chains of thralldom and attainment of self-government are the "ationalists who are styled 'Extremists' and these are the people who are now designated 'seditionists'!" "India is awake and no one can lull her to sleep again. Indians have seen the treachery of the westerners especially of the English authorities." Are the people who throw away

their lives to free their country from the ever-tightening chains, seditionists? or those like Lord Curzon, Sydenham and Churchill .. . . who betray India~~and~~ and bring disaster to themselves and to the Royal House? .. . . "Let the greed of westerners break the eastern countries to pieces! Let them subjugate them! Spoil and devour! Let eastern nations be burnt to ashes! They will soon come out of these afflictions. Then the poisonous greed of the Westerners will spell their own ruin. That day is at hand. . . . May success attend the Extremists!"

66. The QAUMI REPORT, in its three issues of the 27th, 28th and 29th December, has an article by the sub-editor in favour of non-cooperation, which the writer supports by quoting several authorities from religious books.

The writer refers to the treatment meted out in the past to Muhammadans by Christians in Spain, France, Germany, Austria and Greece, and to the present attitude of expelling Muhammadans from Arabian Peninsula (including Irak), their hereditary land, and remarks that if the people of Europe should even now desire to re-establish their relations with us by the fulfilment of their promises, we are ready to establish our connexion with them. We do not ~~mean~~ mean by non-co-operation to do any harm to Government, but we wish simply to express dissatisfaction at the Breaking of pledges.

67. The JARIDAH-I-ROZGAR, of the 30th December, commenting on the speech of the Maharaja of Bikanir made on the occasion

of his proposing His Excellency  
Ultimately Muhammadans are found to be fault. the Viceroy's health that the  
Muhammadans of India cannot, by taking extreme steps, reach their goal, remarks that it is highly regrettable to find the enlightened ruler of Bikanir, instead of reviewing the procedure of Mr. Gandhi, should hold Muhammadans responsible for all the fraud and connungness of that gentleman. If the Maharaja had criticised Mr. Gandhi's new method



and the conduct of some foolish Muhammadans who have yielded to him, we should have had no right to question him, but it is regrettable to find that the Maharaja did not utter a word against Mr. Gandhi, but simply advised unfortunate ~~xx~~ Muhammadans.

In conclusion, the writer observes that it is not unknown either to the world or the Viceroy that Mr. Gandhi is the originator of this non-co-operation movement, and only some Muhammadans have been hired by Hindus in order to protect their interest by non-co-operation, and advises Muhammadans not to destroy their community by making friendship and creating concord with so-called Hindu Friends.

For the week ending 15th January 1921.

No.3, of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. JANMABHUMI, for the week ending 16th December, writes:- "We will not agree to co-operate with this Government so long as it is constituted on The Indian National Congress. on its present lines. Nor is it the purpose of the Nagpur Congress to take the initiative in formulating our demands and fixing our terms of compromise. India is the aggrieved party. India is wounded. India is bleeding. India's sore is festering. It is England that must repair the wrong. Let England propose her terms, let England sue for peace, let England call for an armistice. Then shall our plenipotentiaries meet in Delhi or Nagpur and pronounce India's verdict. Until then let there be no talk of compromise. We shall go our own way. We shall not injure, we shall not abuse, we shall touch the vital spot. We know where it is. We repudiate all ominous prediction,

that we are out for 'slaughter, anarchy and bloodshed,' we repudiate them indignantly. If England nevertheless apprehends them, at rests with England, it is open to England, to stop all this in a moment. Let India have her right of self determination and all strife will cease. All discord shall be hushed in peace and all/ non-co-operation shall yield place to co-operation.

"What then are our terms of co-operation? We have repeatedly stated that we do not want a date for SWARAJ..... What we want is SWARAJ itself. We want it now; we want it <sup>at</sup> at this moment. . . . . The next is full control over our strif ~~sariffs~~ and trade policy.. . . . Then, too, our arms must be restored to us as to all civilized men, each in his native land. We ~~are~~ are not thieves in our own country. We dare not endure the ~~bad~~ badge of servitude and slavery a moment longer. The Central Government sho-ld be rehabilitated on a popular basis . . . . . We undertake to recognize the investments of British capitalists in India or give~~x~~ them the alternative of buying up their concerns for the nation. They can choose their own arbitrators when the award is to be prepared. We shall protect our own frontiers and coast line~~s~~. England has not protected us in the war. We had protected England on the contrary in September 1914. Who dares to gainsay this statement? We challenge the civilized world to disprove our claim. We who won the war for one body of whites against another, we who rescued England from an ignominious defeat and annihilation, we, the inheritors of a civilization and a culture hoary with age and hallowed by time know our business and our duty. We know whence we are ~~and~~ and whither we go. Let not England be unduly solicitous about guarding our shores and our frontiers. She may well leave the tasks to ~~native~~ native swords and native hands.' Finally we al call upon England to render account for the moneys carried away from India from the time of Jehangir. The profits of trade we do not covet, but the forced exactions of Hastings ~~and~~ and ~~which~~ Clive we claim. We claim too the crores of wealth



drained from year to year which were not the just dues of investments made in this country. And we claim the immediate return to us of the gates of Somnath, the elephant of Bajji Rao, the peacock throne wherever it may lie, the Kohinoor, the marbles of Amravati, our frescoes and paintings, our sculptures and statues, our inscriptions plates and parchments, our manuscripts and records, our art treasures, our muslins and our state Jewellery. That way lies the route to co-operation and no other."

21 The HINDU, of the 8th January, writes:- "His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught is arriving in Madras on Monday next. It is scarcely necessary to remind our

The Duke's Visit.

readers that the Indian National Congress has passed a unanimous

resolution asking the people not to participate in the functions and festivities arranged by the Government in connection with the visit of the Duke. We need not remind our Madras friends', says YOUNG INDIA of the 5th instant, of the Nagpur Congress resolution which must be so fresh in their mind. We hope they will be able to keep before His Royal Highness a true perspective of the state of affairs in the country by their silent but unmistakable protest that these Councils do not represent the electorate meaning thereby the Majority thereof and to impress upon the Duke the fact which he might carry to His Majesty that India will be satisfied with, and is determined to have, nothing short of full SWARAJ and a complete retrival of the Khilafat.' Mahatma Gandhi has pointed out that the reason for boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales when the same was under contemplation and for boycotting the present visit of the Duke of Connaught was that the Ministers of England intended to use these Royal personages as agents for carrying out a policy and for creating an impression in the public mind very detrimental to the true interests of the people of India. It was a true political instinct which inspired Mr. Gandhi to advocate this course."

The HINDU, of the 11th January, has the following:-

"Public opinion in this country, as focussed in the great national assemblies, the National Congress and the Muslim League, is decidedly of the opinion that the Reform Act ushers in no era of progress. That was also the sentiment expressed in the resolution passed at yesterday's <sup>7</sup>master meeting at beach . . . . . The boycott of the functions connected with the Duke's visits is thus a patriotic action which those who accept the Congress view of the Reforms cannot but carry out. It is a patriotic duty imposed upon the Indian public as a whole, and not the public of Madras merely, upon all those, that is to say, who feel that the Reform Act does not usher in a political millenium i-n this country . . . . . To those who think that the inauguration of the Legislative Councils and other functions connected with His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaughts's visit are essentially national functions recognising that India has won her right to an equal status in the Common weal<sup>t</sup>h, and is entering the New Era of Freedom by means of the Reforms Act, the boycotting of the bureaucratic reception of His Royal Highness must indeed seem bad manners. We, however, do not think with NEW INDIA either that it is necessary for us to WIN an equal status in the Common wealth or that we are through the new councils, entering any new 'Era of Freedom'. ~~by means of the Reform Act, the boycotting of, the bureaucratic reception of His Royal Highness must indeed seem bad manners.~~) Nor can we recognise a code of manners which seek to compel a nation into accepting a position of dependence and subordination through the abuse by the ruling bureaucracy of the personal meral authority of the sovereign or of the Royal Family. We have nothing but loyal respect for the person of His Royal Highness and for the Royal Family. We fully recognise the contitutional maxim that 'the King can do no wrong' and its consequences; but we cannot at the same time forget, that, as a nation aspiring for constitutional freedom



we ought not to allow our being tricked into acquiescent dependence by the bureaucracy's abuse of the sovereign's moral authority. . . . . ~~They do~~ Those who still talk of insult talk with their tongue in their cheek. They do not understand the significance of this visit. As the TIMES OF India says: 'This is no visit of ceremony. This is no visit of education, such as were for instance the tours of King Edward as Prince of Wales, and of His Majesty King George a few years before he ascended the throne. It is a visit ~~nearl~~<sup>C</sup> definitely and deliberately designed to associate the Royal House of England with the constitutional progress of this country. ' As yet we have had no indication of His Royal Highness' bringing for us any substantial reforms. If he had any pronouncements to make it ought to have been made on the occasion of landing. As His Royal Highness observed in his gracious speech breathing sympathy, he is working under limitations; and he has been able to hold out nothing substantial to us. As will be noticed from the cable we publish from our special correspondent in London, we are still 'remained' ~~as~~ / of the fact 'that' the British came to India as conquerors, remained as ~~Sabihs~~<sup>Sabirs</sup> and cannot abide as servants.' That, unfortunately is the message of Britain to India; His Royal Highness cannot, by his constitutional position veto the intentions of the nation; and till this bellicose and <sup>U</sup> independent mentality in Britain is replaced by that of friendly helpfulness on a basis of full equality, there can be no rapproachment between Britain and India."

NEW INDIA, of the 11th January, writes:- "All the frantic efforts of the Madras non-co-operators have ended in a ludicrous failure, and the messenger of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor has received from the City of Madras a welcome as spontaneous as it was warm; the streets through which he passed were packed with crowds of people, who when they were released from the sides of the roads, after he had passed, swarmed over the whole space, and compelled cars and

carriages to go at a foot pace. . . . The Duke looked stately in his white Commander's uniform and blue slash of the Garter; he resembles his brother King Edward, and shares his dignity of port. His speech was full of kindly phrases, conveying his well-known affection for India, and he gave sound and sane advice to Indians as he pointed out that 'through the clouds a bright dawn of promise is breaking over this land, and if patriotism and true sanity guide your leaders, nothing can debar India from her high destiny . . . He did not how ever, say anything about the change of policy we are longing to hear from his lips. When the Prince of Wales was expected, it was understood that, by the sinful action of a satanic Government, when he landed at Bombay, his first words should be the promise to strike from India's limbs the fetters imposed on her by 'emergency' legislation. That peace-bringing healing message was stopped by the proclamation to boycott the Prince, and the holy action of our mahatmic saint bound those fetters still upon her limbs. Perhaps the Duke may have brought some such message, but it is being reserved for some other occasion. Let us, at least, hope so. " "

4. The HINDU, of the 12th January, writes:-

"MEANING OF THE FUNCTION."

"His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught opened the Madras Legislative Council ~~this morning~~ and set the machinery of the modified Minto-Morley Reforms in operation. The proceedings are as reported appear bald, and do not betoken the heralding of an epoch of momentous national importance. It is necessary for us clearly to gauge the exact significance of this function. Whatever else it may <sup>mean</sup> ~~mean~~, it does not mark a title of advance upon the absurd state of things brought about by the Reform Act as finally ~~sq~~ whittled down to shape by the reactionary rules thereunder. If anything, it constitutes the coping stone to the reactionary



structure structure rared by the rules. It emphasises the fact that the Reform Act is only a test, NOT as to the fitness of India for self-government, but as to her fitness to obtain self-government by an indefinite series of stages. The people of India are to be in political swaddling-clothes and in political tutelage. There need be no mistake on this point."

# VERNACULAR PAPERS.

## I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

5. Reproducing in Tamil an extrace from the NATAL ~~MERCURY~~ <sup>MERCURY</sup> pointing out that it is the 'burden of the whites'

Indians in South Africa%. there to preserve South Africa as a trust and hand it over to their descendants and stating that no help should be rendered to the Asiatics, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 7th January ~~observes~~ <sup>observes</sup> writes:- What is really surprising to us is that it is often proclaimed that, in every country inhabited by the human race, a certain burden always falls on the shoulders of the white people. They have no reason to complain of nay any other burden than that of the wealth exploited by them, in foreign countries. These are least qualified to civilize the dark races. It is of course iniquitous on the part of Europeans in South Africa to work the Indians day and night and make a ming of money through them and then try to oust them from there after their work is finished.

(k) General.

9. Remarking that all is well that ends well, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 3rd January, observes:- It was obvious

The Nagpur Congress. that a majority of the delegates were ready to carry any

resolution proposed by Mr. Gaddhi at the Congress. However, as a result of the experience of the past few months, Mr. Gaddhi managed to effect a reconciliation among the <sup>na</sup>ationalists and carried the resolutions on non-co-operation and the re-constitution of the Congress in such a way as to secure

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Harmony in the Congress. The text of the resolution on the ideal of the Congress as finally approved satisfied those who want to acquire SWARAJ for India as a member of the British Empire as also those who wish to seek it independently of the Empire in the course of time. The question whether India should continue to be a part of the Empire or not depends only on the British Public. If Britain likes, she can see separation from her. SWARAJ is our goal, and it is all the more satisfactory if that can be had within the Empire. But if that cannot be so had, it will be like wishing for gold fetters, if for the purpose of continuing under the Empire, SWARAJ is not to be sought. Then in regard to the resolution on non-co-operation as the preamble required that the country should be prepared to resort to practical non-co-operation at a time when the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee decide to do so, and as Mr. Gandhi and the Congress are agreed as to the necessity of preparing the country for the same in the meantime, there is little doubt that propaganda work in this connexion will be carried on very actively hereafter. The resolution in general urges all people to make all possible sacrifice for the speedy establishment of Swaraj in this country. It is certain that no nationalist will oppose or neglect this resolution. Every one is, therefore, bound to resort to propaganda work in accordance with this resolution and pave the way for the adoption of complete non-co-operation as early as possible.

Remarking that this session of the Congress terminated with great eclat, to the disappointment of the bureaucrats, to the astonishment of the moderates and to the joy of the nationalists, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 4th January, observes:—(A foundation for the real progress of India has been laid in this session of the Congress with such co-operation among the people that it is impossible to be shaken



hereafter.) We thank the bureaucrats also in this connexion as they are primarily responsible for the speedy step thus taken by the Congress. But for their cruel actions, such an active spirit, union and sacrifice would not have resulted among the Indians. A comparison of the speeches and resolutions of the Congress and those of the National Liberal Federation will clearly manifest the independent spirit of the former and the slavish spirit of the latter. All spoke and acted alike heroes at the Congress and it is hoped that they will continue to act like heroes hereafter. Every patriot is bound to abide by the directions of the Congress of Nagpur, and in doing so many obstacles may have to be got over and the displeasure of many may have to be incurred. But those bent on the acquisition of SWARAJ should not mind them. This is the opportunity for the Indians to evince their sacrificing nature.

Remarking that even those who came to Nagpur with the object of opposing the resolution on Non-co-operation became the chief supporters thereof, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 6th January observes:- SWARAJ can be had only if people of all grades and professions without a single exception are prepared to make sacrifices. The resolution more important than that on non-co-operation is the one on the reconstitution of the Congress. The whole creed of the Congress has become antique. Our people have decided at the Calcutta session that SWARAJ should be our goal and have hoisted the flag of non-co-operation to reach it. So a change in the creed of the Congress has become inevitable. We have always been pointing out that SWARAJ can be obtained only through the Congress which alone should be the future political assembly of our land. The resolution of the Congress is not that we should obtain SWARAJ at a distant date. Mr. Gandhi has given the assurance that we can acquire it within the next nine months. Every Indian should do his best for securing it within this period, overcoming all hardships

and obstacles and unmindful of all consequences.

The NAVASAKTI, of the 31st December, expresses its disapproval of many of the observations made by the President in his address and remarking that it is unsuited to the present times, observes:- ~~Our~~ Achariyar ought to have been the President of the tenth or the twelfth session and he has sung the same chorus now. He wishes to secure the type of democracy obtaining in Britain and the colonies. It is surprising that he fears even to utter the word SWARAJ and his reasons therefor are quite in the manner of those of the moderates. Firstly, he says that it will be misconstrued and might thereby cause fear to England. It is no good patriotism to fear to use a vernacular word in order to please England. The great MANTRAM OF VANDEMATARAM also raised such fear in the minds of some Englishmen in the beginning but this was subsequently dispelled. It is no wisdom to sell our conscience for the reason that others may be frightened.

The DESABHIMANI, of the 19th December, says in the course of an article under this heading:- Political agitation has passed from the hands of the English Educated who are selfish and proud, to the ryots, traders and artizans. This augurs good . . . . The ANDHRA country did its duty in the elections. There can be no doubt that if there had been more propagandists and more opportunities, the ANDHRA country would have distinguished itself in a larger measure . . . . Whoever be the Ministers, they cannot be deemed to be the people's representatives, but will certainly be regarded as persons who scorn the opinion of the majority of the people. The people will not be responsible for any laws that the Ministers may make,

Contrasting the lines on which the old congressmen worked with those adopted by the present day nationalists,

The Nagpur Indian National Congress, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 7th January observes, in its



leader under this heading:- ... .. (.. The Nagpur Congress has planted the banner of Indian Nationalism by adopting the spirit of the independence which it has been striving to attain for the last 35 years.) Messrs. (Hume, Wedderburn and Cotton attempted to be better the unfortunate condition of Indian nation but they did not strive to obtain a declaration of birth-rights for the Indians. Their attention was turned towards appointments, expenditure, Legislative Councils and the Like. They tried only to reform the well-established British administration in this country.) It was not their intention to bring down the prestige of the bureaucracy or to loosen the tie of Imperial connexion. All the parties in India, these 30 years, were only following those methods. Titles and high appointments were sought after by the various Presidents of the Congress ... .. The same policy has been observed in the method of the introduction of the reforms. Those who supported the reforms have been able to get the posts of Ministers. For a long time, the national mind was subjected to this infatuation which proved a stumbling block in the way of a declaration of the national birth-rights. (Men like Mr. Tilak who preached that SWARAJ was their birth-right had to go to jail. ... .. Mr. Gandhi removed this doubt in the Nagpur Congress, opened the heart of the Indian nation to the world and firmly planted the banner of SWARAJ. The Nagpur Congress has marked a new era in the history of the Indian Nationalism. The ideas of ~~the~~ this new age have been budding ever since the last meeting of the Congress. They became only full blown in the Nagpur Congress ... .. The people have heartily accepted the ideal of SWARAJ and the non-co-operation movement with one voice. The words expressed by a foreigner like Mr. Ben Spoor On this occasion bear testimony to this Fact. ... .. The nationalists give prominence to self-help in the matter of the attainment of SWARAJ, while the moderates lay stress upon the help of the English ... .. The National mind manifested itself in words of love and not

hymn of hate in the Congress meeting. The Punjab massacres, the Rowlatt Act, etc., have shaken the entire confidence of the people. Though it is very easy to convert this feeling of distrust in one of hate, it is not in the nature of the Indian Indians to do so. Mr. Gandhi knows this and is therefore preaching the vow of sacrifice. The movement of non-co-operation is based on love and sacrifice. Non-violence is the chief characteristic of the movement. The Nagpur Congress has clearly proclaimed that non-co-operation is necessary for the attainment of SWARAJ. If the Indians work for the ~~Satya~~ sacrifice begun by Mr. Gandhi, they can obtain SWARAJ by means of Love. The movement of non-co-operation will also bring about the prosperity of the world. The Problem of the Indian Swaraj will be solved in the stage of negotiations (UDYOGA PARVA) without there being a necessity for BHISHMA PARVA (i.e., War).

Speaking about the way to attain SWARAJ the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 8th January, writes in its leader:- The Nagpur Congress has laid it down that all the people should by observance of DHARMA establish SWARAJ. When the whole work is impressed by the sacred determination of Mr. Gandhi, there cannot be anything which will not be possible to attain by the 33 crores of the Indians. First of all, the Indians should shake off the glamour for the west. This can be secured by self-help and not by depending upon or hating others. The destructive state of things brought about by a contact with the west will be rectified by the Indian nation observing the DHARMA of self-help. The statement that this DHARMA of self-help will lead to destruction and hatred is untrue. It only develop one's own powers. If the 33 crores of Indians adopt this DHARMA of self-help there is nothing that they cannot achieve. It is this DHARMA that has taken the form of non-co-operation.



*Nagpur Congress*

Though it may bring the machinery of the Government to a stand-still, it will make the national life more active. (All the people have to sacrifice their lives, honour and money for the attainment of SWARAJ. The merchants, the lawyers, the students and the officials have all to leave off their respective occupations and must take to work which best suits them. . . . . It is well known that the employment of physical force is not desirable. Mr. Gandhi has preached not only to India but also to the whole world that, even when it can be conveniently applied, it should not be employed.) Experience has taught us that the application of physical force for realizing one's ~~desires~~ desires is more easy than that of the force of DHARMA (righteousness) For employing physical force it may suffice to train one lakh of men, while the whole nation will have to be trained for employing the force of DHARMA. The Indian nation as a whole must strive to extent this non-co-operation movement characterised by righteousness throughout the country.]

10. Adverting to the observation said to have been made by Doctor Ansari in his presidential address at the Conference of this league recently held at Nagpur, that the Allies have caused the ruin of Turkey and have thereby given rise to a movement, powerful to disturb the peace of the world, which is likely to bring all the Mussalmans in the world under one common control, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 31st December, observes:- The President has proved by means of the KORAN that Mussalmans (in the world under one common control, the-) are not ~~bound~~ bound to abide the orders of the Government that have done injury to their religious head, the Sultan of Turkey. Then he points out that all the Muslims are bound by their religion to resort to non-co-operation. Future historians will not show Mr. Lloyd George, who has created such an excitement in the minds of the Indian Muslims who, out of thorough loyalty to the British throne, even hesitated to

co-operate with the rest of the Indians for the progress of the country, is mainly responsible for the foundation of the British Government but all the Allies together were the cause of Turkey's dismemberment, yet the work of the Khilafat Deputation in Europe will prove that, had the British Government liked, Turkey would have certainly got justice. As a result of the dismemberment of Turkey, France was a little benefited while Italy was not. Greece obtained a vast territory as a reward and England by means of the charter obtained power over an extensive area. So it was only England that was benefited much by this. The President has, in unmistakable terms, pointed out how unnatural it is to expect the Indian Muslims to be loyal to the British Government who out of greed for land and gold, have reduced their religious head to the position of a prisoner. He has also referred to the indifference of the authorities in regard to the Punjab incidents which has aggravated the situation and made out that resort to non-co-operation is the only course open to the Indians under the circumstances. The Congress has resolved on the steps to be taken to make the non-co-operation movement successful. Mr. Lloyd George's declaration, that the Turkish peace terms cannot be altered even in consideration of the present situation in Greece, has only given additional force to the movement. We hope the aspirations of the Muslims and those of the other Indians will soon be fulfilled.

11. Remarking that the British Press is incapable of realising correctly the present situation in India, the DESA-BHAKTAN, of the 31st December, observes:- The Western papers write long leaders relying on the mistaken information furnished by some of the Andlo-Indians from here. Generally, it is impossible for a foreigner to gauge correctly the public ~~making~~ feeling ~~in a country~~. While so, how can the Western newspapers ascertain the situation in India from a distance of about 6,000 miles? The DAILY TELEGRAPH states that Mr. Gandhi



and his party are trying to set up the illiterate people seeing that the non-co-operation movement has failed to attract the educated classes. We do not exactly understand the correct significance of this statement. The resolution on non-co-operation was carried in the Calcutta Congress. Does this paper consider this <sup>body</sup> to be one comprised <sup>is</sup> of illiterate persons ? Is it the opinion of this paper that the supporters of this movement are illiterate persons and that the educated <sup>class</sup> persons are its opponents? If so, it is needless for us to say what value ~~to~~ will be attached to the views of this paper by wise men. This paper also states that the Government of India are not acting according to the exigencies of the times and that Gandhi and his party are carrying on a propaganda work likely to breed sedition should the Government of India act in accordance with the opinion of this paper, they will be only strengthening the non-co-operation movement. The western paper think that at such a <sup>crisis</sup> another Jallianwallah might be created and a fright caused in the minds of the people. Had these papers known that the Jallianwallah massacre has endowed the Indians with a new spirit and force, they would not have come forward with suggestions. It is but ignorance on the part of these papers to think that Dyer's heroism in the Jallianwallah Bagh has created a terror in the minds of the Indians. Should the Government of India act according to the views of the news papers in England or those of the Anglo-Indian papers in India, we cannot say what the consequence is likely to be. Do the Government of India wish to act in that manner?

12. Reproducing the words of Professor Vasvani to the

Last Warning. effect that the Indians have taken a vow to cut off the

bonds of India, that their past sufferings will endow the Indian community itself with a mighty force and that they will attain a thing unachievable by the mightiest of forces, viz., liberty which is the right of their motherland the DESABHAKT

of the 1st January, observes:- With these<sup>^</sup> very words we wish to give a last note of warning to the British Government. The Congress has unanimously passed Mr. Gandhi's resolution on non-co-operation. What is the Government of Mr. Lloyd George going to do hereafter? The Indians have decided ~~not~~ to keep mother Bharata in her present condition but to give her an eminent position in the eyes of the world. Indian brethren are bent upon following the principles of acquiring SWARAJ in spite of all obstacles. They are sure to obtain it. If India is to be retained within the Empire, the British Government themselves should act suitably in the matter at present. They are bound to grant equal status to India in view to ~~tax~~ their own interests. The British are not staying in this country in the interests of the latter. Nor is there any need for such a stay. If Britain that should be without India's friendship and help even for a day, it is only Britain that will suffer and not India. For many a year India existed without British protection and can afford to be so even hereafter. Even before the history of England was written, when her people were wandering in the forests like beasts, India not only possessed liberty, but also an organised form of Government, <sup>n</sup>refined civilization and good culture. But, about her present condition, nothing need be said. The Indians have decided to be rid of their bonds. If the British wish to continue the friendship of *the* — and treat them as their equals, they should put an end to their old ways and views at once. They should look upon the Indians with a new feeling and in a new spirit. The British have turned a deaf ear all these years to such a request. It is <sup>this</sup> that has brought about the present situation in India, Even now it is not too late. The British Government have yet time to act in a statesman-like manner. They can count upon the friendship of the Indians for ever, if they admit their past misdeeds and refrain from wounding the feelings



of the people further. If not, they cannot expect the existing relationship with India to continue for ever. The British Government can put down this non-co-operation movement in no time by granting SWARAJ to India. If, ~~one~~ on the other hand, they take to other ways, we openly declare that the present relationship between India and England will be severed. O. Mr. Lloyd George! Lord Chelmsford! What are you going to do? It rests with you ~~with~~ <sup>it</sup> to add lustre to the British History or to flood ~~it~~ with woeful incidents. Which do you prefer to do? Do not sully the history of England that afforded refuge to Garribaldi and Mazzini. If you keep the relationship between India and England intact, then you your names will be imprinted well on the pages of history.

13. Remarking that, though both the President and the Chairman, Reception Committee, Plainly admit that the British have acted in such a manner as to make the Indians lose confidence in them, they have not suggested any manly remedies for the ~~same~~ ~~the~~ same, and that the Chairman, Reception Committee, ~~opines~~ opines that the goal can eventually be reached by working the ~~Ra~~ Reforms Act, the SWADESAMITRAN? of the 30th December, observes: Had he at least approximately indicated the probable time within which the goal can be reached, it would have afforded some consolation to those yearning for SWARAJ. He says that, as the preamble of the Act states that the object of the British Government is to establish a responsible form of Government in India, the latter is sure to come about. If 200 years later, a question is to be raised why responsible government has not yet been introduced, can this Act prevent the reply being given to the effect that it will be introduced in due course? Mr. Ayyar consoles us by saying that, as an initial step, a substantial instalment of reforms has been granted to us. This is not the time to discuss whether this instalment is a substantial one or whether it is but a shadow. Does not this Act empower the British

Government to whittle down even this substantial instalment ten years later? While the Chairman is of opinion that the reforms will eventually help us to reach our goal, the President says, that, if the recommendations of the Esher Committee are ~~gi~~ given effect to, the proposal to establish responsible Government in India will have to be given up. While the Chairman is gloating over the reforms as the dawn of sunrise, the President deplors that a planet likely to devour even the existing light has arisen. If, under such circumstances, the Government should, of their own accord, redress the grievances of the people as suggested by Mr. Chintamani, it will indeed be fortunate. But is Mr. Chintamani himself confident that they will do so? He has failed to suggest the steps to be taken by the people for compelling the Government to do so in case they fail. Can the feather of the peacock be had for the mere asking for it?

14. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 4th January, writes:-

The British and the Indians. It is not known what kind of patience the British are

going to exhibit in the case of the Indians who have definitely resolved on acquiring SWARAJ that will free them from all their grievances. They are but day dreamers if they think of putting down by repressive measures the foremost aspiration of the thirty-three crores of people and keeping them under subjection for ever. Their repressive policy, will, not be of any avail in this country hereafter. So they should maintain patience as they have done in other cases where they could not act otherwise, and of their own accord grant liberty to India. The people of this country have resolved to regain within the space of one year the liberty ~~as~~ they have lost. There is neither room nor time for the British Government to get provoked. They have now an opportunity to do the right thing honourably. But will the British statesmen act discreetly? It is only history that should say whether they are going to ~~manifest~~ manifest the greatness or the exptiness of their statesmanship.



15. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th January, reproduces in Tamil an article contributed by Professor Rajanikanta Dos of the University of New York The Factories Act in India. to the MODERN REVIEW OF Calcutta on the agitation of the Manchester merchants which led to the introduction of the Factories Act in India, and observes:- at a time when the labour trouble and the Factories Act, which are then indicators of the low nature of western civilization, did not find place in India, the Indians were enjoying better and per- happier days than at present. It is necessary to learn how the British shop-keepers and trade associations contrived in the beginning to crush the cotton industry in India and introduce the Factories Act here. These are suffering sufficient to indicate what interest the Parliament and the British merchants are capable of evincing towards the welfare of this country.

16. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th January writes:- Non-co-operation has like a great MANTRA, spread all over the country. Even Sir Valentine Chirol, who is not in sympathy with the aspirations of the The aim of non-co-operation. Indians, is obliged to admit that the movement has spread throughout the country and has become a great force. We are sure that, if he should stay in India for a few months more, he would say that there is no good combating with this movement, that it is invincible and that the English people should yield to it and stand aloof following allowing the Indians to have SWARAJ. Even the TIMES OF INDIA an Anglo-Indian paper, has warned the bureaucrats in this connexion and this only indicates that the strength of this movement. Every Indian is bound to ~~appra~~ practice the principles underlying this movement, properly and see that the goal is reached. If the suggestion of the TIMES OF INDIA finds favour with the Government of India, they should not think of duping the Indians by granting some temporary relief. Whethery they are prepared to grant the proper remedy of

SWARAJ or not, the Indians are sure to have it. As it is a long time since the present bureaucracy in India became unfit to govern the country and as several of them conduct the administration like mad men without realising that the Indians too are God's creation, the object of this movement is to render it impossible for them to carry on the administration as usual. In other words the object of ~~making~~ this movement (~~is to render~~) is to make those conducting the administration of India the servants of the Public. These persons, who are exercising absolute sway, patted the Indians themselves as soon as the danger was averted with the help of the latter. The object of the movement is, therefore, to withdraw all help from these ungrateful people in the matter of administration and put an end to the exercise of absolute powers by them. Excepting a few who care for rank and titles, the rest have undoubtedly resolved on doing away with the rule of this bureaucracy at once. The principle of non-co-operation has gained favour with the people. Though opinion may be divided as to its ways, there are only very few that do not accept its aim. But one should be but a beast to wish that the Government should, without being responsible to the people, be conducted by autocrats powerful to thrash or kick the people at will. It has become ~~quite~~ patent that such people are not many in number in this vast country. There is no doubt that all wish for Liberty. Our object is only to do away with the system of administration whereby the bureaucrats wield autocratic powers, and we are not concerned with ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> abolition of the institutions conducted by them.. For example, the boycott of posts and telegraphs maintained by the bureaucracy should be resorted to only if ~~they~~ by we can paralyse the bureaucratic Government but not simply because they are maintained by the bureaucracy. Paralyzing the bureaucracy is possible only if all the people are prepared to co-operate. We therefore request that all would co-operate and see that the aim of the Congress is realised.



17. Referring to the observation of a Christian Missionary made during a service conducted in a church at Lucknow on the occasion of Sir Harcourt Butler's elevation to the Governor ship, that it is not easy for an ordinary European to treat the 'Blacks' as his equals either in social matters or in point of culture and to work under <sup>an</sup> Indian Officer, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 5th January, observes:- We do not know if J esus Christ has anywhere ordained that the whites should think low of the blacks. If whites cannot treat the blacks as their equals, why~~t~~ should the Indians alone deem the whites~~xxxxxx~~ to be their <sup>e</sup>quals?~~either in~~ Where is it said that the White-skin is superior to the black one? It is the feeling in the whites that they <sup>e</sup>belong to the ruling race that induces them to make such statements. Such <sup>a</sup> men words will only widen the difference existing between the two communities. What does Lord Chelmsford, who was frequently advocating harmony between Indians and Europeans, think of such words? Does he think that such words will strentthen this harmony?

Adverting to the same observation, the SWADESA-MITRAN, of the 5th January, writes:- We all know the teachings and tenets of Lord Jesus Christ; but we are not aware of his having ordained that the whites are for governing the whole world and the blacks for serving them as slaves. Nor have we heard of his enunciated, as a proper policy, one class lording over another by \virtue of its military strength and racial affinity. Under such c<sup>o</sup>ncumstances we consider it to be incumbent on the followers of ~~this~~ great ~~saint~~ saint to condemn those that Act in direct contravention to his teachings. Whoever compels a person with racial arrogance to live in the midst of people who are not his equals? If it is not easy to work under an Indian, the best thing is to go back. It is indeed surprising tha many are still ignorant of this. The time is long past in this country

when one class was for lording over and another for being lorded over. The proceedings of the Nagpur Congress serve as a warning for this.

19. Referring to the resolution on the marginally-noted subject passed at the Nagpur Congress, the SWADESA-

The reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught.

MITRAN, of the 5th January,

observes:- The publication

are bound to act up to this resolution. India is not at all displeased with the Duke. So the boycott of the Duke is proposed only in pursuance of a principle and not on personal grounds. In fact we have every reason to manifest our love for him. We, who are known for our loyalty, love him dearly because he is the son of our Beloved Queen Victoria and the uncle of Emperor George. Further, as he is coming here, in spite of his age, to perform a duty which, as he has been led to believe by the Ministers, will prove beneficial to India, we have no reason to get annoyed with him. However, we cannot but boycott all things connected with his visit. He comes to open the Legislative Councils formed under the Reforms Act passed for granting pseudo SWARAJ to us who asked for real SWARAJ. If we ~~manifest~~ manifest our joy by taking part in the reception of the Duke the world and the Duke may come to the conclusion that the reforms have given satisfaction to us. On the other hand, we are not only not contented but are also highly discontented. We wish to do away with the present bureaucratic system of Government and establish SWARAJ. While this is our desire, if we welcome the Duke and thereby create a wrong impression in his mind, then we are only pretenders. Ours has become the duty of adopting in practice the resolution of the Congress. Mr. Gandhi used to remark often that it is only the people of the Tamil land that excel others in the matters of resorting to Satyagraha vehemently. Would the Tamils prove the truth of this remark. If the Duke comes here of his own



accord, the Indians are bound to receive him as a guest. But he comes in accordance with the wishes of the British Ministers, who are the very persons that declined to redress the Punjab atrocities and allowed Lord Chelmsford, who was quietly witnessing the ill-treatment to which the people were subjected in different ways, to continue as Viceroy ~~of~~ for the full period of five years. Is it not these Ministers that sent Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who afflicted the people of the Punjab, again to India as the President of the Army Commission to the heart-burning of the Indians? What have they done as a mark of respect for your feelings? Why should you go out on that day to see their messenger and welcome him?

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 7th January, also refers to the Congress resolution on the reception of His Royal Highness and a similar resolution passed at a meeting on the Madras Beach on the 5th idem and makes the following observations among others:- It is a fact known to the world that, owing to the resolution of the Calcutta Congress protesting against the reception of the Prince of Wales, the latter's tour was stopped, and the Duke of Connaught has been sent in his place. If the Duke comes here to pay a visit to this country every true India will consider it his duty to show him all possible respect. But the Duke has been sent by the English Ministers at the request of the Bureaucrats to affix a seal to the deception that the Legislative Councils specially granted to us by England are quite appropriate for our rights and privileges. That is why our leaders advise us not to welcome him. If our countrymen care for liberty, they should pay high regard to the suggestion of the leaders and see that the route of the Duke's procession is kept quite empty. If we congregate in the public streets to see the Duke, who has come on the sole mission of gilding and tightening the fatters of Mother BHARATA, do we not become

the meanest people on earth? When mother BHARATA is immersed in grief, if we who are her children should, without relieving her participate in the functions arranged by the bureaucrats with the object of showing to the world that mother BHARATA is not in grief but in mirth, the whole world will taunt us and call us low persons. Therefore, all true children of Bharata should stay in their homes during the procession of the Duke. Even the members of the Legislative Council should be absent from the meetings of the Council on that day, realizing that it is ~~their~~ their duty as well to save the prestige of their community. If the public streets in Madras empty during the time of the procession, the Duke <sup>C</sup>an well understand the real spirit of the people and will, on his return to London, give out that the whole of the Indian race has been converted into one of warriors, that the time ~~is~~ is past for ruling over them hood-winking them with petty amusements and that it is impossible to govern them without granting them equality and real liberty. The honour and prestige of the Madras Presidency rest in the hands of the residents of Madras on the 10th instant. All the people of this Presidency are eagerly inquiring whether these are to be preserved or to be given up. The whole country is watching. We, who are <sup>well</sup> ~~well~~ acquainted with the nature of the people of Madras, proclaim to the world that the honour of our Presidency is safe in their hands and that the Province which was foremost in entrusting India to the whites 150 years ago, is now actuated by a strong feeling of liberty and stands foremost in the attempt to break the fetters that bind the country.

20.        Remarking that, a few weeks prior to his death Mr.

Republican ideals.        ~~Tika~~ Tilak designated his

party as 'the Congress

Republican Party' and issued a prospectus explaining its objects and that, though Mr. Tilak is no more, his views will



live for ever, and inviting the attention of the officials and the people of India to the statement of Mr. Abraham Lincoln of America, that there is no one so good-natured as to be fit to rule over another against the latter's will and that the Government of the white man by the white man is called SWARAJ but, when he begins to rule over another in addition that Government is termed tyranny, the SWADESAMITRAN of the 5th January, observes:- Government conducted by human beings will be righteous if slavery of all kinds is done away with and the people live with mutual love and amity like brethren. The trouble of human beings will then be at <sup>a</sup>an end. Though this doctrine has been reached by many great men up to the time of Mr. Tilak, it has not won complete success anywhere till now. It was Mr. Tilak's wish that this should first succeed in regard to political and other spheres in India and that this country should lead the world in this matter. We, who are Mr. Tilak's countrymen, will spare no pains or sacrifice for the fulfilment of that object.

23. Remarking that the Government communique in regard to this incident only supports the report of the Police, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 16th December, observes:- It is surprising that the Government, who ought to have decided by means of a commission whether there was a necessity for the police to open fire, should have chosen to  
 The Shooting of the labourers  
 of the Buckingham Mills.      lend support to the Police.

Further, the authorities are bound to set right the differences existing between the labourers and the capitalists. However, they are giving room for the people to remark that the Government and the Police are acting as if they favour the Capitalists.

N.C.S.

24. Adverting to the news published in some papers in England that the Duke is to announce during the opening

The visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught.

ceremony of the new Legislative Councils the repeal of the

Rowlatt Act by His Majesty, the

NAVASAKTI, of the 31st December, remarks:- But for the Rowlatt Act the Punjab massacre would not have occurred. The Act has done its work already though not directly. Of what benefit is ~~it~~ it to keep quiet when the people are showing their discontent and to repeal the cruel laws after they caused all kinds of hardships to them? The present excitement in India will in a way be pacified only if His Majesty is pleased to mete out justice to the Khilafat, remove Lord Chelmsford from the post of the Viceroy, punish Dyer and O'Dwyer and suitably deal with the other wretches connected with the Punjab massacre."

Parkes.

25. Remarking that the moderates have formed an association called the Liberal League and are serving the Government with the object of securing titles and high posts, the

The National Liberal Federation.

NAVASAKTI, of the 31st December,

observes:- At a time when

certain self-sacrificing personages have come forward and are sacrificing their all to save the country from the dishonour and slavery into which it has fallen, it is nothing but treachery on the part of the moderates to have differed from the Congress and held a conference of their own. The Progress of our country is being hindered by these moderates.

In this address the President condemns the cruel deeds of the bureaucrats as also the non-co-operation movement. This has no meaning. He admits the existence of excesses in the bureaucratic administration. But what is the good of it? The nationalists recommend non-co-operation, while the moderates suggest constitutional agitation as the means of getting rid of these excesses. ~~Has~~ Has the Punjab wrong been redressed by means of constitutional agitation. No what then is the



good of adopting this method still? That is only why the nationalists have decided to resort to non-co-operation. O Moderates! Title hunters !! Slaves of the bureaucracy!!! What else can Mr. Chintamani who has secured the post of a Minister, do except advocating moderation?

28. Remarking that a direct reply to the question as to the purpose served by the maintenance of an organised Army in India, and efficient army in India, will remove one half of the hardship of this country, the SWADESAMITRAN of the 7th January, observes:- In every country the army exists for the protection of its liberty. But in India it appears that the army exists for something else. This army ravages India like a rutting elephant getting into a sugarcane field. As this devours everything available, funds for providing the necessary efforts to the public become inadequate. The estimate expenditure on account of the army for the current year is 60 crores of rupees while five years ago it was only 30 ~~xxx~~ crores. What is the benefit derived by India from an army maintained at such a high cost? About 100,000 troops are serving in Mesopotamia and other foreign countries. The Indian army should guard the Indians frontiers against foreign invasion and be prepared to quell any rebellion in the country. Are Mesopotamia and Palestine the frontiers of India? The Indian frontier is perhaps extending farther and farther! If the fat English capitalists of the British Empire find lucrative work in Mesopotamia and Palestine, why should it not be accomplished with the help of the forces of their own country? It may be stated by way of explanation that, when the services of Indian troops are utilised beyond India, the charges for maintaining the same are met by the British Government. This is no doubt true in a way. But the charges for maintaining the army when England does not require its services, are met only by India. If a hundred thousand

troops can be spared from India for service elsewhere, it is certain that there is no necessity for such a large army here. Is it incumbent on India to maintain such a big army in view to meet any emergency likely to arise in the case of England and bear its charges all the time its services are not required by England? Hereafter England may often find work in Central Asia. Should India maintain an army big enough to meet all those requirements? As the recommendations of the Esher Committee are such as to deprive the country of the funds required for the provision of facilities for the poor people therein, many apprehend that salvation is not possible for us unless we get out of the limits of the Empire. As, at the time of the appointment of the Esher Committee, the Government did not specify the purpose for which the army is maintained in India, that committee defined it to be the protection of the country against foreign invasion and the maintenance of international peace. The report of the Esher Committee itself is ample testimony to the fact that the object of the British officials is to interfere in international affairs and make use of India in that connexion. As long as they have this object in view, they will only be desirous of keeping India under subjection without liberty, and never agree to establish responsible Government in this country. It is only this that necessitated the Congress to change its creed. The Army intended for the defence of India should be comprised of Indians and led by them, and it should be limited to India's needs. Some used to threaten us by saying that in the absence of British supervision, India will fall a prey to foreign countries. If India obtains Home Rule and is prosperous, it will be more beneficial for the neighbouring countries to befriend her and have transactions with her than to invade her. It is quite possible for India entering into terms with them for mutual help. Further the time is long past for the Europeans being praised as specimens of virtue and the Asiatics as the reverse. The Europeans proclaim that they are the



Army.

procurers of liberty for minor powers. Do the Asiatics then ~~never~~ incessantly invade other countries and enslave the people thereof? The Europeans as well as the Asiatic have the tendency to take advantage of the unwary people. So the <sup>a</sup>harm that may be caused to India by the Asiatics is not more serious than that caused by the Europeans. We cannot therefore accept the view that serious danger will result to India unless a big English army is maintained at a huge cost. But as the Esher Committee has recommended that the army should be so constituted as <sup>to</sup> make it impossible for India to obtain liberty at any time, it is incumbent on us to defeat these recommendations so as to render the acquisition of liberty possible.

29. Criticising the favourable opinion expressed regarding the Reforms by the many of the moderate leaders like Messrs.

The Reforms.

Sastri and C.V. Chintamani, the  
ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 4th

January writes in its leader under this/leading:- The Indian Social Reformer itself states that the hopes of Mr. Chintamani, etc. are futile and observes:- "We are of opinion that radical changes are necessary in the Reform Act and that they must be given effect to immediately. The Jullianwalla Bagh massacres, the sale of Reverse councils Bills, the Esher Committee's report, and the treatment meted out to the Indians in the colonies have all excited the people. The Departments ~~con~~ concerned with these affairs have all be reserved carefully ~~with~~ without the Legislative Councils ~~for~~ the ministers having been given any control over them. To redress the grievances of the people, there is no other way but to take them up for discussion in the Legislative Councils. Such discussion produces no result. The Montford scheme itself regards it as quite ineffectual. The remarks of Mr. Chintamani will lose much of their force if one looks into the words of advice recently circulated to all the Provincial Governors." If any doubt still lingers, the words expressed by the Lord

Bishop of Lucknow on the eve of the establishment of the new Government in the United Provinces, will totally expel it. It appears that India is given to the British as a trust, that the Europeans cannot look upon the Indians with a <sup>s</sup> sense of equality and that the Indian critics unjustly accuse the Europeans officers. . . . . Such are the people who are to train the Indians self-government. One can well see if that is possible. There is no other way for the Indians to preserve their self-respect except by 'boycotting Reforms' and working for the speedy attainment of SWARAJ.

30. Criticising the remarks of Colonel Wedgwood to the effect that the movement of Mr. Gandhi is one against western

civilization and not against  
Difference of opinion. western rule and that it

devotes greater attention to unnecessary matters than for necessary ones, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 5th January, observes in its leader under this heading . . . . . The present civilization is purely based on materialism and not on the attainment of spiritual bliss. At the present time when mankind is swerving from the path of its duty, there is nothing strange in Mr. Gandhi trying to save India from the ~~xx~~ evil flight brought about by the modern civilization. National animosity not finding a place in his movement, it does not very much attack the western rule. Its chief aim is to lead the rulers and the ruled alike in the path of DHARMA. If Colonel Wedgwood understands the truth, he will find that it is a movement directed towards the regeneration of the whole world and as such worthy to be commended by all the nations alike. . . . . Dissolution and reconstruction are both necessary for a country. We must first remove all that stand in our way; as otherwise re-construction is impossible. This is exactly what Gandhi's movement is aiming at. Colonel Wedgwood further says that Mr. Gandhi's movement has no connexion whatsoever with the national movement which is gathering



strength in the West. We can also agree with him in that remark. The problems that have to be solved in a dependent country are different from those of independent countries. ~~Further~~ Further, the movement in India is one of DHARMA; that the West is one of hatred. Brute force guides the struggle there. India will have nothing to do with that, but will gain her end by a spirit of sacrifice. . . . . Colonel Wedgwood has has understood that the movement can be carried on without violence and that no evil but only good will result from it as it is characterised by self-sacrifice. He is also of opinion that the reforms will be successful in Madras. We do not know what he ~~xxx~~ means by it. While 75 per cent of the voters have not given their votes here, how can the members ~~of~~ call themselves the representatives of the people? What purpose can such a council serve? It will not have greater value merely because the Duke of Connaught opens it. It is a mistake to suppose that the people who are demanding speedy self-government will waste their time with such play things. The Indians are prepared to TO REACH THEIR GOAL by adopting the path of DHARMA, truth, Non-violence and sacrifice. DHARMA must eventually succeed.

32. The DESABHIMANI, of the 19th December, says:-  
The moderates are in disfavour both with the Government and the people. The people revile them for having deceived

The Plight of Moderates.

them. The Government consider  
of  
the conduct/the moderates

to be selfish loath them in their minds, treat them as mean animals, and try to prevent them from barking by the grant of small gifts. The position of these moderates so long as they live is very hard. The Government reap no more benefit from them than a penniless man from a prostitute. . . . . When the people treated the reforms lightly, a class of flatterers had to be created to praise the reforms. . . . . The moderates eagerly expected that big appointments will be conferred on them. But ~~they~~ never noted the existence of

persons who say they are unfit for even these reforms. When there are persons calling themselves non-Brahmans, who have vowed to make even these empty reforms futile, why would the Government pay any regard to moderates. . . . . How ridiculous is the position of the moderates! What a disgrace has over taken them ! The people have ~~confined~~ confidence in them. The Government despise them. The time has come when the moderates have to lament with Wolsey that if they had served God with half the devotion they showed to the King. He would not have reduced them to such a wretched plight. Will anybody break the bund of a tank replacing faith in the Clouds?

36. [ In reviewing the Congress Presidential speech, the Desabhimani, of the 2nd January, The Indian National Congress. says:- The Rowlatt Act. the ~~xx~~ Punjab terrors and the Khilafat difficulty are the chief <sup>W</sup> regards for the service we rendered the British in the War. The representations of the Indians in these matters have been rejected ~~xx~~ and the thirty crores of the Indian Population have been regarded as no better than a piece of straw . . . . . Under such circumstances Mr. Gandhi came forward to preach the gospel of non-co-operation. There has now been a greater national awakening than ever before. The speech of the President has been unsatisfactory. He says that we should petition to Mr. Montagu. (The Congress has been submitting such petitions for 34 years in <sup>vain</sup> ~~vain~~. This beggarly policy has brought ruin to the honour of the Indians, and made the Government arbitrary.) The president said that India should not desire complete self- Government. . . . . It is not known how he hopes to gain anything at the hands of the Government who are opposed to the Indians in every way and who do not boycott law courts. Why should he have such fondness for law courts which are injurious to our nationality, which retard our advancement and which are opposed to our sense of justice



sense of ~~justi~~ justice. If the Government (advancement and which are opposed to our ) had any sense of justice, would the suit brought by Mr. Tilak meet with defeat? The President says that boys should not leave their schools. Why should he cherish such love for these factories which curb patriotism, enslave the mind, encourage thralldom, and manufacture tools for the courts and offices of the Government? Is it wrong to take boys out of these filthy abys<sup>s</sup>es. . . . . What ~~may~~ ever may be the opinion of the President, we are gratified that the resolution of non-co-operation has been adopted by the Congress.

39. The HITAKARINI, of the 27th December, says:- Some people support the boycott of schools on the ~~xxx~~ ground that this is meaningless. Under certain circumstances, a Government MAY NOT BE popular and ~~for~~ our Government being foreign, perpetrated evil acts and are not liked by the people. But to say on this score, that we should not touch our money that is coming through them is improper. The educational policy has enslaved us but not the education. It lies with the school authorities to change the policy . . . . It is said that as we are in a state of war the youths must render service to their country. The statement that we are in a state of war the youths must render service to their country. The statement that we are in a state of war is not true.

A corresponsent to the SAMPAD ABHYDAYA, of the 5th January, in the course of an Non-co-operation.

article writes:- India might be getting SWARAJ in 4 or 5 years if not in one year, provided the followes of Gandhi act up to his advice without falling a prey to their passions. Sooner or later all good people are bound to become Mr. Gandhi's followers. Even His Righteous Majesty King George may become a partisan of his. Mr. Stokes apprehends the fate which would befall India, should the British leave India in consequence of non-co-operation. He perhaps fears that the Indians would fight with each

other and die in a body. There need be no such fear at all; 97 per cent of the Indians are righteous by nature. Did not Harischandra and such other Kings carry on the administration of this ancient land before the advent of the British and we are not those administrations better than the present-day British administration? Mr. Stokes may safely cast off this fear regarding the disintegration of India in case the white people leave her in a body.

40. The SUDARSANI of the 15th December, in wishing success to the Nagpur Congress and the 'non-co-operation' movement of Mr. Gandhi, makes the following remarks in this leader:- The Moderates and certain officials feel delighted at the fact that non-co-operation has failed, but the masses have bowed to it with all respect. The election which took place the other day is an illustration <sup>to</sup> the point. Not stopping there, the minds of the people are turning to other directions as well. Wherever you see, you find the students boycotting the schools and efforts are being made for the establishment of national education. In Guntur, Tenali, Bapatla, and Rajahmundry national schools are opened. Some of the Bengal leaders are trying to effect a change in the 'non-co-operation' resolution so far as it relates to students and lawyers. We hope that many Andhras will flock to the Congress and make the efforts of Mr. Gandhi a success.

The KERALA PATRIKA, of the 1st January says:- "All who love the country will be sorry to see that the Congress which was conducted for many years in very decent and respectable manner, has now reached this present condition." Referring to the change of constitution of the Congress and its change of creed in respect of the British connexion, the paper only wishes that these changes may not end in bloodshed and point out that the SWARAJ resolution involves treason.

Writing at length about the Nagpur Congress, the YOGAKSHEMAM, of the 31st December, observes:- Looking at the present state of public opinion in India, it seems to us



that it is high time the people were told in clear terms what the real intention of the British Government is in respect of India. We tremble ~~at~~ at the observation made by some speakers that if bloodshed ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> required for winning India's freedom, even that would be risked. It has not been possible for us to find out how far India's wish and Britain's intention differ from one another. The Government should understand that there are at present, large numbers of people and in India who are perplexed and do not know what to do; because the policy and actions of the Government of India have not made this point clear. We suggest that the Government should do its utmost to remove misunderstandings and misapprehensions.

The LOKAPRAKASAM, of the 27th December, says:-

The Congress has met at ~~th~~ a fateful period in the history of the country and the strong resolutions on non-co-operation, Khilafat, Punjab tragedy, swadesi, boycott, etc., are bound to stir the whole country.)

41. The DURBAR of the 1st January, sets out in detail

The thirty-fifth Indian National Congress..

in its leader the adverse views expressed by (Mr. C. Vijaya-raghava Achariyar, the President of the Nagpur Congress, on the various items of the 'non-co-operation' programme, observes that they look very disappointing to the nationalist, and that they are not so sound and dignified as to be pronounced from the Presidential chair of the Indian National Congress.)

44. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 3rd January, in a contributed English article under the head-line "Mr. Gandhi's speech at Nagpur", observes:- "We have Mr. Gandhi's speech at Nagpur. all along been of opinion

that the British Government has not a greater friend of the British Empire than Mr. Gandhi. This speech of Mr. Gandhi confirms our opinion. Mr. Gandhi has stated in his speech that it is derogatory to the Indian National Assembly to

to think of the British Connexion at any cost. The words at any cost must be carefully noted. We want British connexion but we want also the British connexion not at any cost, of our self-respect. The Indians are labouring under grievous wrongs. The British Government has not only refused redress but has also refused to acknowledge its mistakes. So long as the British Government maintains this (attention) attitude of arrogance and scorn, the Indians must refuse to have anything to do with the British Government. If the British Government thinks that India is the brightest jewel in the British Crown, if the British Government thinks that this jewel should be part of the Crown and should not be trampled under the iron heels of Dyers and O'Dyers, so long will India hug to British connexion with sincere devotion, love and loyalty; but if the British Government wants India to struggle wriggle under its boots, India must refuse to have any connexion whatever with the British Government. Mr. Gandhi has made himself and his attitude as plain as day-light by this clear and unmistakable statement. India is quite conscious of the blessings of the British connexion but India is also conscious of the wrongs heaped upon her sons by the Hottentots of the British Empire. India is ~~qu~~ disarmed. India is impoverished. India is reduced to the condition of helpless mendicancy. India's help is received. When her help is no longer necessary, she is kicked out. Is she to kiss the boots that kick her? Mr. Gandhi is quite right when he says that he spurns British connexion, if he is to advocate a policy of 'kiss' in response to a policy of 'kick'. Mr. Gandhi wants Indians to declare to the whole world that they would be the ~~showxxxxxx~~ last to have any British ~~any British~~ connexion if the British people think it too much to show even elementary justice to India. "



45. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the <sup>5</sup> 4th January

Racial animosity. In the course of a leading article, observes:- Mutual animosity is being displayed both by the Indians and the whites in all departments of life. Many of the whites desire that they should be gods and that the Indians should be their slaves. It is the opinion of some people that if the whites do not cast off this evil desire, this strain will become unbearable and there will come a day when all the whites will have to leave India bag and baggage.

46. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 4th January, in a

h short note, writes:- The moderates who are really grateful to the British - The moderates profess that they are grateful or the nationalists? to the whites; but they are not really so. Only those that point out all the faults of the British and set them on a righteous path are grateful to them in the real sense of the word. The nationalists declare that it is they who have a sense of gratitude towards the British Government and not the moderates.

47. The MYSORE STAR, of the 9th January, in an article, writes:- Although a few of the educated people say that they

Congress resolution on non-Co-operation. will have complete SWARAJ and that they are determined to have nothing to do with the British, such is not the opinion of all the people of India. Generally speaking, the people of India are firmly of opinion that they should live under the protection of England for a hundred and more years until ~~they~~ they, by their education, culture and knowledge of the world, become fit for self-government, that it is not desirable that India should drive out the English at this period of India's transition and that they should acquire self-government step by step. Therefore, the non-co-operation movement together with the methods of bringing it into practice will only widen the gulf more and more between the various people of this country instead of bringing about any substantial good.

48. The SWADESABHIMANI of the 7th January, in the ~~xx~~ course of a leading article Address of the Congress President. the objections raised by the President of the Congress against ~~xxxix~~ various stages of non-co-operation emphasised by Mr. Gandhi, writes:-Objections like these are just ~~xxxx~~ what may be expected from the mouth of Madrasis who are born-pleaders and experts in hair-splitting. They are commonplace among a set of ~~xxxxx~~ people who are hankering after a life of ease. The President's advice that, if we blindly follow the words of a great man without following the dictates of our conscience, we will lose our power of discrimination, seems quite not to the point. The example put forth by the President that the German people lost their importance, because they looked to their leadership in every little thing without using their independent judgment, is inapplicable in the present instance. It is only the most intelligent and the most capable man who is competent to put into practice all his thoughts that attains to the position of a leader, and to vacillate without following the lead of such a selfless leader would not point ~~ea~~ to manliness in any one.

51. Writing on the last session of the Congress, the ~~Kamthir~~ KANTHIRAVA, of the 4th January, in the course of a leading article declares that The success of the non-co-operation movement. the non-co-operation movement has won all along and that it is now left to the people to carry on their work on the lines chalked out to them by their leaders, and concludes thus:- Opposing or hating the Government is a thing which is repellant to our nature. Striving after the accomplishment of our own welfare is in no way agting against Government. It should be our duty to accept to the dictates of our conscience. Every effort should be made to see that our attempts towards ~~de~~ SWARAJ do not get polluted by even the faintest traces of sedition. Patriotism, righteousness and love alone can lead us on to SWARAJ and never opposition to Government or hatred of authorities.



53. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 3rd January, referring to a pamphlet from Mr. Muhammad Ali appealing to the parents of Aligarh College A glance at Mr. Muhammad Ali's pamphlet addressed to parents.--- students to join the non-co-operation movement says that the principle of non-co-operation, which Mr. Muhammad Ali and others have applied to education, is exceedingly injurious and tends to lead in the way of error.

The writer then refers to an anonymous letter received by him supposed to have been written by a student which contained nothing but improper and ridiculous expressions. He remarks that the first result of this teaching is that students have become prejudiced, and have sunk very low in the scale of civilization, and asks if this is a sample of the pure and true principles which will be taught to students (TO BE CONTINUED).

For the week ending 22nd January 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

## II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

The MUHAMMADAN, for the week ending 13th January writes:-

"HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT."

"His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught landed at the Madras Harbour on Monday evening. We regret that, in the circumstance in which it is placed, the country was unable to extend that hearty and loyal public welcome which it would have otherwise accorded to him. The country has been grievously hurt in the last few years; where we expected healing, there has been but a mockery of healing; and every sign threatens to make the wounds a running sore, so far as

Britain is concerned. As yet, there are no signs of serious fair-dealing to us on the part of the coalition and the bureaucracy. The fact that they have audaciously made His Royal Highness the Duke an instrument through which to administer to us a stone where what we asked for was bread, in such a way that when we refuse it we might be charged with discourtesy and disloyalty, also shows whither the politicians at Home and the bureaucrats here are drifting. There is no mistaking it, for they know what our view of it is.

"In undertaking the Mission which he now discharges, His Royal Highness cannot have been aware of these currents and cross Currents in Indian politics. As he said in the course of his most sympathetic and gracious speech, he comes here by command of His Majesty the King-Emperor, a command which he could not refuse to obey. . . . We can have not the slightest reason for any resentment either against His Royal Highness or against His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor; and, indeed, we should consider ourselves most ungracious, ill-mannered and ungrateful did we not appreciate the position in which His Royal Highness and the Royal Family are placed in regard to this matter. We fully recognise that the King can do no wrong.

"We must, however, state with painful regret that His Royal Highness comes to India at an inopportune movement and on a mission altogether displeasing to this country. Our three great wrongs have yet to be redressed. It is idle for any one to hide the fact that the Indian Muslim community will continue to remain sulky and worse till the great wrong done to their religious head is fully rectified in accordance with the dictates, not of the oil or other interests of Britain or France, but of justice and fairplay. Newspaper reports which gloat over an indiscriminate crowd, far smaller than that which might have assembled, had His Royal Highness' visit been not political, discreetly omit to mention the fact that in that crowd the generality of the Muslim population of Madras



took no part whatsoever. There was here and there a sprinkling of the gilded gentry or helpless officials whipped into unwelcome chairs or galleries, but the boycott of the functions by the <sup>Muslim</sup> community was altogether complete."

The HINDU, of the 15th January, writes:- "His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught departs from Madras to-day after a visit over which no pains had been spared to render it as impressive as possible. So far as we can judge we do not think the men who inspired the visit have done particularly conspicuous service either to India, the Empire or the Duke himself. Taking the last first he has obviously been made the cat's-paw of imaginative politicians in England to an extent which seriously detracts from the respect that his position entitles him to. A member of the Royal family who ~~xxx~~ should have been above party strife has been used as a pawn in Mr. Montagu's game. While the people of India will have nothing but respect for his position and his qualities of head and heart, they are able easily enough to perceive that his mission is to 'boom' the Reforms and as the demonstrations in Madras showed have learnt to appreciate that mission at its true worth. They know that while there is much talk of Reforms (With a capital R) in general, when you descend to the particular they become extremely exigous. They understand what these Reforms are ~~worth~~ worth and have not hesitated to express their opinion plainly. The gilt is off the ginger-bread and this somewhat belated attempt to give the 'boon' the particularly thick wrapping of Royalty naturally leaves the unenthusiastic. In so far as the Duke is concerned therefore his dignity has not been enhanced by his allowing himself to be made a party, from mistaken motives of duty, to Mr. Montagu's elaborate make-believe. A long and successful career in the service of his country and Empire certainly deserved a more fitting climax than this 'mission' to India. . . . . And what (the orgy of ex) service is the visit going to render India? What, except to

to swell substantially the orgy of extravagance which we are witnessing in connexion with the Reforms? . . . . We would ask the public to contemplate the distribution of portfolios which was published the other day and make a calculation as to the amount of the work that seven high-paid gentlemen <sup>by</sup> are going to do by way of earning their salaries. Add to this an equally highly-paid President whose trying duties at any rate do not go entirely unremunerated. Contemplate the (distribution of portfolio) on the top of all this a Governor sitting in spectacular majesty on top of this official Olympus who is relieved of his portfolios and of his Presidentship of the Council and is now free to divide his time between cultivating the social graces and guiding our flattering foot-steps on the path to Home Rule."

2. Writing under ~~this~~ heading, JUSTICE, of the 14th January, observes:- "Lord Morley, when he was the Secretary of State ~~f~~ first raised the cry of rallying the moderates, but he never pampered anybody. He was the same man to all. Since Mr. Montagu's advent the whole atmosphere has changed. Taking advantage of his weakness a few of the reactionaries who are of kin with the present extremists began to call themselves moderates, and between them and those who call themselves Congressmen and nationalists a show of fight is being kept up, which they know is of advantage to both. It is an unfortunate fact, a deplorable circumstance, that the Government, their officials and the Anglo-Indian community generally, dominated undoubtedly by Mr. Montagu's spirit, have yet failed to show a true insight into existing Indian conditions; and ~~x~~ their failure is reflected in the excitement which prevails throughout political India. Men of straw have become important personages, while representative men, men with a real stake in the country, men whom the real India looks up to as its guides, have been practically ignored. Perhaps, a new



Viceroy and a new Secretary of State who have not identified themselves with any faction and who possess the clarity of vision to see through the dim mist of the present, will so shape their policy as to give the real India a hearing; so that its wants and grievances may be promptly attended to and the self-seeking political bounders given their quietus. If the situation does not soon improve, there will be trouble. We are, however told that Lord Reading, the new Viceroy, who is a well trained lawyer a politician is anxious to do the right in spite of all that seems to threaten the social peace and tranquility of the Empire."

3. JUSTICE, of the 15th January, has the following:-

"Mr. Gandhi is now the most popular political figure in India. Every thoughtful man knows that he is the least tole-

rant and most vain of public men.

Mr. Gandhi.

He is a sort of autocrat who

makes use of his popularity amongst unthinking multitudes for propagating false doctrines. Mr. Gandhi is never consistent. He contradicts himself in the same speech and in the same ~~xx~~ article. and a certain class of people still continue to make a hero of him. In a land of cultivated intelligence, he would not have had any followers at all. In the midst of an emotional crowd he passes for a leader. Mr. Gandhi would probably have been in his right place in the Middle Ages; but this is an age of reason. As we said, a certain set of ~~xxxxx~~ people follow him, some ~~he~~ honestly and other from love of mischief. What will be the result if ~~his~~ influence spreads? Would it not end in autocracy, servitude and utter social chaos? Is this the end ~~for~~ which we ought to strive? No. we are for democracy, not for oligarchy, or for autocracy. We have done with both. It must be the duty of every thinking man in the country to instruct the masses in the doctrines of constitutional liberty and in the fundamental principles of order and Progress.

" "We have come to a stage where action is needed. Non-co-operation and nostrums of that kind of which the so-called Congressman, Nationalists and the Progressive, are alike fond are so many instruments forged by the subtle and the calculating few to reduce the people of India again to slavery. Democrats, such as we of the non-Brahman movement, are, stand for emancipation, social, spiritual and political. The means of bringing about that happy consummation are plain enough. Our appeal therefore to the people is that they should not allow themselves to be lured into the fathomless bog of spurious nationalism or extremism, but to preserve in the course that they have chosen for their emancipation."

4. Writing under this heading, the HINDU of the 19th

India's Challenge.

January, remarks:- "In the world-wide scramble among European

nations for economic exploitation and Imperial expansion that marked the history of the world for the last two centuries and threatens still to continue undiminished under the disguised phraseology of mandates, Britain may well claim to have competed with considerable success. Her national tenacity, naval supremacy and diplomatic skill, aided by the workings of an inscrutable Providence, have helped her till now not merely to survive the external attacks of jealous enemies, but also to proudly come out invariably with enlarged territories at the end of each combat. But British Imperialism cannot, with the same degree of pride, glorify itself on its success against internal shocks and changes to British domination from within the Empire. The declaration of American Independence was also at once a proclamation of early British bankruptcy in Imperial statesmanship. And judged by the unhappy picture of the Empire at the present day, with the climax of a ghastly tragedy in the Ireland, the beginnings of a desperate struggle in India and the increasing clamour for freedom and equality in the other parts of the Empire, Britain does not seem to have yet learnt the lessons of Imperial immorality.



No doubt the elevation of Canada, Australis, New Zealand, and South Africa~~x~~ from administrative outposts to autonomous partnerships point to a better example in Imperial statesmanship, but the history of their political evolution clearly shows that they were ~~init~~ initiated into the privileges of self-government, not out of the Britisher's voluntary exercise of any generous impulses in political philanthropy, but not only after unmistakable manifestations, in some cases through armed revolt, of uncompromising intolerance of all the suffocating influences of central control. It is also this impatience at Imperial interferences and indirect dominations that lies behind the present demand of these already self-governing dominions for equal rights with Britain in Imperial and International matters. The British Parliament cannot, and hence does not, for more reasons than one, dare to disregard these claims with scornful indifference or lightness of spirit. The kinship of blood, colour and culture, combined with the consciousness of the compelling power behind which may lead to repetition of the American example, have all worked to win a sympathetic response for these ambitious aspirations. But, when similar, or even less aggressive and more righteous, demands are made by subject peoples, of an alien nationality or race, Britain's ~~imperialist~~ imperialistic pride is <sup>W</sup>ounded and all the <sup>E</sup>boggy of Bolshevik anarchy, racial animosity and cultural conceit is raised to cloud the real issue and provide specious pretences for militarist repression. . . . . And, it is against this deteriorated Imperialism and dangerous doctrine of Anglo-Saxon superman, which, on the one hand, passively takes refuge under the comouflage of eternal trusteeship over ignorant natives, and on the other, actively parades, unashamed, in shining armour shaking the mailed fist over unarmed masses, the that India has levelled her challenge. She has, thanks to the humiliating experiences of post-war Imperialism and the significant episodes of the Chelmsford

regime, awakened to a sense of her national self-respect and refuses any longer to clog the wheels of her national evolution by consenting to her own political tutelage, economic exploitation and spiritual emasculation. (to her own politica) And in the deliberate rewilling for freedom she has also chosen methods peculiar to her unique civilization and ancient culture. The movement of non-violent non-co-operation is at once an effective weapon against the demoralising forces of alien domination and the intimidating methods of militarist repression. It is also a direct challenge to the world to witness the struggle between the 'will to freedom and the lust to possess' conducted in a manner almost unheard in the political history of the modern nations."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

~~xxx~~FOREIGN ~~x~~POLITICS.

~~xx~~

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

12. Referring to the behaviour of the Police sergeant on the 7th January towards the Hon'ble Mr. Justice T. Sadasiva

Ayyar when the latter's carriage Europeans and Indians.

was stopped by the former on its way to the High Court, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 8th ~~xx~~ idem, observes:- This incident clearly explains how the Indians are viewed by the Whites. The truth of this will become patent if we observe how the white who told Mr. Sadasiva Ayyar that he would stop him by the use of physical force behaved towards the European Chief Justice. On a former occasion Sir C. Sankaran Nayar, was similarly insulted by a sergeant at the Senate House. It is still fresh in the memory of all how Sir P.S. Sivaswami Ayyar was treated with scant courtesy by Captain Childers in Burma. We wish to point out that it is only the day on which the Europeans consider the Indians as their equals that will augur well both for Britain and the Britishers.



Adverting to this subject the HINDU NESAN, of the 8th January, makes the following observations among others: It is a fault on the part of the authorities not to have given previous notice to the people about the closure of the road. The curt reply of the sergeant to Mr. Justice Sadasiva Ayyar regardless of the fact that he is one of His Majesty's Judges, deserves to be strongly condemned. If the European ~~xxxx~~ behaves so insolently towards an Indian holding a high office under the Government, need we say anything about the lot of the ordinary Indian? We hope the Government would realise the feeling of Mr. Sadasiva Ayyar in this matter, institute proper inquiries, and issue orders directing European Officials to behave with due respect towards Indian Officials.

Referring to the same subject, the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 8th January, remarks that it is not conducive to mutual good feeling that even ordinary European officials should show such scant courtesy to respectable Indian gentlemen.

13. Referring to the notice issued by the Government ~~stating~~ stating that all the available tickets for admission to the

harbour during the time of arrival The visit of His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught. of the Duke have been exhausted the DESABHAKTAN, of the 8th January, observes:- The Government seem to have issued such a notice only to show that the people are very enthusiastic in the matter. How were the tickets distributed? During the last week of December, some gentlemen directly or indirectly connected with the Government received a reply post-card pointing out that they had not till then applied for tickets and requesting them to state atonce the number of the ~~g~~ tickets required by them. It is also said that the subordinate officials of the Government were given tickets without any application from them for the same, and it is again rumoured that the names of such of them as did not use these tickets ~~xxx~~ would be noted. The method adopted to gather men for the visit of the Duke is excellent indeed!!

The QAUMI REPORT of the 11th January, appreciating the arrangements made by the nationalists to boycott the Duke

The Duke's arrival. says that all shops, bazaars, markets, etc., in Triplicane, Godown Street, Bunder Street, Flower Bazaar, etc. were closed in order to make the Duke understand that the people were not pleased to receive him.

Referring to the public arrangements, the writer observes that though the galleries were arranged on the road leading to the west of the High Court, and admission was made by tickets in order to collect the spectators, and the offices were also closed at 2 p.m., yet most of the seats were empty and the people were persuaded to occupy them without payment.

Reverting to this subject, SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th ~~the~~ January, observes; There is nothing obligatory in the Act

that the Council should be opened The visit of His Royal High-  
ness the Duke of Connaught. by the Duke himself or by a member of the royal family. So it was quite an unnecessary work for a respectable member of the Royal Family in advanced age to have travelled a distance of 6,000 miles for opening the Legislative Council and poor India's money is lavished in connexion with this unnecessary work on flags, festoons, processions and entertainments. It is not known ~~how~~ what impelled the authorities and Lord Willingdon to make such gaudy arrangements in this matter. Did the Duke bring any message from the British Ministers <sup>50</sup> ~~as~~ <sub>1/10</sub> to relieve the distress of the Indians? Or was he sent to do anything likely to reduce the hardships of the poor? The main features of India at present are the suffering of the poor for want of sustenance and the strong discontent of the people in political matters. Unless steps are taken for the redress of these grievances, such pageant will only increase the heart-burning of the people. Though the opening of the Council



by the Duke showed no intention on the part of the authorities to confer any benefit on the people, they perhaps wanted to exhibit their greatness by his visit. We do not ~~know~~ <sup>know</sup> whether the authorities expected that the landing of a member of the royal family would at once put the people in mind of the fact that they are under a foreign yoke and would also make them realise their own littleness. But, on all such occasions in India, the authorities never refrain from making such display. For instance, sannads conferring titles will reach the recipient by the post; but instead of sending them through post, grant darbars are held and the people are thereby invariably reminded of the fact of their being subject to a foreign rule. Therefore it is only the British <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ India that are bound to celebrate the visit of the Duke but not the Indians at this ~~justure~~ <sup>in</sup> juncture.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th January, writes:- Officers are competing with one another in point of incurring expenses in connexion with the Duke's visit. It appears four or five lakhs of rupees are being squandered in Delhi in putting up huge gates like temple towers. This is an instance in point for unnecessary expenditure. Whose money is it that is thus squandered? It is not that the poor Indians who suffer for want of food and clothing? We have nothing to feel surprised at the action of the authorities., who are doing things as they like.

Referring to the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to Madras, the SWADESABHIMANI, of the 14th January in a leading article, makes the following observations:- Some people entertained expectations, and are still expecting, that the Duke of Connaught, coming to India as he does, as a representative of His Imperial Majesty, may have some special message from His Majesty to give us. But a perusal of his very first speech leads us to ~~leads us~~ to doubt whether he has brought any message

at all. . . . . Before the Duke landed at Madras, it was published that he had given out that he was coming to India to grant her more than what her loyalty deserved and more than what she expected. But what is more precious to India than SWARAJ? If His Majesty or any one of the Royal House were to come over here of their own accord, some good might be expected <sup>from them.</sup> ~~(But what is more)~~ But when they are invited by the bureaucracy, here, can we expect anything from them which is ~~is~~ contrary to the interests of the bureaucracy? Therefore even granting that the Duke is come ~~here~~ here to grant us something beyond our expectations, the circumstances under which he comes to this country stand between him and his wish. The Duke's reply to the address of the Madras Corporation was only platitudinous and contained nothing new. The ~~device~~ advice he gave us to forget the past might have been intended to refer to the Punjab incidents and the Khilafat question. But without properly redressing the wrongs of the Punjab and Khilafat question, is it possible to heal by empty words the wounds that have afflicted the people's conscience and the country's heart? A perusal the Duke's Madras speech compels ~~to~~ us to conclude that his future speeches in this country will be as platitudinous as the one he has delivered at Madras.

Writing on the same subject, the SWADESABHIMANI, of the 14th January, in a short note, observes:- Although the Indians, ~~and~~ for the matter of that, the Indian National Congress have boycotted the Reforms and the new Legislative Council with one voice, the English Cabinet and the Indian bureaucracy, deliberately indifferent to the conditions here prevailing, have given the Duke of Connaught the troubles of travelling over a distance of 6,000 miles to open these councils which are inadequate and unsatisfactory. The Bureaucrats, not following the usual practice of first landing the Duke in Bombay, first invited him to Madras. The cause attributed to this by some people <sup>is</sup> ~~is~~ that in Madras



the hands of the bureaucracy have been strengthened by the growth of the party-differences and the preponderance of the leaders of the moderate party. The day previous and on the day of the Duke's landing, the people held meetings to boycott the Duke's reception; while the authorities did all they could to make the visit a success. Although these preparations were one-sided, the Anglo-Indian papers have tried their best to attract the attention of distant readers by printing descriptions of the preparations in bold types. With all this, the true state of affairs is known both to the people of Madras and to the outside public.

Writing under the same heading line the MYSORE STAR, of the 16th January, observes:- A perusal of the speech delivered by the Duke at the time he opened the new Madras Assembly Legislative council confirms us in the view that the authorities in England will never fail to grant self-government to India step by step. It is natural however, that this speech will not be relished by those who, wishing to cut asunder all bonds with England, contend that they will have SWARAJ even today and who make a huge display by their non-co-operation, boycott and such other things. They must clearly understand that their expectations that the British Government, so afraid of their agitation, might send any more messages from His Majesty through the Duke will not be realized, that this country will attain self-government only step by step and that their boundless enthusiasm will not bear any fruit. When the preparations to welcome the Duke were in full swing in Madras, they were never slow in showing their haughtiness in more ways than one. In spite of them, the whole ceremony went on smoothly smoothly. It is mere childishness, unbecoming the honour of India, to howl before the people that the uncle of His Majesty should be boycotted. Conduct such as this, instead of bringing any good, tends only to alienate the sympathy of the authorities more and more. It is the sheer misfortune of the Congress that it should have given encouragement to attempts like these.

Referring to the same subject, the KANTHIRAVA, of the 11th January, in a short note, writes:- Though it has been resolved that none of the nationalists should take part in welcoming the Duke, tea parties, garden parties, at homes and addresses are being arranged in his honour by other big-wigs. It is most distressing to note that money is being wasted in this way at a time when misery and poverty are starting the country in the face. Never mind; what, after all, is the outcome of these parties and who is benefited thereby? Some Europeans and Government officials eat and drink, and, at intervals, hold non-co-operation up to ridicule. As a result, the host, if fortune enough, gets a title. For this little, what a huge waste! Will not this money be better utilized if it be given to the poor people or to the poor students in a beneficial manner?

Adverting to the same subject, a correspondent to the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 15th January, observes:- As the Duke has come over to this country to carry out the behests of the autocrats, the people do not show due respect to him, but they have a strong sense of loyalty to the Duke. The Indians are a highly grateful and intensely loyal people. They have a real sense of devotion to the righteous British authorities and the British public. It is a mistake to suppose that all those who did not come forward to welcome the Duke are seditionists. It is no sedition on the part of the people to show their opposition in this way with a view to bring British righteousness into play. It is wishing well in its real sense.

The QAUMIY REPORT, of the 6th January, referring to the Duke's arrival in Madras, says:- "We have not in the least been aggrieved personally by the members of the Royal family and describing their position in the British Empire observe that they do not possess even as much political influence as a paid Minister or a Governor. ~~The Duke is coming to India~~



~~with no authority~~ authority, hence we, Mussalmans, have nothing to do with his coming or going. His arrival in Madras <sup>at a time</sup> ~~or a Governor~~. The Duke is coming to India with no authority, hence we, Mussalmans have nothing to do with his coming or going. His arrival in Madras at a time when we are passing through a phase of acute suffering that the Khilafat has been destroyed and the Holy Places ruined adds to our grief. We are unwilling to receive or entertain him in any manner whatsoever.

If the Duke had come to console us in the matter of Islamic affairs and make overtures of peace to us, we should have, perhaps, suppressed our feelings and have gone to see him. But as he is coming with the object of strengthening/ ~~ngthening~~ the Government of his country and applauding, some simpli-minded persons of our community for their services to Government, Muslim Nationalists should hold themselves quite aloof from him and take no part in any of the functions connected with his arrival or departure.

The writer invites the attention of shy Muhammadans to the sorrow caused to them by the violation and breaking of pledges by the Prime Minister and the British Government, respectively, remarks that His majesty King George V ~~himself~~ himself should have come on this occasion to soothe our hearts. But the religious blow, the Muslims have received, has been regarded with contempt and their sentiments either harshly dealt with or poohpooched.

14. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 8th January writes:- This country which has still recently been feeling but lightly

"The craze for liberty". that we are in a condition of  
of slavery, has for the past

one year begun to concentrate all its attention on it. Considerations that we continue as slaves, helpless to question even if our children are blows by the ~~Europe~~ Englishmen to inthe cannots mouth and killed by means of bombs thrown

from auroplanes and to prevent the principles of the Muslim children being injured, are flowing like molten lead through the blood vessels and are burning the whole body. The feelings that ought to have filled the minds of the Indians during the times of their defeat at Arcot, Plassey and Delhi are to-day rapidly revolving in their minds. The Jalianwallah and Fij Massacres, the shooting of the Madras labourers and other things have caused wounds that can never be healed. At this junctions every one should have a strong desire for liberty, and contemplating within him-self as to how best he can recover for mother Bharata the SWARAJ lost by her and make her the queen of the world, follow all the ways that are agreeable to the resolutions of the Congress and the words of the MAHATMA. If we succeed in creating a strong impression on the minds of even the ordinary ADI DRAVIDAS, in villages ~~xxx~~ that we are now working for the acquisition of ~~liberty~~, liberty, our object will very soon be fulfilled. We would therefore request four friends to work with great zeal in the cause of liberty, and going to the different parts of the country, make the people think of it ~~incessantly~~ incessantly.

16. Referring to the observation made by the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in his presidential address at the Congress session in 1906 ,  
The British Connexion. that nothing short of complete SWARAJ should be the aim of the Indians and that their advancement would not be possible otherwise and remarking that, ever since the word SWARAJ fell on the ears of the Moderates, the letter became startled as if a great danger was sure to befall India, while the Nationalists were chanting it day and night as a great MANDRA the TAMIL NADU, of the 9th January observes:- As soon as the Nationalists heard this MANDRA, they became alive to a new spirit and the eminent position of mother Bharata in ancient days dawned in their minds of the people. They realised that the British Empire



was solely for the whites and that they had no honourable position therein and they were ~~also~~<sup>also</sup> convinced that they could have no salvation as long as they continued to be under British control. Even now Mr. Addrewes remarks that, as long as our country is under British control, we cannot get liberty and equality. He asserts that the British connexion will not only, not confer any benefit on us but will also result in greater evils. While an Englishman himself of this opinion, what are we ~~to~~<sup>to</sup> say, of the useless Moderates who think that we should not give up British connexion though evil may result? The day on which the resolution on SWARAJ was carried on the Congress is ~~an~~<sup>an</sup> auspicious day for India. The cry of SWARAJ started fourteen years ago is now spreading all over the country with increased strength. On account of Mr. Gandhi's passive strength, brute force cannot stand before this great MANT<sup>R</sup>A. Mother Bharata too will soon regain her former position.

20. Reverting to this subject, the NAVASAKTI, of the 7th January writes:- (The two important resolutions passed at the Nagpur Congress are those on the reconstitution of the Congress and non-co-operation. In the former resolution the creed of the Congress was changed. The Congress without taking on itself the responsibility of deciding whether British connexion is to be retained or not~~y~~ has thrown it on the British themselves. There is no doubt that the Congress will readily accede to India getting Home Rule under the British Empire if the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are righted in the manner desired by the Indians.) How can the Congress aspire for Home Rule under the British Empire, if the British continues to be deaf and blind to the bureaucratic ~~xxxxx~~ oppressions in India? We hope, therefore, that the y will comply with the demands of the Indians and retain their connexion with this country. It is also incumbent on us to abide by the resolutions of the Congress and acquire Swaraj.

Re Referring to this subject, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 6th January, writes:- (The resolutions passed at the Nagpur Congress are likely to cause ~~(Congress are likely to cause)~~ anxiety to the Government and the bureaucrats. The non-co-operation movement is gaining strength, and the resolution relating to it having been unanimously <sup>carried</sup> ~~passed~~ in the Congress, it will be resorted to permanently hereafter.) The examples of Egypt and Ireland <sup>are</sup> ~~and~~ guiding the Indians in this matter. The movement may lead to disturbances here also. It is essential that the British Government should take all precautionary measures to avert ~~such~~ a stressful situation in this country. They should try to do away with causes that create disaffection in the subjects. If India is to be for ~~ever~~ <sup>ever</sup> it with in the British Empire, the British Government should not be as indifferent as they have been till now in regard to this movement, but take steps to redress the grievances of the Indians.

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 6th January, says under this heading:- Western civilisation resulted in great European war. The acts of Mr. Churchill The Nagpur Indian National ~~Congress~~ <sup>Congress</sup> the wretchedness prevailing in Ireland, the Punjab murders testify to the fact that ~~great~~ Great Britain depends upon brute force for its government of the countries that the Empire is composed of. The ~~existing~~ <sup>are</sup> institutions in India <sup>are</sup> an indication of how a hundred and fifty years of British rule have rendered the Indian heart inert. For national ~~improvement~~ <sup>improvement</sup>, the help of English statesmen has been found necessary. Indians have lost faith in themselves and have come to depend on others. (But the Nagpur Congress has made it plain that the emancipation of the Indians lies in their own hands, and that India and not the British Isles is the stage of Indian SWARAJ.) How the Nagpur Congress has implanted the ideal of SWARAJ in the national heart will gratify the world in the fulness of time. While the whole world is anxiously clamouring for



the establishment of peace, it is auspicious that the Indian nation is trying to reach the goal by peaceful means.

The VRITTANTA PATRIKA, of the 13th January, in a leading article under this head-line, makes the following observations:- (The resolutions passed at the recent session of the Congress are highly revolutionary and suicidal.) We trust that the leading Congressmen will, after the present   
 —————→ wave of excitement has passed away, see their ~~xxx~~ way to ~~t~~ take care that none of their followers commit any disorders in the land. ... .. The leaders are not in the least competent to prevent the evil consequences that might result from their resolutions. They rather wish to wrest power from their ~~pp~~onents and destroy them, than successfully maintain peace and order in the land. It will be the sheer misfortune of this country if they get the required powers for the accomplishment of the end they have in view. Fortunately for this country differences of opinion arose within the Congress itself. It is daily becoming evident that differences like these are bound to arise throughout the length <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ breadth of this country. All throughout these years the prime object of the Congress was to attain self-government 'under AEGIS of the British Empire'. In the Nagpur Congress, this phrase 'under the ~~AEGIS~~ of the British Empire' has been deleted. Whatever the interpretation cast upon this deletion by its supporters, one thing is clear that a minority of the extremists are intent upon establishing a republic in India cutting asunder all bonds which unite it with the Empire. It only remains to be seen what the rulers of Native States have to say in this matter. As the Congress leaders have now undertaken to carry on propagandist work even in Native States, it behoves the Governments of those States to adopt a definite and vigorous policy regarding the Matter.

The NAZRANI DEEPIKA, of the 31st December, observes:- The extrimists have reached the highest possible height of extremism. Remarks

The Congress. have been made in the course of addresses that the time has come for shedding blood and that the people should be prepared to draw the sword. Too much even of nectar is poison. The prophetic observation made by the late Sir T. Madhava Rao is worthy of being recalled to mind at the present time and that is:- "If the English ~~were~~ were driven out of India at one stroke, it would be found necessary, by the time they reached the Suez Canal, to send a deputation after them to invite them back to India."

In a leading article in English under the heading "The Red Peril In India", the MITAVADI, of the 3rd January writes:- "For our part, we must make it abundantly clear that ~~whatever~~ whatever the Congress or those animating it might think, the country as a whole is decidedly against those republican sentiments that animate a few. ~~Who~~ are then, these few? A pack of discontented have-nots, whom a much a maligned and patient Government have allowed to roam about like overgrown bullies, traducing those in authority, creating bad blood between communities and preaching impossible ideals that are far beyond practical politics. On behalf of the masses of the people, at least of this coast, whom ~~we~~ have the right to represent, we must emphatic protest against the revolutionary sentiments so recklessly flourished by the hot-Heads of the Congress. We must make it clear, even beyond the shadow of a doubt, that if it ~~is~~ choosing between a republic -- which means a handful irreconcilables forming a so-called Government -- and the British, we stand for the latter. We are prepared to shed the last drop of blood to maintain that connexion with England which is for the lasting good



of the country -- for the welfare and progress of the teeming millions who know that their interests are safer in the keeping of an alien race than in that of a gang of Bolsheviks who pain the country red to satisfy even ~~di~~ individual whims. We can understand the claim for what has been called, the Dominion status, whatever it might mean, the claim to be regarded as part and parcel of the Empire, with equal rights and privileges. We want neither a Red Government, nor an oligarchic; and those who proclaim their partiality for the Red do so in ignorance of the fact that the seeds of Sinn Feinism have been sown in the land, that Bolshevism has its adherents in this part of the world also. Small beginnings have great ends, and we are <sup>afraid</sup> ~~strain~~ that if this fungus growth were not destroyed in time, the entire body politic would be gangrened. The duty of all those who love their country, who do not subscribe to violence and bloodshed is therefore very plain. Let there be no parley with Bolsheviks, no flirting with politicians who stand on two stools. The appeal to the Moderates for an entente with the Extremists must be given the reply, and the Moderates should once for all stop dallying with the Reds. (The Congress has opened our eyes to the positive danger that is abroad, and the Liberals of India can no longer stand aside and look with equanimity upon the progress and development of a party which means the destruction of the land of their birth.) Lord Sinha's recent appeal to the Moderates to give a deaf ear to the voice of the Extremists Syren ought to be published broadcast. The warning has gone forth, and let no false sense of patriotism deter the Liberals from entering on a campaign that has become an absolutely necessity."

The MALAYALI, of the 5th January, says:- (The Congress just over is the most memorable event in the History of India. . . . . ~~(History of India. . . . .)~~) The Congress respectfully informs the world that Indians will no longer put up with the kicks of British bureaucrats and their indignities and remain the slaves of the world..... When it is seen that all the important men in India -- excepting only some partisans of Government, known as 'Moderates' and some inattentive old men -- have unanimously adopted the non-co-operation resolution, the despair of Indians and their power will be quite evident without any further description.)

Mr. K.N. Janardhan Pillai, writing in the SREE:-  
VAZHUMCODE, of the 8th January expresses the opinion that

the non-co-operation programme  
adopted by the Congress in

The Congress. respect of the boycott of councils and of schools, etc., was a blunder, but remarks in the course of a long article:- "Indians are to-day in the state of fettered prisoners. Hindus and Muhammadans suffer together in this matter ..... Indians can never forget the Punjab affair. . . . . The actions of the Governments in India and in England of brushing aside, as unimportant or unreal, the Khilafat question and the Punjab affair and their neglect to redress the wrongs, clearly indicate their want of a sense of duty and their irresponsibility. These two affairs are such as would contaminate the connexion between the England and India." ~~Judge~~ . . . . . The writer goes on to suggest the advisability of establishing an Imperial court of Appeal in India and appointing thereto a majority of Indian Judges... "It must be said that the Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act are fetters for Indians. The efforts put forth by Government to suppress the freedom of the people to express their opinions generally result in failure. It would be sufficient to leave it to the people to control the course of their own ideas. There is no advantage whatever to be gained by repressive obstruction or by a Publicity Bureau...."



Referring to the modified resolution passed by the Nagpur Congress regarding its creed, the Malabar

The Congress.

Islam, of the 7th January,

writes:- "The responsibility

for deciding whether India should or should not remain part of the British Empire now rests with the British themselves. If ~~British~~ Britain so wishes, she can take care to see that India does not get severed from the British Suzerainty. On the other hand, it is possible for Britain to act in such a way that India would wish to get separate Separated. What India wants is SWARAJ. If it can be got under the British connexion is like welcoming golden fetters." The article also expresses the opinion that propaganda work in connexion with non-co-operation may now be expected to proceed very vigorously.

Writing about the Congress, the DESABHIMANI, of the 8th January, points out that all parties (in the Congress) agreed that India could obtain administrative freedom only through non-co-operation, and observes that (this movement is spreading in India with a mighty momentum and that in the history of the work for securing reforms Indian administration and of the Congress, the recent Nagpur Congress deserves an important place.)

The KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 10th January, speaks eulogistic terms of the address of the President and his draft constitution and thinks that the present reforms are useless. It is of opinion that if the Educational system and Industrial policy of India are not immediately set right, the effects of the non-co-operation resolution will become clearly evident, that the way in which Government should meet non-co-operationists is not by insulting them from exalted seats of autocracy but by quietly and readily introducing the reforms patriotically demanded by them, that the Government should not try to increase the

present kind of work of the Congress, calls upon the Government to remember the influence gained by Mr. Gandhi and his followers throughout the country and the justice of their demands and wishes that the Government would foresee the result of the amended non-co-operation resolution and the nature of the agitation that is going to arise in the country in accordance with that resolution, and observes that the Congress has now brought in a mighty change.)

The KERALA SANCHARI, of the 5th January, also approves of the Presidential address but refers to the impracticability of the boycott of foreign goods. It is advocates co-operation with the Government and endorses the opinion of the President that the Government should not delay the grant of self-government of India and that it should be under the British Zuzerainty.

The ~~SATHIANADAM~~ SATHIANADAM, of the 15th January points out that a perusal of the proceedings of the past two or three Congresses will show that it has now fallen into the hands of irresponsible young men, that it cannot but be said that the presidential address has served only to rouse the feelings of the already excited young nationalists, and that it has puzzled both the Moderates and the extremists, but observes that the recent Congress is an indication of an unprecedented political awakening in India.

The KERALA PATRIKA of the 8th January, points out that (the Nagpur Congress was a Congress of non-co-operationists, not the Indian National Congress, dwells upon the utter folly of the resolutions recommending non-co-operation and boycott of foreign goods, schools, etc.) and thinks that nobody having the interests of the country at heart will accept the opinion that the existing Government should be done away with and that the British should be driven out of India. It is of opinion that an attempt to do so will lead to unnecessary loss of life and property and that such views which must have originated with the anarchists of Europe can never be acceptable to the Hindus and Mussalmans in India."



22. In a leader on this subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th January, remarks that cannon is of two kinds, The Reforms and the people. namely, the visible one used during the time of war and the invisible one having a spiritual nature and connected with will-power and character and observes:- Yesterday there was a roaring of the latter kind of cannon in the city. The Indian public opened fire on the reforms. The Muslims and the Hindus took part in the firing. The Cabinet thought, (<sup>that</sup> ~~Indians could be hoodwinked~~) by showing the person of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, Indians could be hoodwinked and made to swallow the insipid reforms. But modern India would not be taken in. It is proposed to grant Egypt a sufficiently high status and any kind of SWARAJ to Ireland. It appears even the idea of capturing Persia has been dropped. If, in such a situation, SWARAJ is denied to Indians but only reforms are offered <sup>to her</sup> ~~to her~~, who will consider them worthy of acceptance? If Indians think otherwise, will not the Japanese and the Chinese laugh at them? Will not Arabia cry out? Will not Central Asia, Russia Europe and America curse them? The streets through which the procession of the Duke passed were richly decorated with festoons, buntings and flags and welcome arches. Both sides of the route were lined by the military who are guardians of the reforms. Two aeroplanes were hovering in the sky. But consider along with the above, the speeches of popular leaders at the meeting held on the beach on the same day and the processions preliminary to them ~~as~~ as also the mourning evinced by the people throughout the day here and there by hoisting black cloths. It will become clear that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms have fallen <sup>dead</sup> ~~dead~~ in India -- In Madras.

24. In a lengthy leader under this heading, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 11th January writes:- Ever since this country came under the control of England, the statesmanship

Repressive Measures

of England, the statesmanship practised by the latter is to offer with one hand sugar-coated ~~e~~atables and at the same time deal severe whippings with the other. It is ~~xxxxx~~ but natural that the birds that fly to get these eatables, thinking them to be healthy food, will at least at the commencement praise very much the policy of the English Administration. But the most wily English statesmen represent these praises as being credentials sincerely granted to them by the Indians. Subsequently it becomes easy for them to explain away, as inevitable punishments for putting down rebels and establishing peace, all the untoward acts committed by them for repression the ~~en~~aving-craving for liberty. The wonder of it is that the world has been believing all this. Even now certain newspapers in England influential with the Cabinet are suggesting that the present agitation in India for the acquisition of the liberty should be put down by punishing the agitators. To such papers our reply is as follows:- "We have now very well found out the integrity of your people who were asserting, until they became victorious, that they were toiling for the liberty of the world. You should understand clearly that the time is long past when we can be duped by means of threat. The Indian race agitates for liberty and does not ~~ka~~ now propose to resort to rioting. If the English people should recognise this and sincerely come forward to help it in the accomplishment of its object, they ~~can~~ besides winning undying fame, fearlessly live along with Indians under a common administration utilising for themselves the entire strength of this country. If, on the other hand, the thirst for liberty is looked upon with contempt and (~~to arise there~~) styled riotous agitation, and those who work for it are oppressed, the evils likely to arise therefrom are appalling even to think of. If the English people are wise they should do away with repression



and granting self-determination to the people, as desired by the Congress, live in friendly terms with them. They should realise that all other devices will only <sup>lead</sup> to ruin." If this suggestion is adopted by the people of England, the relationship between them and <sup>this</sup> country will instead of being nominal and artificial as at present, become a natural one based on sincere friendship and sympathy.

26. The SAMARASABODHINI, of the 22nd December, writes:-

The Congress and the Merchants.

India now lies stabbed  
and is being disgraced more

and more everyday. Her feelings are wounded and the Indians are suffering in various ways for want of accommodation food and clothing and are insulted much in the colonies. While the people of the other countries are enjoying their birthright of liberty, why should the Indians alone suffer without it? Why should they be powerless to adjust even their internal administrative policy as best suited to themselves? Why should it be impossible for them to adopt a system of education in their schools in accordance with their customs and habits? They do not aspire to rule over the Empire, <sup>nor they</sup> ~~not to~~ do dictate any administrative policy to foreign countries. All that they seek is SWARAJ. The time is long past when the Anglo-Indians and bureaucrats taunted those seeking swaraj. The Indians are convinced that governing them by means of terror is no longer possible and are not prepared to agree to SWARAJ being granted step by step or in the course of ten or twenty years. They have become emboldened to dispute the right of any one question their efficiency for SWARAJ. They are for getting immediate SWARAJ with powers to determine the tariff rates and to levy export and import duties. They have realised that it is only such a SWARAJ that will redress their grievances.

29. Referring to the circular ~~to~~ said to have been issued by the Headmaster of the Government High School at Gandhi Cap.

Meerut with the apporval  
of the District Magistrate

prohibiting the use, by the students of his school, of the Gandhi cap in the school premises, the SWADESAMITRAN of the 15th January, observes:- From the fact that the District Magistrate and the Inspector of Schools are supporting the actio n of the Headmaster, the Government too seem to be against the use of these caps. Why all this panic among them? It is not quite fair on the part of the Government to be jealous of the students showing respect for the leaders.

30. Referring to the publication in a newspaper in England of a communication from its Bombay correspondent about the shooting incident Shooting of the labourers of the Buckingham Mills. at Perambur in December, last, that owing to a serious disturbance in the Buckingham Mills, there~~x~~ was a pelting of stones by the labourers as a result of which a Commissioner of Police and several others were hurt and a Police force was thereupon immediately sent for and, when the pelting increased, orders were given for opening fire which wounded twenty strikers, the DESABHAKTAN of the 15th January, remarks:- Immediately after the incident Mr. Wadia sent a telegram about it to Mr. George Lansbury which, however, was stopped. We need not say how far the above communication is true. If such messages regarding Indian aff~~a~~irs should reach England, it is needless for us to point out what impression will be created on the minds of the Englishmen about India. The Government of India have given room for such false messages. Had India been a country with SWARAJ!.....!



31. Adverting to the evidence given by Mr. J.N.Gosh on behalf of the Indian Miners' Association in Calcutta before the Railway Commission, that there is a paucity of Indians and Europeans. in the supply of railway wagons to the Indians for the transshipment of coal and that the coal dug out from mines worked under Indian supervision is declared to be inferior in quality to that dug out from the same mines when under European control, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 15th January, observes:- There is no need for further comment on this matter. Most of the coal mines in Bengal are in the hands of Europeans and even the few under Indian supervision are subject to many restrictions. It is no doubt worth condemning or feeling for, if the distinction between the European and the Indian is observed in this particular affair. But we see this is the case in each and every department. Such distinctions will cease to be made only when India attains SWARAJ.

32. Adverting to the recent communique of Lord Chelmsford on non-co-operation and remarking that it is difficult for those who of Non-co-operation. of the stamp of Lord Chelmsford, who attach much importance to physical force, to realise how Mr. Gandhi, the author of this movement, is revered by the Indian public and praised for his wisdom, skill, soul force and self-sacrifice, the VARTAKAMITRAN, of the 5th December, observes:- Lord Chelmsford says that the Moderates are bound to carry on propaganda work for preventing people from resorting to this highly mischievous movement. We regret that the Moderates have come forward to carry on this mission, and we are ashamed to acknowledge them to be the sons of Mother Bharata. These want the children of Bharata to forget the Punjab masacre, the Khilafat injustice, the violation of chastity of virtuous women, the crawling of the people on their belly, the marching

of youths in the scorching sun and the whitewashing of saints. Alas! If we are to forget these atrocities and fiendish deeds, do we deserve to be called human beings? We wish that the Moderates and the Liberal party, and the Anglo-Indians and bureaucrats would understand that Indians, for generations to come, will not forget the atrocious deeds committed during the barbarous rule of Lord Chelmsford.

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 15th January, in a short English article, observes:- "A Raja<sup>5</sup> of opinion that the non-co-operation movement is bound up with possibilities of great mischief, that though non-violence, passive resistance and SATYAGRAHA are the watchwords of the movement, non-violence is bound to develop itself into a violent storm and that something should be done to make the gospel of non-co-operation a thing of ~~A~~<sup>the</sup> past. It is very easy to ~~kill~~ non-co-operation. Let the British People order that all those who murdered British justice be impeached before the House of Commons. Let them consent to leave British Justice be to have its own way. Instantly non-co-operation, SATYAGRAHA, boycott, SWADESHI, SWARAJYA, the Hindu-Muslim unity, etc., will all become things of the past and all the people of India ~~ll~~ will become devoted and loyal subjects of the British Empire."

35. Remarking that the very idea, that the British Government have kept the Indians in an unarmed condition, brings to one's mind the story of the nuisance from bugs in his bed, at last set fire to the house and thereby burnt the bugs as well, the DESABHAKTAN of the 717th January observes:- It is generally stated that the Government have deprived of- the Indians of the use of arms because of their fear that, in case this right is granted to the Indians, the latter might turn round against themselves. This has only increased the anxiety of England in regard to India. In ordinary times, that is



is before the outbreak of the war, the Government of India were in constant dread of a Russian invasion of India. The Bolsheviki danger has now stepped into its place. If the Bolsheviki should make an entry into Persia and gain some influence there, their next step will only be to invade India. But are the Bolsheviki the only people who have set their eyes on India? In fact all countries intent upon territorial acquisition were under the impression that the conquest of India was a very easy matter because the Indians are unarmed. Had the condition of the Indians been otherwise, foreigners would have some fear for them. Besides, the Indians are disregarded by the Europeans because the former are unarmed. Had the Indians the right of carrying arms, would the Jallianwallah incident have occurred? Would General Dyer have issued the crawling order? It can be said that, by depriving the Indians of the use of arms, the Government have been allowing only the British nature of the Europeans to grow. As a result of keeping the Indians unarmed, much difference has arisen between the rulers and the ruled.

36. Referring to the action of the Publicity ~~off~~

The Publicity Bureau.

Officer, in this Presidency  
in having sent for publication

in the newspapers an article of Mr. Bupendranath Basu in the LONDON TIMES, condemning the non-co-operation movement, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 17th January, observes:- Is it for doing this work that the Publicity officer has been appointed? Does he think that what all Mr. Basu states is right? If he is an impartial officer, why should he not give similar publicity to Mr. Gandhi's articles as well?

39. Referring to the resolution of the Nagpur Congress that no welcome should be accorded to the Duke of Connaught and the 'perverse' comments Loyalty and non-co-operation. made upon it by NEW INDIA,

the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 8th January, remarks:- It is known to all that the resolution was adopted not with a view to insult the Emperor or his ~~pr~~ representative but only to show our <sup>in</sup> difference to the Government. Everybody knows that in no other country are the people so loyal ~~xxxxxxx~~ as India. The DHARMA SASTRAS lay down that the King is an incarnation of God. The Indians believe in the maxim that 'the King can do no wrong. When symbols of royalty are made use of by the bureaucracy to serve their own end, the disregard of the people can be meant to be shown only to the bureaucracy who are in the wrong and not to the representative of the royal family, who is an incarnation of righteousness (DHARMA),

47. The VENKATESAPATRIKA, of the 25th December, has the following in its leader in English:- "None expected

The new farce. the screen to rise up so soon on the stage. The

farce is in full play. Lord Willingdon presenting Sir P. Chetti the leadership and Sir P. Chetti; clownishly accepting the same. May we know if Sir P. Chetti had previous to the elections selected his party candidates for the various constituencies? Does anybody know the policy of this precious political party? One thing is clear, The Government of Madras has unwittingly exposed the hollowness of the reforms. With its 29 nominees and 6 Europeans and Anglo-Indians, the Government had only to seek 24 ~~Rupax~~ puppets in the Council to have its old merry ways. Where could it find these worthies except in the ranks of the JUSTICE party, a jumble of disappointed individuals brought together by the genius of a few highly placed Anglo-Indians,



AND kept together cultivating hatred of the Brahman class. They could be gratified by a few crumbs. Not so even the mild moderate. Give him some scope and straight flies he against the vested interests of the bureaucracy and and his kith and kin. He is the worm that turns. The JUSTICE party has a long way to go before it could evolve out of its corroding mineral existence a live worm's life. The poor beguiled moderates! An Advocate-Generalship even with an eventual councillorship is no soothing balm for the cancer of disappointed Ministership. The government, considers itself clever in giving ~~three~~ three Brahman high appointments and three Brahmanshaters Ministerships. In our opinion it has done excellent service to the cause of SWARAJ. The new Council is no better than the Minto-Morley one. On the other hand there was at least honesty in their case. Unless there had been a promise or at least a reasonable and well-founded expectation of help from the Government side, the JUSTICE party dared not form a cabinet exclusively of its own, flouting such veterans as Diwan Bahadur Mesava Pillai and other non-Brahman leaders not belonging to the JUSTICE party, not to speak of the moderate and Mussalman sections. The audacity with which the JUSTICE? the ministerial organ, flaunts its ante-SWARAJ policy in the face of the public is a sure ride for a fall unless there be some understanding between it and the Government wing. We have therefore no hesitation in saying that the new much advertised Council to be opened by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught is no better than its ~~predecessor~~ predecessor. The call on the Europeans Christians and Mussalmans to help the Ministry to retard the attainment of SWARAJ is extremely funny; but it is an unwitting admission that the Brahman are the advocates of speedy SWARAJ. We have no right to expect more of a Council formed of ~~off~~ riffraff of the country, the better and the major portion of the public having refused to have anything to do with it....."

48. Writing in connexion with the article contributed to the TIMES on the Indian situation by Sir Valentine Chirol and the comment made upon it New India.

by that very paper, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 14th January, observes in its leader under this heading:- ..... "England has, after all, seen the necessity of finding out the nature of Mr. Gandhi's movement. But the leaders in England are still adopting a futile policy. Even Mr. Chirol has recognised the fact that the agitation in India is mostly due to the decision of the Parliament with regard to the Punjab affairs. England knows what the cherished desires of the Indians are. The Congress has clearly given them out. The only question that the English have to decide is whether or not they should grant them. Whether the non-co-operation movement meets with success or failure, whether Mr. Gandhi turns out to be a mad man or a far-sighted person, England cannot but discharge her duty at the present moment. The failure on the part of England to discharge its duty all this time, led to the adoption of the non-co-operation in India. The Indians themselves will consider about the success of failure resulting from the adoption of that movement. Mr. Chirol or the TIMES need have no troubles about it. However great the westerners may be, they cannot understand the spirit of this movement which is in accordance with the Hindu ideas of DHARMA. If England does not like to fulfil the wishes of the people, the only other course open to her is to take to repression which method is denounced as unprofitable even by Mr. Chirol. England cannot go on, for any length of time, without coming to some decision or other. The Duke of Connaught has not given any hopes for the future. . . . . The new Viceroy, Lord Reading, no doubt, comes to India with good intentions. But we have to see whether or not he gives effect to them



in the face of a critical situation. He himself seems to be very sanguine about the success of his administration. The WEST MINISTER GAZETTE has written to the Effect that Lord Reading's first duty, as soon as he goes out to India, must be to do justice to the wrongs perpetrated in Amritsar, and warns that, otherwise he will meet with failure. There is much truth in this statement. . . . . England has not yet well understood the spirit of the New India; sooner or latter/she cannot but express her repentance for the wrangs done to India. The sooner she does it, the better . . . . It is essential that the new Viceroy and the other English leaders should understand this.

50. Speaking about the prattle of the JUSTICE with regard to the views of the new Ministry, the VENKATESA-

Whose is the mistake? PATRIKA, of the 25th December, observes under this heading:-

.... It is said that higher education should be put a stop to seeming that it is only those who have received such education that are madly clamouring for SWARAJ. But for their education they would have remained as slaves of the English people entrusting to them the money of the poor people and receiving from them the pittance of their pay which is paid to them as crumbs thrown before dogs, and would have been quite happy! The JUSTICE triumverate in the name of non-Brahman advocacy, have eventually joined hands with the English, to ruin the poor people. . . . . While 25 great men born of Indians in India are opposing the grant of SWARAJ, is it just to find fault with them? Is it wrong to call Mr. M. Narayanaswami Reddi of our district a traitor to his country if he refuses to work immediately for the cause of SWARAJ leaving the side of the JUSTICE party? . . . . . If the Indians fail to work for SWARAJ by boycotting the self-interested people, somebody else, if not the JUSTICE party, is sure to join the side of the Government.

51. Referring to the responsibility of England in the matter of successfully solving the Turkish problem, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 15th January, makes the following remarks in its leader:- Lord Reading, the new Viceroy,

English's responsibility. seems to have well understood the crisis , as will be seen from his reply to the address given to him in the High Court in England. People have lost their faith in British promises and in British sense of justice. England has now to observe the ordinary principles of morality. She had totally swerved from the path of righteousness and India is now trying to put her in the way. Lord Reading will completely fail if he adopts repressive measures ~~+~~ in order to suppress the present movement of the Indians. He must repeal all unjust Acts such as the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Rowlatt Act and the like. They should not be in force in any civilized country. He must ~~repeat~~ ~~x~~ do justice as regards the Punjab and the Khilafat affairs. Without ~~doing~~ all these there is no good in Lord Reading's merely saying that he will do justice in every matter. What is wanted now is action, and not mere words.

52. Anent the comments of some of the English papers on Rei Berially disturbances, and their fear that Bolshevism may take root in India, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 15th January, writes in a note:- . . . . So long as ordinary affairs are settled by the employment of brute force, there will be opportunity for Bolshevism to develop. But when the non-co-operation which is based on spiritual force is spreading there can be no room for Bolshevism. The PALL MALL GAZETTE and other English papers, not understaining the real nature of the non-co-operation movement expect all evils things to result from it.



Speaking about Rei Berially disturbances, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 12th January, writes:-While, on the one hand, the value of the Reforms is much magnified, on the other, the methods of Sir M. O'Dwyer are being adopted. The Independent writes to say that the ryots are keeping peace in spite of many acts of annoyance done to them. Pandhit Moti Lal Nehru is watching the whole situation. Even the Commissioner, grants that the ryots labour under many difficulties. That being the case, they will feel satisfied not by punishment but by a removal of such difficulties. The sad <sup>r</sup>story of the Punjab is having its parallel in some form or other in other parts of the country as well. Unless the authorities change their angle of vision, this state of things will not be set right. The present Reforms cannot restore the national honour. So the people must maintain their self respect and try thereby to change the heart of England.

54. Questioning the advisability of a policy of repression that is constantly being recommended by men like

Ominous utterances. Sir M. O'Dwyer and Lord Sydenham in their respective articles contributed to the English papers, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 12th January, observes in its leader under this heading:- There are two methods of putting down Mr. Gandhi's movement. One is by removing the causes which led to the adoption of the movement and the other is a recourse to repression. Even the moderates' whom prestige is all in all, this method will not appeal. The latter method seems to be much in favour with the Government of India and there is a rumour that Mr. Gandhi will soon be arrested. Lord Chelmsford may not give an opportunity to Lord Reading to have his own way in administration. Once the policy of repression is adopted, even Lord Reading, to keep up the prestige of the Government, will hesitate to go and

back and do the needful. It is an unprofitable policy on the part of England to place Lord Reading in such an awkward situation. Suppose repression is once begun with regard to non-co-operation. Then it is all the same whether Lord Reading is our Viceroy or persons like Lord Curzon and Lord Chelmsford happen to be the Viceroys. That is the reason why people want SWARAJ and they are resolved to have it in one year . . . . We think that the ominous utterances of Sir M.O'Dwyer and Lord Sydenham may soon take effect. They are primarily responsible for the present ~~present~~ critical situation. If even the British Empire is at stake, we may class these two people among the first ranks of disintegrators of the Empire. These very men who have perpetrated such unjust acts are ~~passed~~ passing off their time happily in England consuming India's money. To add to it, they are now writing articles advising the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi who has been sacrificing everything for the sake of his country.. If, according to them, Mr. Gandhi's movement will lead to violence and disturbances, any one may ask why there have been no acts of violence till now even though the movement, has been daily spreading. But Lord Sydenham is ready with an answer even for this. He is of opinion that the people have been terrorised by the severe steps taken by the Punjab Government and that their peaceful attitude is the result of their fear. He still believes in the proverb, 'sparing the rod spoils the child', and takes the Government to task for not putting this principle into practice till now. He also attributes the present Labour agitation to the influence of Bolshevism.....While the policy of repression is denounced by experienced leaders themselves, these two persons do not find any other policy quite so effective. Irish disturbances <sup>show</sup> ~~show~~ how unprofitable it is to adopt a policy of repression. If the ominous utterances of the said two gentlemen come into effect, England cannot but be ruined. What is the meaning of imprisoning



Mr Gandhi? It amounts to imprisoning the hearts of all the Indians. If it is the desire of England that India should continue to be within the Empire out of her free will, then she cannot achieve her object by imprisoning Mr. Gandhi.

55. Referring to the remarks of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN on the new Reforms, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 12th January, observes in a note:- . . . . As the Ministers have no control over finance, there is nothing that they can do. If they impose fresh taxation, the burden on the people will be increased. The nationalists have been pointing this out for a long time but the Montagu-Moderates alone turned a deaf ear to it. Even they recognised the truth now. How then can we say that the Reforms show the way for the attainment of SWARAJ.

58. Writing under this heading, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 25th December, says:- Our rulers are not unwise men.

Why should we boycott the ~~courts~~ <sup>They are experienced hands in</sup>  
Courts? <sup>occupying foreign countries.</sup>

They know that merely by the force of arms they cannot hold the Indians in subjection. They therefore resorted to device of creating in the Indians ~~in~~ a love for English institutions, including schools and courts. The educated classes vindicate the existence of these institutions and proclaim that if they leave off their professions and boycott the courts, violence and blood-shed will ~~be~~ be the result. The Government have therefore nothing to fear and the courts are so many bastions to them. The British statesmen have made it their duty to manufacture men, who receiving English education can attain wealth, honour, titles and influence. They have thus created a new race of men who hate their own traditions and show great regard to European traditions. An impression has been created that the British rule is indigenous and that

its only object is the good of the people. Such has been the triumph of the British administration of India. The British have not conquered India with the sword. They have captivated the hearts of the higher classes of the people by their education. When these people devoted themselves to the rulers in every way, the whole country went into the possession of the latter. No body need hesitate to say that it is their schools and courts that are maintaining the British rule unaffected. The people are growing more and more dissatisfied with the British Government. Even the educated classes know that the British look more to the welfare of their country than to that of ours. They condemn the British rule but at the same time maintain their schools and courts. If what we say about the Punjab horrors and the Khilafat come from the bottom of our hearts, how can we approve ~~the~~ of the administrative policy of the British? If we are determined to have SWARAJ, then we have to withhold our approval of the Government by boycotting the schools and courts. This is non-co-operation and we must tell the Government that this is our resort ~~/~~ so long as our grievances are not redressed. The educated classes upon whose help the Government ~~+~~ rely have to tell them that it is not right on their part to reject their representations. The time has come when the ~~(bureaucracy helpless. M)~~ lawyers have to make great sacrifices. By their power, they can make the bureaucracy helpless. Moreover the present courts are a nuisance and promote immorality and the lawyers will see the necessity of boycotting such institutions.

59. The Balabharati, of the 14th January, says in its leader under this heading:-  
The attainment of Swaraj. Unlike in former days, the Congress today has conducted its proceedings in accordance with public opinion, and has definitely proclaimed the national ideal. Hypocracies, disguises and machinations will ~~not~~



no more avail. . . . . Fascinated by the glamour of British rule, the Indian nation had forgotten itself. Out of blind faith in the British, it devoted its whole heart ~~of~~ to them, with the result that helplessness, indolence, and slavishness had overtaken the nation. Thousands of English merchants had occupied the country and had been ruining indigenous industries, and trade, had been robbing the country ~~(and had)~~ of its wealth, but the Indian nation had not been able to see it. The people had no food to eat and clothes to wear. To maintain the white men in comfort, the taxes had unnecessarily been raised to 190 crores; yet the nation had not awakened. Repressive laws had been passed depriving the people of their birthrights. The Educational and judicial systems had enslaved the mind ~~of~~ the country and yet there had been no remorse in the people. The exchange rate has been varying . The Indian continent has been flooded with foreign merchants and goods and it has been reduced to a wretched state in which it has to depend even for the necessities of life on foreign countries. The people have been blindly delighted at such things as the post and telegraphs and the railways and have been in a state of lethargy. The Rowlatt Act and the Punjab massacre have awakened them. The Indemnity Act has incensed the public. The decisions of the Parliament have shaken the faith of the people in the British. The Indians have proclaimed at Nagpur their desire for SWARAJ through~~x~~ their representatives. . . . . If the British wish to maintain their connexion with India permanently, they will have to reform their conduct. If they treat India not as a slave country, but as an equal partner in the Empire, there will be no room for any doubt about the permanency of the British connexion with India. If in the future also, they do not change their attitude towards India, we cannot say what the result will be . The burden of deciding this, lies more

with the British than with the Indians. India depends on its own men for the attainment of SWARAJ, and exhorts them to attain it. The 33 crores of the Indian population will surely attain it if they respond to the call of the Congress and do their duty. The Congress urges them to sever every connexion with the present bureaucratic Government who have forfeited all claim to the confidence of the people. . . . . If the people discharge the responsibilities imposed on them by the Congress soon, they will <sup>soon</sup> attain SWARAJ.

65. The leading article in the MALABAR ISLAM, of the 7th January gives, a summary of Doctor Ansari's presidential speech at the All-India Muslim League Conference at Nagpur and considers that he has established beyond doubt that to expect Indian Muslims to be loyal to the British Government, which has reduced their Khalifa to the state of a Prisoner, is to expect something that is contrary to the course of nature. The article also considers that Doctor Ansari has satisfactorily met all objections raised against non-co-operation.

68. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 8th January has an appeal in bold type, announcing that the Duke will arrive on the 10th instant and stating that it is the pious duty of every true Mussalman and true Indian to avoid seeing, welcoming him, or celebrating his arrival. Show independence! <sup>Get</sup> Great rid of the badge of slavery! Appealing thus to the people the article understands that until justice is done in the matter of Khilafat, every Mussalman, man, woman, or child should be rigid on the subject of non-co-operation. (The National Congress, the Muslim League, and the Khilafat Conference <sup>Conference</sup> have decided at Nagpur that it is incumbent upon every Mussalman to boycott the Duke.) Do not listen to servile flatterers. They are getting up entertainments for you, and obtaining titles for themselves.

The QAUMI REPORT, of the same date also <sup>has</sup> an article on the subject of boycotting the arrival of the Duke.



73. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 9th January, referring to Mr. Ben Spoor, M.P.'s speech in which he stated that when the city of Rome was burning, Boycotting the Duke of Connaught, a manifestation of Nero (the demon of authority) National self-respect. was fiddling, remarks that this incident is in keeping with the Duke of Connaught's visit. Just as Nero was fiddling while Rome was burning, the authorities are holding their celebrations when the hearts of Indians are aching over the Khilafat question and the Punjab atrocities.

The writer, in this connexion observes that the Duke has not, on the present occasion come of his own free will or with the consent of His Majesty the King, but has been sent by the ministerial Government for reasons of expediency. The British Ministers are aware that all India is discontented owing to the indignity offered to the Khilafat question and the indifferences shown with reference to the Punjab atrocities and the absurdity of the Reform Scheme. In order to gain their object and to please Indians the Ministers have devised this scheme of sending the Duke to India with the hope that Indians who bear no personal malice against him will manifest their joy before ~~him~~ him, and this act will defeat the object of the Khilafat agitation and place the Government of India where it was before.

The writer invites the attention of the ~~people~~ people to the similar course adopted by the British Ministers at the time when the Irish Home Rule question cropped up a few years ago, and the manner in which Egypt recently got her independence, and asks whether the Khilafat question is not more important than that. If it is so, how can the people be glad at the Duke's visit?

76. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 10th January, referring to the sudden stoppage ~~of~~ <sup>by</sup> traffic men in Khaki uniform on the North Beach Road and Treatment of Judges by the Police. Mount Road the day before yesterday at 9-30 a.m., remarks it is not known who ~~was~~ has issued such an order and what right the Police have to stop pedestrians and vehicular traffic from going ~~on~~ the road without any previous notice or intimation. The writer, referring to the ~~detention~~ <sup>seizure</sup> of the Hon'ble Justice Sadasiva Ayyar's motor-car by a Police Sergeant, and to the rough manner in which he spoke to the Judge when the latter asked him why pedestrians were being prevented from passing on the public thoroughfares, remarks that though Police officers have not been taught etiquette and good manners by Government, yet they are supposed to be men of peace.

80. A long article in the KERALA KAUMUDI, of the 30th December, points out that though the Rulers of Native States make profuse demonstrations Indian Reforms and Native States. of their approval of Reforms introduced in British India, they are very reluctant to relax their autocratic grip on their own states; that Travancore and Cochin, though equal to any part of British India in the matter of education and historic traditions of local self-Government, are far behind even the Minto-Morley Reforms, that the British Government has a responsibility in the matter and that if the Rajas will <sup>not</sup> ~~not~~ attend to the ~~the~~ best parts of SMRITIS for their guiding principles in the administration, will not yield to public opinion nor will imitate the Suzeraán power and if the Suzerain power will not interfere, then the people of the Native States are in a sad plight indeed.



For the week ending 29th January 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

No.5 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

1. The HINDU, of the 25th January, has the following:-

"In an article we extract elsewhere, Colonel Wedgwood reproduces

The Andamans Penal Settlement. a picture of convict life in the Andamans, for which hell seems to be a mild description. The Colonel is recounting a story told him by a released political prisoner; but, for aught we know, it may be true; and it gains credence from the mystery which, by designs or omission, shrouds the affairs of the Andamans. The statistics of disease and death among the convicts are by themselves enormous, but the tale about their morals and conditions of life, a level of human existence in which submission to infamy is the only palliative to a sheltered tyranny of ruffian rule, unfolds something blacker than the blackest misery imaginable. It will be a freezing surprise to many to know that 'the Andamans is not an ordinary penal establishment but a settlement run for profit.' The non-publication of the special report, is perhaps, as hinted by the Colonel, due to the fear of disclosure. It only intensifies the horror and the shame."

(K) General.

3. The HINDU, of the 24th January, writes:- The labour situation in the city continues to be murky and, unless early steps are taken to handle it with just prudence, it promises further to swell the ranks of the unemployment. Labour troubles in Madras.

So far as the men are concerned, they are yet prepared to face the impartial tribunal, present their case before it and abide by its verdict. Instead of taking advantage

of this reasonable attitude on the part of labour, the employers concerned would appear for the moment to prefer the disastrous policy of drift. . . . . Not labour alone, but others as well, are, we note, very much disappointed at the part played by the Government of Madras. In less serious cases of labour disputes, <sup>they</sup> ~~for~~ say, Lord Willingdon thought it wise and necessary to interfere. They add that it is not very difficult to see through the studied silence of the Government and its gesture of impartial non-interference. . . . . If we turn from the textile mills to the tramwaymen's strike, we are faced with the same problem, the allegation of discriminative dismissals made with a view to render the union a harmless organisation. . . . .) There is a very strong feeling among labourers and all those who work in the movement that Lord Willingdon's Government befriends capital; there is no doubt that various acts of omission and commission lend great support to that view. If the employers are determined to disorganise the men and if the Government is not partial to the capitals, it is high time that it should give a proof of their disinterested attitude. The public have a right to ask therefore that the Government should at once take in hand such remedial measures as would cease the despair and suffering of thousands in the city."

NEW INDIA, of the 24th January, observes:-

"It seems to us that it is the duty of the Government to use their influence with the employers in the matter. The Madras Government instituted a Labour Department; in the sphere of labour disputes it has not been of any great service. Mr. Paddison was regarded by the labourers at least as their friend and as sympathetic to their cause; we regret to say that Mr. Moir is not held in so favourable a light."



VERNACULAR PAPERS.

## I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

5. The Swadesamintran, of the 29th December, refers to the observation said to have been made by Mr. Lloyd George in the course of his speech at the Guildhall welcoming the <sup>Pr</sup>~~ince~~ of Wales on his return from his tour that no control is being exercised in the British Empire by a central authority, but it is a commonwealth of free nations associated together for following their own lines of progress, and remarks:- Is this true and is no control being exercised by a central authority? Are all the nations included in this Empire free? We have no doubt that unless the British Empire is reconstituted hereafter at least on the lines referred to by Mr. Lloyd George, the Empire will break down. Let Mr. Lloyd George understand that, unless the nations, who are now suffering within the Empire without enjoying freedom and who are governed by the foreigners, secure a status equal to that of the other nations included therein, they will have to decide to separate from the Empire. The Government of India, have, in despatch of the Secretary of State, stated that it is their duty to emphasise the fact that the Indian public think that their status within the Empire will become clear from the decision arrived at in regard to the Indians in East Africa. The British authorities have made them feel that they are "helots within the Empire" as stated by the Late Mr. Gokhale. There is therefore, nothing further to be understood from the way in which the question of the East African Indians is to be decided. But the Government of India would have represented the true state of feeling if they had communicated that the Indians are were burning with anxiety to redeem their condition of being helots within the Empire and to attain a status equal to that of the other nations. Referring to the consent

given by Lord Milner to the arrangement to give a number of seats to the Indians, the Government of India have suggested that this system of perpetuating racial differences ~~f~~ should not be adopted and that, if all persons of a certain qualification whethery they are Indians, Europeans or Africans be included in a single electoral roll, it would be possible for Indians to represent Europeans and VICE VERSA and it would thereby conduce the promotion of harmony and friendship between the two races. But it is indeed the misfortune of India that they had not this good sense when they accept accepted the necessity for communal representation in India. Now turning to the question of East Africa, we ask whether the Europeans there were created by a white god different from the one who created the whole world. They say that they will not live in streets inhabited by the Indians and that they will not do business in the streets used by the Indians for purposes of trade. They require that there should be separate places for both the communities and Lord Milner has, in support of this haughty claim, called in the aid of all sanitary principles. If it can be said that the sanitary conditions of the Europeans, (acquire) would be affected by their living among the Indians, why should not Lord Milner take it that the latter also would by their associations with Europeans, acquire their habits and both the communities would live in comfort. It is quite clear from the proposal to separate the places of business that it is only racial arrogance and not sanitary conditions that is at the bottom of it. We greatly appreciate the emphatic statement of the Government of India that it is ~~sixth~~ their duty to protect the rights of Indians in foreign countries. But their having accepted, without knocking on the head, the plea of the East African Government that a preponderance of Indians in the Legislative Councils might prevent them from discharging their functions



serves only to show that they have not correctly appreciated the Indians. We request the Government of India to urge upon the Secretary of State that, inless the grievances of the Indians in East Africa are redressed in a proper manner, the British Empire will lose its stability.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 29th January, reverts to this subject and referring to an observation of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE'S own correspondent that there are no signs of the diminution of the race hatred evinced by the whites in East Africa even after the warning given by the Indians there that they will positively enter upon a war of non-co-operation if their grievances are not redressed, writes; It is nothing but unjust that the Indians should not be allowed to live in quarters set apart for the Europeans in Mombassa, Nairoti and other important towns. It appears that the soothing words of the Under Secretary for the colonies in the Parliament have not given any satisfaction to the Indians in East Africa. The latter are afraid whether the Government of India will stop with the publication of the despatch. They are also said to be suffering from financial difficulties. It needs no saying from us that the Government cannot but yield if, under the circumstances, Indians should firmly stand by the resolution of the Congress on non-co-operation and carry on agitation boldly.

7. In a leading article under this heading, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 14th January, writes:- If England only sincerely wills and tries, she can make the Africans retain their wealth without its being carried away by the Colonials and attain a high degree of civilization as well as a status equal to that of the people of other countries. She can wipe off the deep sorrow existing in the minds of the 25 crores of Mussalmans in the world by restoring the Sultan of Turkey the countries of Adrianople, Smyrna, Arabia, Syria and Mesopotamia which rightfully belong to

to him. She can grant independence to the natives of Jamaica, Fiji, Ceylon and other places and make them feel that they are human beings and lastly she can without deluding the Indians crying for liberty with psuedo reforms, earn undying fame by granting them real liberty. If this is accomplished, the Indians will sacrifice their all for the sake of England and preserve her from danger. Above all, Englishmen, will then have the blissful satisfaction of having left off their evil ways and entered upon a righteous path. The question of the day is whether ways England wishes to enjoy all this and will grant liberty to Indian. The time at her disposal is very short. Let us see how she is going to act.

8. Referring to the suspension of the Planter's Labour Bill in Ceylon, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th January observes:- The doubt in the minds of some as to

Labourers in Ceylon.

whether the authorities in

Ceylon have come forward

only to secure the interests of the labourers in the plantations there by legislation has now been cleared by the fact that the Planter's Labour Bill has been suspended in view of the Present unsatisfactory condition of the rubber and tea plantations. The Bill was introduced the moment there was necessity for labour. Now that the plantations are in difficulties, it is given up. When the authorities in Ceylon came forward to pass an Act in the interests of the planters, the Government of Madras secretly conferred with them at Ootacamund and kept the public in the dark, ~~at~~ though the matter was one affecting thousands of poor Indians. Even now, when the Legislation is proposed to be suspended, we do not think that the Government of Madras will open their lips. Are the interests of the poor Indians that are under the protection of the Government of Madras or those of the foreign planters in Ceylon, that should prevail with the Government? When the poor are crying on account of their sufferings for want of sufficient sustenance



in spite of their having left their native land and the authorities remain indifferent, is it not strange that they should find fault with us for not co-operating with them?

## II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

### (a) Police.

15. Adverting to the scant courtesy shown the other day to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sadasiva Ayyar by a Mounted Police Sergeant, the KANTHIRAVA, of Highhandedness of a Police Sergeant. the 18th January, remarks:-

It is because Government entertain such stupid people in their service and given them a CARTE BLANCHE to do as they please, ~~ill~~ that all sorts of iniquitous acts are being perpetrated by them and a wide gulf of ill-feeling has been created between the rulers and the ruled in this country. It now remains to be seen what steps the authorities will take in this matter, and, in case the Sergeant be find, how many people will come forward to reward him in appreciation of his high sense of duty.

### (e) Local and Municipal.

20. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 20th January, expresses its ~~satisfaction~~ at the resolution for requesting the Government of Madras to appoint The Madras Corporation and the firing at Perumbur. a representative committee for inquiring into the case of firing on the labourers by the Police at Perambur, having been accepted by the Corporation and remarks:- But we are much concerned to note the absence of courage, feeling of independence and righteous indignation in the arguments of the representatives. If an act which on the face of it, is unjust should be committed, every one should deem it to be prejudicial to his rights and liberty, ascertained whether the commission of the act was unjust and urge the adoption of adequate remedies therefor. It is only then that we can say that there is vitality in the nation and a sense of independence in men. We hope that the members of the Corporation and others will realise these

truths and safeguard the rights of the people without allowing them to suffer to the least extent.

(k) General.

25. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's advice that all Indians should resort to non-co-operation, the VARTAKAMITRAN, of The Nagpur Congress.

the 19th December, observes:-

If the several stages of non-co-operation suggested by Mr. Gandhi are adopted, it is certain that India will obtain complete SWARAJ not in a year but in a month. Even the bureaucrats are quite aware of this truth though they do not show it out. We hope every Indian would realise that good time will dawn upon India only by resorting to this sincere movement and act accordingly.

Writing about the SWARAJ resolution passed at the recent Congress, the BHAJE KERALAM, of the 8th January, points out that nationalism, unless its life and growth and crushed by surrounding conditions, does end in self-government and that the republican freedom of the kind suggested by the Reception Committee can be realised only by incessant suffering and endless unrest which certainly have spread in India more than anywhere else. The paper thinks that with the decision of the Congress to take up the weapon of non-co-operation for obtaining SWARAJ, India's future has been ensured, and prays that the self-denial practised by Indians with the help and support of Mahatma Gandhi may lead to the salvation of India.

28. Referring to this strike, the DESABHAKTAN, of the

The Tramway strike in Madras. 17th January, observes:- It is not known what definite steps

are being taken by the Labour commissioner to settle this matter. Nor are there any symptoms to indicate that



either the Corporation or the Government are evincing any interest in putting an end to this strike. There does not seem to be anything wrong in the contention of the workmen. This strike, besides, being an affair concerning the workmen and the company, is one causing inconvenience to the public unnecessarily. It is therefore incumbent on them to redress the legitimate grievances of the workmen and restore the tram service. In England and other western countries, it is usual for the Ministers and the Corporation during such strikes not only to send for the representatives of both the parties and effect a compromise between them but also to apprise the public, by means of daily bulletins, of the stage at which the compromise stands. It is only in this country that the authorities are acting in irresponsible ways like heaven-born beings. But we believe that here-after Indians will not tolerate ~~this~~ this. The public are becoming more and more conscious of their rights and the duties of the Corporation and Government. It is ridiculous that one, who <sup>does</sup> ~~does~~ not know Tamil and cannot freely associate with the children of the soil, is the Labour Commissioner. It is highly regrettable that the policy of reserving high posts for Europeans is being followed in this case also. It is only the impartial Tamils imbued with zeal real liberty that are competent to hold this office in the Tamil country. It behoves the Executivex~~Office~~ Council to issue strict orders to Mr. Moir, the present Labour commissioner, to see that this difference is settled at once. As the Company by allowing four strikes to occur within three years has given room for doubting its capacity to manage such an important means of communication, it appears proper for the Corporation to find out whether the strike is due either to obstinacy or want of sympathy on the part of the company and if so to warn it that its license to run the tramway will be cancelled and given to others if there should be a strike again from similar reasons.

Remarking that neither the Tramway authorities nor the Government of Lord Willingdon appear to have bestowed any consideration on the fact that the poor clerks and subordinate officials cannot afford to have conveyances, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd January, observes:- We understand that the tramway men have intention of resuming ~~the~~ their work unless they are certain that they would not suffer indignities at the hands of the capitalists any longer. There have been more than three strikes in Madras till now as far as we remember, and who is responsible for the suffering thus caused to the public unnecessarily? Why should the company keep quiet, without making any statement to the public? If they fail to give a definite reply soon, the public will have to decide what step they should take. Both of them should bear in mind that the sole monopoly of running the cars on roads belonging to the Corporation has been given to the Company.

29. Adverting to the news that Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has given notice of his intention to move a resolution in the Council of State for the Repressive measures in India. appointment of a committee to consider and report upon the necessity or otherwise of repealing or modifying the existing repressive laws, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th January, observes:- Then what doubt is there that it is Mr. Sastri that supports the British Government? Does he seek the advice of a committee, lest a wholesale cancellation in haste of all the repressive measures should launch the Government into trouble? Though the authorities might put him on the back for entertaining such views, we very much regret his action in having created an impression of having done the greatest disservice to his country. Rumour is at present rife that the authorities realising to some extent that it is no longer possible to put down the people by means of repressive measures, propose to repeal them. Can it be called service



to the country to seek advice for retaining these measures at a time when they are about to be expunged from the statute book? The expenditure, delay and the findings of a committee are too well known. Is it for shelving the agitation for the repeal of the repressive measures that Mr. Sastri wants a committee? It is understood that even the Government of India are going to express a word of sympathy for the Punjab atrocities at a meeting of the Legislative Assembly in Delhi. Had they believed in the efficacy of repression, would they agree to adopt this course? We are sorry that, under such circumstances, Mr. Sastri should have come forward to support the bureaucrats by means of this resolution.

30. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th January, published the proceedings of a public meeting of the labourers in

Labourers in Madras. Madras held on the 16th IDEM, in which the President, Mr.

Harisarvottama Rao, is said to have spoken to the effect that the Government and the Labour Commissioner are favouring the capitalists who have also the help of the army and that the Government and the public should understand that, if justice be not rendered to the labourers and they be not given wages sufficient to maintain themselves, India will become another Ireland; and other speakers also are said to have followed with the remark that the tramway strike would not have occurred if the Labour Commissioner had not come upon the scene, that the Government are helping the capitalists with their military strength, that Lord Willingdon, instead of helping his subjects, sent the army to afflict them and that the labourers should be prepared to face all kinds of the difficulties and meet death.

32. In a leader under this heading, the SWADESAMITRAN,

Non-co-operation and boycott of foreign goods. of the 19th January, refers to certain observations of Sir

Valentine Chirol regarding the boycott of foreign goods in

one of his contributions to the LONDON TIMES and writes:-  
 The boycott of the <sup>A</sup>SWADESHI movement which appeared in  
 this country in the years 1905, 1906 and 1907. The objections  
 hitherto of Mahatma Gandhi is the beginning was based  
 upon the fact that it could not be a complete success so  
 long as there was a foreign Government and that, by adding  
 a difficult item, the rest of the programme might be pre-  
 judicially affected. It was for this reason that the move-  
 ment for the boycott of foreign goods started in 1905  
 "disappeared like forth" as observed by Sir Valentine. But  
 we should say that his observation is not correct. It is  
 no doubt true that there was no visible success, but it  
 should not be forgotten that the movement in its zenith  
 dealt a severe blow to Manchester. If it had been carried  
 on here without any obstruction, it would have won complete  
 success and Manchester would, even then, have reached its  
 present low state. But the unscrupulous officials here  
 put down the movement by resorting to repressive measures  
 and destroyed Indian industries with the help of the laws  
 of the State. With a view to benefit Manchester, they  
 inflict corporal punishment upon mother Bharata under wrong  
 pretexts. But is Manchester in a flourishing condition today?  
 The King acts then and there, but the way of Providence are  
 slow. Though Mr. Gandhi did not include the ~~tax~~ item  
 of the boycott of foreign goods in his original resolution  
 for fear that the industrialists and merchants might lose  
 courage if they should again be exposed to the attacks  
 of the officials, the principle that only SWADESHI goods  
 should be used as far as possible has not sustained defeat till  
 this ~~is~~ minute. There is evidence in the statement of Sir  
 Valentine Chirol itself that the movement has gained great  
 power today and that it has been only flourishing more and  
 more since it was started. It is no doubt true that we  
 should benefit the labourers of the world, but we should



not, on that account, deceive ourselves and allow ourselves to be robbed. It is against the interest of the country to wear foreign cloths ~~hw~~ while the labourers here are unable to get sufficient food. This movement is sure to win complete success in course of time. But we need not hold on to this boycott of foreign goods for ever, as it is to continue only ~~up~~ to the time when the sons of the soil attain industrial eminence. Sir Valentine, who says that Mr. Gandhi and his friends were only cloths manufactured in the country, does not realise how large the number of such friends is. But to us who are in the country and observe the signs of the itmes, it ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> clear that the movement will soon be crowned with success.

33. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 14th January, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, a communication under this heading, in which the following "Our ideal". finds place among others:-

Our ideal is only SWARAJ WHICH IS THE birthright of every individual and race and it is only fiendish on the part of any individual or race to subjugate and govern another by force. Speaking particularly about Indian aspirations, we may say that India is their home and the foreigners that exercise the -a authority here are only thieves. It is only the state of living in honour and comfort in their home, after driving away these thieves that constitute SWARAJ and Indians should boldly try to attain it peacefully and without shedding blood. A few thougands of whites cannot stand in the way of 40 crores of Indians if they should be united. The attitude of the majority of the former requires change and Indians should be treated as equals and friends. Such change of attitude cannot be brought about by begging on ~~behind~~ bended knees. Englishmen are no doubt valiant, but being devoid of real faith in God, are haughty and think of other races with contempt. The ~~mo~~ment the Indians

display true courage and make Englishmen feel that they are prepared to lay down their lives for the sake of truth and righteousness and for the preservation of their honour, they will win SWARAJ. Thousands of patriots should come forward to work for this ideal. Strenuous work should be done for doing away with foreign rule and establishing self-government. It is only by adopting the creed of Mahatma Gandhi and winning SWARAJ that we can hope to benefit ourselves permanently.

35. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 18th January, refers to the news said to have been received that the disturbances in Rai Bareilly had subsided and to the observation in the Morning Post, the DAILY TELEGRAPH and other London papers that the that the/ ryots' agitation was indeed Bolshevism in character and that, if Mr. Gandhi were imprisoned, it would subside as the non-co-operation movement was the root cause of it, remarks:- If the bureaucrats should take this evil advice and resort to the repressive measures, there will be no peace in the country and disturbances will be frequent. None can say what all this will lead to. It is the duty of the Government to consult the true representatives of the people in regard to the great agitation now prevalent in the minds of the people in all provinces, ascertain the root cause thereof., and try to remove it, Whatever else they may do will serve only to increase the agitation. If those standing in the relationship of father and mother to the people should begin to fire on them, how can there be any lasting friendship between the two? It is acts like these that affect the confidence of the people in the Government and that of the Government in the people. The Indians, who are the inheritors of an ancient civilization, may be easily prevailed upon by kind words not to cause any disturbance. It is nothing but unwisdom to attempt to keep them under control by resort to methods adopted in the west for quelling mobs and to afflict them by firing,



and other means, instead of understanding their true nature and pacifying them by redressing their grievances. The Government can endure only if, hereafter at least, it should change its ways completely and establish peace by the examination and redress of grievances of the people, secure the co-operation of the leaders and conduct the administration through them. The question is whether the Government of India and the local Government will now at least realise that they should proceed along the right royal road.

36. The DESABHAKTAN of the 18th January, refers to the statement said to have been made by the Duke of Connaught to a correspondent  
The visit of the Duke of Connaught.  
that he is going to grant to the Indians what they ~~new~~ now desire, and writes:-  
A rumour is afloat that he is going to make a declaration fixing time limit for the grant of Home Rule, and we believe that there is some foundation for it. There is another rumour to the effect that the Duke will entirely repeal the Rowlatt Act and amend the Press Act on the lines suggested by Sir Sivaswami Ayyar. A third is current to the effect that he is going to repeal all the repressive laws. Whatever may happen, the Indians have determined to attain complete SWARAJ, and they are not therefore going to accept anything short of it. Let not the Duke think that the Indians will be satisfied with the fixing of time limit for the grant of Home Rule (who knows whether it may be fifty or a hundred years?). It is our earnest wish that he should note the resolutions of the Indian National Congress held at Nagpur in connexion with this subject. The India of today is neither moderate India nor Anglo-India, but it is nationalist's India; and the Duke of Connaught cannot fail to understand its true feeling. Will he act upon that knowledge or increase India's discontent.

The NAVASAKTI, of the 21st January, remarks that the Duke of Connaught has been sent to India to open the Legislative Councils which are unrepresentative in character and observes: This is perhaps one of the tricks of the Cabinet Ministers. Indians will never be pleased by their sending to India a representative of the Royal Family and getting opened by him the legislative Councils which the majority of the people do not want. Let not the Ministers think hereafter that the Indians are sleeping. Coming now to the Duke's reception in Madras, we say that the bureaucrats tried all methods to fill the route taken by them with people. The sky shed tears even on Sunday night and at the remembrance of the Bureaucratic legislative Council. The Government do know that the non-co-operation movement is increasing in strength everyday. It will be a barbarous thing ~~for the Government~~ for the Government to think of suppressing it by having recourse to repression. The adoption of repressive measures is not the characteristic of a civilized Government. Ignoble men like Lord Sydenham and Sir Michael O'Dwyer are crying themselves hoarse in England that his movement should be suppressed and that Mr. Gandhi should be arrested. England (~~that this movement~~) should not allow herself to be deceived by the words of such wicked men. We hope the Duke of Connaught will, on his return, acquaint His Majesty with the affection which India bears towards him and the Royal family, her present condition and the dignity of the movement of non-co-operation with bureaucrats.

The MALAYALA MANORAMA, of the 11th and the NAZRANI DEEPIKA, of the 14th January, and some other papers extend the right royal welcome to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and deprecate the boycott advocated by the non-co-operators. The YOGAKSHEMAM, the SAMADARSI and the MALAYALI, however refer to the want of zeal on the part of the majority of the people of Madras during His Royal



Highness's visit. The YODAKSHEMAN POINTS OUT that it cannot be forgotten that the reforms have not given ~~complete~~ complete satisfaction to any party in India, and observes that the Government should try to win over the Indians by their future actions, not by messages and speeches. The SAMADARSI thinks that His Royal Highness must have realised great influence of the Congress and the ~~extent~~ <sup>extent</sup> of the spread of non-co-operation and from these things the discontent of the people with the bureaucracy, and observes that his experience in India will compel him to impress upon the English people the necessity of doing greater justice to India in administrative matters. The MALAYALI thinks that in spite of differences of opinion regarding the duty of Indians to welcome or boycott the visit, India will surely derive various benefits from this visit.

37. Referring to this movement, the NAVASAKTI, of the 21st January, writes:- The bureaucrats did not ~~see~~ heartily support the SWADESHI MOVEMENT which appeared in this country ten years ago. The labour movement in India. The then Viceroy Lord Minto who declared that he was in favour of true SWADESHISM <sup>aided</sup> in the punishment of some of the leaders of the movement. The object of declaring a movement to be good and at the same time punishing its leaders is nothing but that of crushing it. The leader of the Home Rule movement was also imprisoned and now attention is being directed upon Mr. Gandhi who <sup>holds</sup> ~~reads~~ the non-co-operation movement. We hoped that, at least after the European war, the bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indian press which are bent upon destroying all movements for India's good would become wiser, but they have not improved and what is said to be done for it? And, now, to make matters worse, the capitalists also have joined hands with the bureaucraties and Anglo-Indian organs in working for the destruction of the labour movement. Why should not these

have aimed at securing the good of the labourers ever since the advent of British rule in India, the appearance of the Anglo-Indian organs and the establishment of the factories by capitalists? Are there any special laws in India<sup>g</sup> governing the constitution of labour unions? Are the Anglo-Indian papers aware of the fact that the capitalists were treating the laborers like brutes! These three continued to remain silent while ~~there~~<sup>there</sup> was no awakening among the labourers and, now that labour has woke up, they too seem to be alive. The labourers are deriving immense benefit ~~for~~<sup>for</sup> the establishment of labour unions and to whose work do the labourers owe such benefit? The labourers fully know that this is due to political agitators, but the bureaucrats, Anglo-Indian papers and the capitalists are not, perhaps, yet aware of it. There are enemies of India's(~~retired to that~~) good not only in India, but in England also and most of them are those who have retired to that country after having fattened themselves upon the Indian revenues. The bureaucrats, the Anglo-Indian organs and the capitalists are now turning their attention to the labouring movement. They will pretend to be in sympathy with the movement and try to repress the leaders with a view to destroy the movement itself. As it appears that a danger may arise in that shape, let the leaders of the movement stand united and be prepared for sacrifice.

38. The SWADESAMITRAN, in its leader of the 21st January, under this heading refers to the news said to have been cabled by Reuter, that an agreement is to be entered into between Russia and Persia after the withdrawal of British troops from the latter country, and remarks:- The view of some of the British Ministers that Government can be carried on even at this late day in Machiavellian fashion



is wrong as that ~~maxi~~ method will not be applicable to the present times. The rulers cannot but carry out their promises and Indians is being looked upon by the Asiatics as a touchstone to test England's honesty and good faith. Can there be any doubt in regard to the fact that, if India should be granted SWARAJ, the doors of her market will be thrown open to England with greater generosity and pleasure than in the case of other countries? If British Ministers were capable of looking to the future of England, they would even ~~today~~ <sup>to-day</sup> cable to India the news of the grant of SWARAJ to her. Is it England's wish that she should have the longstanding friendship of India. If so, the British statesmen are bound to immediately seek ways for the attainment by India of complete swaraj.

39. Remarking that it is not in India alone, but in foreign countries also, Indian money is being squandered and quoting the reply of Mr. Montagu to the questions recently put by Mr. Bennet in Parliament about TASWARI AKBAR, a Government organ, that it has been published for the past eighteen months, that the paper will become a monthly from next year forwards, that the cost of publication will then be £400 a month, that the charges therefor are being met from Indian revenues and that ~~it~~ there is no intention of putting a stop to it in the near future, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19th January observes:- It is understood that this

paper is being published in  
Mesopotamia. It is needless to

Drain on India's money.  
say anything in regard to this expenditure but that it amounts to nothing short of robbing Peter and paying Paul. Mr. Montagu boldly declares that there <sup>is</sup> no intention of putting a stop to this expenditure! Is any further proof needed to show that the Indians administration is an irresponsible one?

41. Observing that India's efforts towards the attainment of SWARAJ are nothing but legitimate, the TAMIL NADU, of the 23rd January, writes:-  
SWARAJ.

While the foreigners who came to this country for purposes of trade receive great honours and are provided all conveniences, the sons of the soil meet only with indignities and inconveniences wherever they go.. One ~~br~~acker than coal gets a reserved Compartment for oneself in the railway train, if one should wear a European hat, while Indians even if they be princes or men of wealth are huddled together like cattle. Our work-men who had been weaving silk and other delicate fabrics are now leading igno~~ble~~ lives by cleaning railway engines and motor-cars. The indigenous industries have suffered destruction and all the honourable offices in the country are being held by foreigners only. In short the Indians are living as foreigners in their native land. One should be a lunatic or a self-seeking fiend to say that the aspiration of the Indians, to live honourably and independently in their country in the same manner as the English, ~~German~~ <sup>Germans</sup> and Japanese do in theirs, is wrong. The proposal that the whites should be monitors to the Indians and teach them lessons in SWARAJ is not only a matter for laughter, but is also quite incompatible with the dignity of India. We request the Englishmen to consent to the grant of SWARAJ to India if they mean to preserve their greatness in tact and if they want the Empire to honourably endure in the world. Till they attain SWARAJ, the Indians should adopt the vow of boycott of foreign goods and Government offices and honours.

42. The TAMIL NADU, of the 23rd January, publishes, from the pen of a correspondent, an article under this heading  
"Is it to be autocracy or democracy?" in which the following sentiments find place among others:-

Though there is no sovereign in India holding autocratic sway,



still a small party of Englishmen enact laws as they please and exercise authority without associating themselves with the ~~representative~~ representative s of the people, it is admitted that India is being autocratically governed. Though Government has not been carried on in India on democratic lines from ancient times, we have, as our ideal, SWARAJ on these lines only, as we have lost faith in autocracy from a reading of the WORLD'S history and on account of our sufferings at the hands of the English bureaucrats. It is non-co-operation alone that will bring to us redress for our past indignities and sufferings and it is only by means of it that India can obtain her redemption.

43. The TAMIL NADU, of the 23rd January, publishes the following stray comments on a variety of topics:-

Stray notes.

(A trivial order of Mahatma

Gandhi had the wonderful effect of making twenty-five thousand people assemble in Madras and boycott the Duke of Connaught completely and curse the psuedo-Legislative Council. The order has been most successfully carried out in Madras. Connaught is sure to be boycotted in all the places which he may visit.)

47. Remarking that the repressive acts of the Government go on increasing as the non-co-operation movement gains in

Repression in India.

strength, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 22nd January, observes:-

The Government of India stated, in a communique recently issued by them in regard to non-co-operation, that they did not intend to resort to repressive measures and that they were going to allow the movement to die of itself. But it is only after the issue of such a communique that we hear of the punishments inflicted upon some of the editors. All these taken together will clearly explain the attitude of the Government. Even supposing that all these editors have transgressed the bounds of law in their writings, do the Government hope to effect a change by means of

corporal punishment in the temperament of those who ~~take~~ take the sentences pronounced on them in a spirit of resignation to the will of Providence? By punishing them, they can only keep them in confinement for a time; but, is it possible to change their views? Have not the Government realised from the trend of the times that this method has not terrorised others and that ten persons will ~~rise~~ rise to take the place of one committed to prison? History should have taught them that, if their object be to prevent anything unfavourable to them, appearing in newspapers, the punishment of some editors is not the means to achieve it. Will it be sufficient for the Government to suppress hostile criticism? Can they, by this method, prevent one from thinking or speaking against the Government? There is only one way of making all the subjects support the Government and that is by fulfilling their aspirations. Are the Government of Lord Chelmsford aware of the fact, that, instead of following this method, they are adopting the policy which will reduce this country to the condition to which it was reduced by Lord Curzon? Having once declared that they would not resort to repression, are not the Government bound to act in accordance therewith? Was that made only to delude the people in England? Or is it their contention that it is not repression to charge and punish one under the Penal Code, but that it is only the ordinary course of justice? If so, is it not an act of repression to forfeit the security deposited by the press wherein the AKALI was printed? Can there be two different punishments for a single offence? When once the Judge has already punished the editor of the AKALI for the publication of offensive articles, is it just for the District Magistrate to have ordered the forfeiture of the security amount for the same offence? The miseries of the AKALI did not end with this. Another press undertook its publication and deposited a security of Rs.2,000 as required by the Magistrate. The



New press purchased certain security of Rs.8,000. It appears that the Magistrate has exceeded his powers in this matter. ~~But~~ But the law does not provide any right of appeal against the magistrate's Order. Repressive laws in India are in such a beautiful condition. It is need~~less~~ to describe the attitude of the officials that apply them in practice. We have started on our campaign for the attainment of SWARAJ only at a time when we are surrounded by such laws and are being crushed by such officials. God alone should help us.

51. Referring to the resolution to be moved by the Hon'ble Mr. V.S. Sreenivasa Sastri in the coming session

Efforts of Mr.V.S.Sreenivasa Sastri.	of the Council of State, of which notice has been given, the ANDHRA PATRIKA, of the 18th January, remarks:-
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He wants to move for the appointment of a committee to examine the Statute Book and advise which of the Act contained therein should be repealed or modified, and if so to suggest the modifications. We need not say anything about the usefulness of these committees. People had enough ~~to~~ of experience of them. Perhaps, an inquiry committee is needed, even to find out whether or not the repressive Acts should be repealed! . . . . . When, even after the Reforms Act, the members waste their time with such useless resolution, one can well imagine of what use the Reforms will be.

56. Referring to the views expressed by Sir Valentine Chirol during his recent stay at Nellore on his way to Madras,

Sir Valentine Chirol.	Andhra Patrika, of the 18th observes, in its leader:-
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. . . . . It is very different for such men to understand the wished of the people. In his second article recently contributed to the TIMES, there are many statements which he has made with no definite knowledge of facts. He says that there is no connexion between the Khilafat, which

wants to trample under foot Arabia and the problem of SWARAJ for India. He is entirely mistaken in this matter. No Muhammadan says that Arabia should not be given SWARAJ. They wish that she should be given SWARAJ under the Turkish Empire, or if that was not possible she must be allowed to have such a system of administration as the people of the country like. What has happened now? Turkish power has been ousted and European nations are now ruling Arabia. What kind of SWARAJ is this? Did the Arabians ask for it? ... India cannot but feel sorry to find that the eastern countries are one after another falling into the hands of the European nations losing their independence. This is the reason why the Hindus sympathise with the Muhammadans as regards the humiliation of Turkey. The desire for SWARAJ has intensified the brotherly feelings between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. . . . . Mr. Chirol thinks that this union is temporary and unreal. So, he is of opinion that it will not last long. All that he wants is that the union should be broken. . . . . He also thinks that the boycott of schools will prove a failure. If he only observes what is being done in the Bengal Presidency with regard to this matter, he cannot but change his opinion. . . . . He connects Gandhi's movement with Bolshevism. From all this, one can see that Mr. Chirol has not understood properly the nature of the new movement. If England, at least now, shakes off her indifference and grants the wishes of the Indians, she can preserve India for herself. England and India should be knit together by bonds of love and more united. Indifference of England to the condition of India is harmful. The sooner England wakes up, the better will it prove to be.



57. Referring to the argument of Sir P. Thyagaraya Chetti that a resolution calling for the appointment of Madras Corporation and the Shooting incident. a committee to inquire into the Perambur shooting incident cannot be moved in the Corporation, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 19th January, observes:- This argument seems to us very surprising. If the Corporation cannot have the power to ask for an inquiry to be held when innocent people are shot dead in the city and when so much commotion has been created therein, what other powers can they possess ? When they have authority to accord a welcome to the Duke to give an opinion on the Reforms, and to interfere ~~with~~ when there was a panic regarding the kidnapping of children, can it not be their duty to interfere when the lives of the labourers are at stake? ... Many of the Corporation members, by opposing such a resolution, have only brought discredit on local self-government. ... We do not know how far this resolution will effect a change in the attitude of the Government who were of opinion that a committee was not necessary. Mr. Chetti has already said that this will only go to the waste-paper basket. We wish to know what those, who have been saying that the Reforms will remove all the difficulties of the people, will say now!

58. Referring to the letter sent by Sain Nihal Singh to the HINDU asking the Indians not to have much faith in the support of the Labour India and the British Labour Party. party in England, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 20th January, writes in its leader:- The Nagpur Congress makes it clear that nobody in India has has relied upon the support of the Labour party or any other party. The Congress members did not attempt to curry the favour of the Labour representatives who came to this country. They have even dissolved the British Congress Committee. India has resolved now to depend

upon herself. Even if the Labour party comes into power, there is no (observe the opposi) reason for us to think that they will grant immediate SWARAJ to India. If we observe the opposition of some of the Labour leaders to the non-co-operation movement, it becomes manifest that India's wishes cannot be fulfilled by depending upon the help of others. . . . . Some of those leaders compare this movement with the Sinn Fien movement in Ireland and predict that the same disastrous results will follow here. They have not understood that these two movements have no connexion whatsoever. It is difficult for the Westerners to understand that ~~the~~ success in anything can be attained by spiritual force. They have not understood that truth (or goodness) and non-violence are the essential factors of the non-co-operation movement. When the Indians come out triumphant, the Western world will turn from the worship of physical strength to that of spiritual DHARMA. Until then they will not believe in it. The utility of a tree can only be known by its fruit.

62. Regarding the ideas of prestige, which generally guide the authorities, as the main cause of the present

Prestige. crisis in India, and pointing out the need of a united

front being presently by the extremists and moderates at the present time, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 24th January, observes in its leader under this heading:- Before Mr. Montagu became the Secretary of State for India he had declared that the Indian administration might be carried on excellently if the authorities based their rule on foundations of Justice rather than of prestige. But soon after he assumed the responsibilities of the Government, he 'became a slave of such prestige.' If Lord Reading who is also giving expression to his good intentions now, does not embrace the same ideas of prestige after assuming the authority of his office, he will be successful. It is owing to these ideas of prestige that the wheel of administration runs in the same rut who-



whoever be the Viceroy of the Secretary of State. . . . .  
 The authorities have committed many faults. If they correct them and act according to the wishes of the people, the whole unrest in the country will disappear in no time. Without understanding this simple fact, there is no use in the English papers raising a hue and cry for no purpose. . . England can solve the Khilafat and the Punjab problems without any difficulty, but her ideas of prestige and self-interest are standing in the way. The moderates and the extremists think alike in this matter. For the success of the 'non-co-operation' movement, it is essential that all parties should work together and be united. . . . . The appointment of Lord Reading, who has an eye for justice and who adopts reconciliatory methods, as Viceroy and the fact of the India Government not taking any action against the leaders of the said movement in spite of the repeated exhortations of the English Press, assure the success of the movement. If it is carried on in the spirit of righteousness and truth, the authorities cannot but abandon their ideas of prestige and act according to the wishes of the people.

65. Writing under this heading line the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 21st January, in the course of an English article,

makes the following observations:-

The condition of India.

"India is passing through

a strange ordeal. The Punjab tragedies have begun to produce their effect. The foundations of British justice and loyalty have been rudely shaken by the undeserved protection extended to Anglo-Indian wrong-doers. But for their wrongs, Gandhi would not have been the uncrowned Emperor of India to-day. There are Anglo-Indians who suggest the arrest of Gandhi and his incarceration or even execution. Gandhi has become a plague germ. One plague germ divides itself into two two into four, four into sixteen, and it multiplies itself in geometrical ratio and in the course of 24 hours one

germ becomes seventeen million germs. In the same way Mr. Gandhi has already become seventy million Gandhis to-day and before long it has a chance of multiplying still more, still the 300 millions of Indians are included in it. What if one Gandhi is arrested and polished off? There are hundreds of thousands of Gandhis to-day. The best way of killing all the Gandhis is to restore British justice and fair-play and kill un-British effervescences of Indian bureaucracy and autocracy. Truth and justice will prevail in the end. Wrong-doers will ultimately go to the wall. . . . . "

67. The SWADESABHIMANI, of the 21st January, in the course of a leading article, justifies the policy underlying

the non-co-operation movement  
Non-co-operation - Whether  
Constructive or ~~destructive~~ as constructive and not  
Destructive.

destructive, inasmuch as it inculcates the principles of universal brotherhood, self-reliance, national education, etc., and, in short, all that tends to foster the national instincts for the welfare of India, and remarks:- After looking into these various phases of the non-co-operation movement how can it be said that its principles are destructive? How can the ideal which ~~enjoins~~ enjoins self-reliance and which tends to revive the national arts be called destructive? How can non-co-operation be deemed destructive when it inculcates unity on one and all? So long as non-violence is the very basic principle of the non-co-operation movement, it is quite improper to brand it as destructive.

68. Writing about the appointment of Ministers in the

various provinces of India,  
Appointment of Ministers. the KERALA PATRIKA, of the

8th January, (~~points out that during~~) remarks that the selection has nowhere been so liable to adverse criticism as in Madras, and that in Madras it was due to basing the selection on the Brahman V. non-Brahman question. It observes that as the moderates have come to these positions of authority in all the provinces, the success of the new Reforms seems to be



in all provinces, the success of the new Reforms seems to be ensured.

70. The KERALA PATRIKA, of the 15th January, points out that the privileges which India has now obtained under

Reforms Act.

Reforms Act are only a stepping stone to greater privileges,

which, it thinks, can never be obtained by non-co-operation, and that as the foundation for the peoples' privileges has been laid by the Duke of Connaught the eldest member of the Royal House, it must be considered that the Royal House is in favour of granting administrative freedom to India and observes that a new era has begun in India from 1921. The paper is of opinion that Indians should make a proper use of this new era by ~~su~~ using the powers now granted to them for the benefit of the country and its people, and adds that if united efforts in this direction are made by the people and their leaders without any selfish motives, India will surely have a bright future before her.

71. The MITHAVADI, of the 10th January, points out that to try to resort to non-co-operation as advocated

The lower castes and co-operation. by the recent Congress will lead to serious consequences

as in Ireland and in Russia, protests against the action of the Government in ignoring the Thiyya community and the other depressed classes in Malabar in the matter of their

representation to the Local Legislative Council, ~~the Gov~~

observes that the nominations have shown that co-operation is not appreciated by the Government as much as non-co-

operation and thinks that <sup>in as much</sup> ~~inasmuch~~ as these communities derived no substantial benefit from the Government when

they were in the height of their power, these communities have no hope of being benefited in the future when the powers of administration will be shared by the alleged

high class Hindus.

77. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 13th January, has a leader on this subject which is briefly to the following

The degrading of the Khilafat. effect:- The terms of the Turkish Treaty have been modified. This is regarded by us as a way of maintaining the dignity of Islam. But we regard the mean attempt to connect the Khilafat question with SWARAJ as degrading. Those, who have the greatness of Islam impressed on their minds and recognise the dignity of the Khilafat, will never be prepared to make it a question of secondary importance..

The chief sympathisers with the Khilafat have done nothing beyond sending a deputation to England at a cost of thousands of pounds raised by subscriptions in India. Those who suffered atrocities in Turkey are now bettering their condition by means of the sword. The crafty Hindus of India, have, under cover of the Khilafat, made Mussalmans their supporters, otherwise what have they to do with the question?

#### IV. NATIVE STATES.

80. Remarking that eg generally the visit of the Governor of a Presidency or some big European official to an Indian state leads Indian Princes and British Officials. to extravagant expenditure in connexion therewith, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 19th January, observes:- Not a year passes without the ruler of a Native State welcoming a British Official and spending Hundreds of rupees on that account. It is said that the Mysore Darbar spent about three lakhs of rupees last year in connexion with Lord Chelmsford's visit and ~~the~~ thousands of rupees were spent in Travancore and Cochin when Lord Willingdon visited these States last year. If these sums had been spent for other purposes, it would have greatly benefited the public. It should not be understood that,



by saying so, we are of opinion that British officials should not visit Native States and that they should not be welcomed by the Darbar. On the other hand, we are of opinion that the greater the mutual attachment between the two the greater will be advantage. Though it is painful to think of how the Indian States were treated by British officials during the last century and the one preceding it, it is our wish that those things should now be forgotten and that the two should be amicable. But what we do say is that the Native States should ~~be~~ not spend thousands of rupees in welcoming British officials.

81. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 17th January, in the course of an English article under the head line 'INDIAN STATES and the Congress',  
 Indian States and the Congress. writes:- "The inclusion of all Indian States into the Indian provinces for the purposes of the Congress activities has made the political interests of British India and Indian States identical. The people of the Indian States, while subject to Indian princes in the matter of administration, can bring the Congress suggestions to bear upon the administration of these States in all matters of national interest.) The enemies of the Congress may create a friction between Indian States and the National Congress. But the ultimate advantages of these steps in liberalising the administration of Indian States cannot be denied."

For the week ending 5th Febraury, 1921.

No.6 of 1921.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(d) Education.

15. Referring to the growth of national feeling in schools in Madras and quoting, as an instance in point, the resolution said to have been recently passed by the students of a High School at Mylapore, that they should seek the necessary permission for wearing the national dress even during school-hours, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 26th January, observes:- Though the student movement has not gathered sufficient strength in Madras, the students have begun to realise the worthlessness of the present system of education and their being subjected to unnecessary restrictions in regard to their lessons, dress, and other matters. Even if the national dress be not worn in connection with non-co-operation and SWADESHISM, many will consider that the coat, cap and other costly articles of dress are indeed unnecessary for Indian students. We think that by constantly wearing a soiled cap, no useful purpose will be served except that the brain will get heated and become spoilt. Further, the educational authorities should understand that our poor students have not the means to pay for the coat and cap.

(j) Salt and Abkari.

25. The DESABHAKTAN, in its leader of the 26th January, under this heading writes:- Toddy shops are being opened in every street and the Government are increasing the number of such shops through the agency of a Licensing Board appointed by them, without spoiling their own name. None has still now <sup>come</sup> forward in the Legislative Council



to declare with courage that the Government should not derive a revenue by making people drink and to put a stop to this injustice. The manufacture of opium brought in a revenue of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees to the Government of India last year, while only a small portion of it is being used by us and others for medicinal purposes. A large part of it is being ~~(used by us and other for med)~~ sent to China with the express object of increasing this evil habit there. In deference to the cries raised by the world and the Chinese people, the Government of India agreed some years ago to send opium for purposes only of medicine and not intoxication. That agreement remains a dead letter and countless chests of opium are up to now being smuggled into China. Capitalists are flooding Singapore, Saigon and other places with opium chests and earning unrighteous profit. We are thus running not only ourselves but also the countries surrounding us. We should not rest contented with saying that the Government are responsible for this evil. As the Government which is carried ~~in~~ in our name cannot go on even for a minute without our consent, we are primarily responsible for all the evils perpetrated by Government. All powers of administration should be in our hands if this drink evil should be put a stop to. Will the Indian people even now begin to work for SWARAJ ~~in~~ order to save themselves from this deadly evil?

(k) General.

26. Referring to the statements of Sir Valentine Chirol in his contributions to the LONDON TIMES on the Indian situation, the DESA~~Y~~ BHAKTAN, of the 22nd January observes:- Every one can understand how crooked Sir Valentine Chirol's knowledge is from his statement that Mahatma Gandhi's challenge to the Government to imprison him is

is nothing but a cunning device. But his having found out, even in spite of such crooked knowledge, that the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi would, at the present moment provoke serious riots show ~~this~~ natural sense. He uses the words 'at the present moment' with the idea that this imprisonment after some time will not be prejudicial. None can equal the Englishmen in using words with ulterior meanings. Sir Valentine is guilty of various other mis-  
statements also. The Hindu-Muslim fraternity is a matter which is causing great pain to him. He is prompted to say that the unity will not be permanent, as it will be easier to control and govern both if they should remain separate. He asks whether the Mussalmans will allow their children to be taught the Hindu Scriptures in the national colleges to be started in the name of Mr. Gandhi. Sir Valentine and his friends will only meet with disappointment if they think that the Hindu-Muslim unity will be destroyed by reason of the national colleges or any other cause. Another misstatement of his deserving of our condemnation is that the Indians not only know but will also admit in secret that, if the English should withdraw from India, the land will be subjected to worse slavery or plunged into anarchy. It is quite common for some cowards in a large country like this to entertain such opinion and express it to the whitemen with the object of gaining their favour. But it will be sheer blindness to take that opinion for that of the Indian public and we may assert that India will not even for a moment, be anxious as to what she should do if the English should leave her. We cannot but say that Sir Valentine who, notwithstanding his observation that the Indian nation is now many times more fervent than what he found to be the case three years ago, says that India is thinking within herself that England should not leave her, has eyes but does not see, has ears but does



not hear. If the English statesmen should allow his words to influence them in their conduct of the Government of India, it will be only like the story of the blind leading the blind.

28. In a leader under this heading, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 24th January, writes:- It appears that strikes have

"Strikes".

commenced again in Madras.

It is a fortnight since the tramwaymen have gone on strike. It is certain that such strikes would not have occurred if everything had been in order. It is only on account of the existence of some disorders in the labour world that such strikes are frequent. If the Government, the Corporation, the capitalists and labourers should fail to ascertain the nature of these disorders and rectify them speedily, we are afraid that mutual ill-feeling and disturbances will arise in the country. The Government would be deemed to have done their duty only if they should examine impartially the causes of such strikes and try to remove them. It would be a mistake if the Government should suppose that, by the appointment of a labour commissioner, world will consider them to have done their duty. However capable the Labour commissioner may be, so long as he has not the powers to carry out his own resolutions, his presence or absence does not matter much. There is no adequate basis for us to express any opinion about the capabilities of Mr. Moir. Though he may be of extraordinary abilities, being an Englishman himself, he will find it very difficult to overcome the affection he will naturally feel for the English capitalists and to arrive at an impartial decision. Even if he should be able to do it, he has not been afforded facilities for giving effect to it. In such circumstances, how can we possibly say that the Government have discharged their duties by the labourers.

30. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 26th January, refers in its leader under this heading to the statement said "Patriots living in hell." to have been made by Colonel Wedgwood that the Government of India are consigning patriots to the hell of the Andamand, and remarks:- Though the code for rulers allows them to imprison criminals, we are not aware of any provision permitting them to make of prison a hell. There are about thirteen thousand prisoners in the Andamans, and Colonel Wedgwood's statement to the world is based upon the information given to him, that those prisoners are leading a hellish life, by a person who actually experienced it. Colonel Wedgwood ~~is~~ challenges the Government to publish the report received by them about the Andamans. Will Lord Chelmsford's Government publish the same without suppressing it? Colonel Wedgwood says that Ganesh Savarkar, one of the two Savarkar brothers undergoing sentence there, is at the point of death. It is ten years since these brothers were convicted. Even assuming that they were really guilty, would they not have reformed their character during these long years? Will the British Government be shaken to the foundations, if these would like many other prisoners, be set at large? The fact that Colonel Wedgwood has been endeavouring for the past eight years to obtain their release makes it clear that he considers their confinement to be an improper act. From the fact that Colonel Wedgwood sympathises with them and condemns the Government of India, our readers can understand that the Savarkar Brothers are unnecessarily suffering there. Colonel Wedgwood himself should say whether any Indian can think of co-operating with this Government after hearing his statement that Ganesh Savarkar is on account of his desire for the freedom his motherland, about to go to the heaven set apart for heroes after having suffered for ten years in this hell on earth. Though, in



this world, the strong are in a position to inflict harm upon the weak, both will one day have to stand in the presence of the All Merciful and answer for their deeds. We do not know what explanation the Government of India will give them.

32. Referring to the fact that the City Police have, at a meeting held on 23rd January, 1921, decided to strike Labour Strikes.

work if their grievences were  
were not redressed, the

HINDU NESAN, of the 26th idem, observes:-Labour strikes coming in rapid succession and this is no indication of good time. The authorities should not be indifferent in this matter, but should take speedy steps to prevent such strikes, deeming them to be infectious diseases. It is incumbent on the Hon'ble Mr. K.Srinivasa Ayyangar and the Labour Commissioner to come forward and bring about a satisfactory termination of the present strikes by arbitrating in an impartial manner.

Referring to the recent settlement of the disputes between the workmen in the Buckingham Mills and their employers, the NAVASAKTI, of the 28th January observes:- The institution of suit upon the persons belonging to the Madras Labour Union and the muzzle placed upon their mouths did not affect the mill labourers as, instead of ten, ten thousand began to speak. The labourers were not disturbed by the rifle shows made by the Police even the use of the rifles did not frighten them. Considering the agreement arrived at between the mill authorities and workmen, we may say that the latter have scored a victory indeed. Coming next to the strikes among the Corporation employees, we may say that the public are suffering in various ways owing to those strikes and it can be easily inferred that diseases may appear as a result thereof. We assert that, if the Corporation had been in the hands of the capable men, such suffering would not have been caused to the public.

What else can the title-hunters, who have no sense of responsibility, do than ruining the city? If Lord Willingdon had, instead of just now becoming alive to the difficulties of the labourers in Madras, attempted to speedily terminate the lock-out in the Buckingham Mills, it would have been a good thing. But is he not the nobleman who approved for the unjust firing by the Police on two boys? We doubt whether Lord Willingdon would, now at least, have realised the true condition of the labourers.

35. Referring to the activities of the student movement in other provinces, the NAVASAKTI, of the 28th January,

The non-co-operation movement in Madras. / writes:- Many vakils should, like Mr. C.R. Das in Bengal, work in various provinces in a self-sacrificing spirit. The students who see such sacrifice before them will themselves also be prepared for it. It is Mr. C.R. Das's sacrifice that infused zeal into the students of Calcutta. How many of the vakils in Madras have boycotted courts and how many students have left the schools? Of what ~~vakil~~ avail will be the boycott by a person here or another there? Only when <sup>(in masses)</sup> the students leave the schools in large numbers and vakils boycott courts in the same manner, the non-co-operation movement will go on in full swing. May the students of this province gather spirit from the advice given by the leaders in Northern India and take part in the non-co-operation movement! That movement will not prosper unless students join it in large numbers. The students in Madras should, therefore, realise the condition of the country and come forward for service in its cause in view of the mandate of the Congress.)

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 28th January, writes:- We are somewhat glad that the student movement is gaining strength in Madras little by little. We are not in a position to say that the number of our students who have boycotted Government schools is even in tens, while in



other provinces thousands of them have boycotted such schools. We hope that the leaders will, at least hereafter, leave off their fears and come out. When is the province of Madras take her proper share in the non-co-operation movement?

36. Observing that even the cats and dogs in India are now actuated by a strong desire for SWARAJ, the NAVASAKTI,

SWARAJ.

of the 28th January, writes:-

One might sacrifice one's

life. , Property and soul itself for the sake of the ~~ex~~ country's freedom. The boycott of schools by students and of British courts by lawyers is not after all a great act of sacrifice. The Congress now wants this small sacrifice and those who are not bold enough even for this will never achieve SWARAJ. Men who truly desire SWARAJ should therefore come forward to do the work required of them by the Congress. We pity beings, who, without realising the truth ~~that~~ "man was born only to die," allow themselves to fall a prey to their minds, wallow in the mire of slavery and are proud of their material riches. Oh Sons of Bharata! Do you not know that, in this land, Harischandra, Prahlada, Rama and other heroes and heroines made immense sacrifices for the sake of principles? Oh people of Tamil country! Make efforts to achieve SWARAJ for the sake of the country and for safeguarding the treasures of knowledge gained by your ancestors. It is sacrifice that is required for it.

37. Referring to a speech said to have been made by Colonel Wedgwood at an entertainment given to him by

Colonel Wedgwood and Indian  
Extremists.

the editor of the SWADESAMITRAN,  
the DRAVIDAN, of the 19th

January observes:- We very much pity the ignorance of the wiseacres among the whites who think that, by reason of having made a short ~~say~~ stay in India, they know everything and come forward to speak. Colonel Wedgwood is one among

such men. He stated that the object of his visit to India was to ascertain the condition of the country and the opinions and grievances of its subjects, but he has not done anything in that direction. It is our idea that he is a messenger secretly deputed by Mr. Montagu of whose tricks we are well aware. He has converted some pseudo-patriots in India into Montagu-moderates so that he might gain their support and tempted them with posts on fat salaries and political power; and in accordance therewith, it is only the Montagu-moderates that got into power all over except in Madras. Perhaps, Mr. Montagu thought of playing this trick with a view to bring round the most spirited of the political agitators with the help of a political worker of extremist views like Colonel Wedgwood. But we are not sure whether Mr. Montagu has completely succeeded in this. Colonel Wedgwood was unable to influence the extremists in India, as he condemned non-co-operation in obedience to Mr. Montagu.

41. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 24th January, publishes a communication from a Muslim correspondent, in which

The Report of the Esher Committee	the following sentiments find place among others:- This
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land of Bharata which was once famous for righteousness, is now taking to unrighteous ways on account of its association with the westerners who have no conception even now of justice and truth. History shows that the Indians were carrying on an administration of a high order at a time when the English were roaming about naked like beasts. But now millions of Indians are suffering from want of even a single meal on account of the export of Indian products to foreign countries. It is only to enable ourselves to live in comfort like other nations in the world that we desire to achieve swaraj. The war for liberty in India first broke out in 1857. Though all the English historians have designated this war as 'the Sepoy Mutiny'



it is really India's war for liberty. As a reward for our services during the war to the British Government, we were given the Rowlatt Act, which instantly brought in the SATYAGRAHA movement under Mr. Gandhi and this made the bureaucratic demons resort to the Punjab massacre. To add to this the Esher report which is highly prejudicial to the movement of SWARAJ has been published. If this should be accepted in the Parliament, then the progress of our country cannot be even dreamt of for another hundred years to come.

42. Referring to the appointment of Presidents of the Legislative Councils in the different provinces, the Appointments under Government.

SWADESAMITRAN, of the 29th January, remarks:- Though

the people of the country have not derived any benefit whatever from the reforms, there is no doubt that the relatives and friends of the bureaucrats are having a good time, as may be evidenced by the appointments recently made under the Reforms Act. It is only the moderates that have been appointed Ministers in almost all the provinces in return for the fulsome praise bestowed by them upon the Reforms Act. But as those belonging to the JUSTICE party were of greater use to the bureaucrats than the moderates, they have been appointed Ministers in Madras. The same considerations seem to have prevailed with regard to the appointment of presidents of the Legislative Councils also. The recommendation of the Parliamentary Joint Committee that, as far as possible, persons with Parliamentary experience should be appointed Presidents of the Legislative Councils has been cast to the winds. The Ministers and others do not hesitate to follow the example thus set by Governors by giving appointments to their own friends and relatives. The first act of the Ministers in Madras has been the appointment of relative of Diwan Bahadur Subbarayalu Reddiyar as the President of the District Board of South Arcot. Further,

we hear that they are going to allow the administrative affairs to be influenced by their personal likes and dislikes and that they are laying down that no Brahman should hereafter be appointed to any office until the number of appointments held by non-Brahmans ~~should~~ comes to seven-eighths of the total number. We also understand that circulars have been sent to that effect to the high officials. We doubt if our Ministers know that the Parliamentary Act of 1833 prohibits any restriction being placed upon the rights of any subject or class of subjects of His Majesty the Emperor to hold Government appointments. As the Ministers who boast of having secured a measure of self-government, work in the direction of restricting the equal privileges of every subject, it may afford a handle to the ruling class also to claim a perpetual right to the race privileges hitherto enjoyed by them. We object only to the restriction of the equal rights of every one, be he a Brahman, non-Brahman or Englishman. The methods adopted by the bureaucrats and Ministers will only serve as new incentives to non-co-operation. The new appointments have proved that the people cannot get justice unless self-government is granted.

44. Remarking that the resolution of the Congress defining its aim to be the attainment of SWARAJ by means of

The aim of the Congress. legal and peaceful methods cannot be objected to by

persons of liberal political views and that the British also will admit its reasonableness, the SAMARASA BODHINI, of the 5th January, observes:- It is not known when the British Ministers will realize that the grant of SWARAJ of the nature of responsible government in accordance with the wishes of the Indian public will lead to ~~an~~ happiness for both the British and Indians. So, we apprise the British Government of the fact that they should not discard the

opinions of a highly representative body like the Congress, those of the Liberal Federation comprising only a few are to be respected, we have to say that the attitude of the British Government is decidedly wrong.



46. Referring to the resolution proposed to be moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri for the appointment of a committee

Repeal of repressive laws. for considering the necessity or otherwise of repealing

the repressive laws on the statute book, the VARTAKAMITRAN, of the 23rd January, observes:- Even if the resolution be ~~expressed~~ perhaps carried, no good will result from that committee, inasmuch as it will surely decide in favour of retaining these laws and the Government of India will appoint only such persons as members of the committee. Further, these laws have already done their work and it is now all the same whether they are in existence or not.

48. The TAMIL NADU, of the 30th January, refers to the writings of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the British press,

Sir Michael O'Dwyer and  
Indian Situation.

and remarks:- Patriots like  
Tilak and Gandhi belong to

the central party in this country which does not enjoy freedom. The authorities never pay any heed to the words of those belonging to that party. The anxiety of the Government will increase in proportion only to the increase in the desire for freedom among the common people. Though the central party does not incite people to rebellion or permit the commission of unlawful acts, men like O'DWYER give them the appellation of revolutionaries. History shows that much harm has been caused by the usual mistake of the authorities who take the central party for partisans. During the reign of Louis XVI, who wielded despotic sway over France, the people who had been already suffering from famine and diseases and excessive taxation were subjected by the authorities to intolerable suffering, whereupon the educated patriots headed by Mirabeau demanded more freedom. The latter went to the King frequently, represented the grievances of the people and requested him to summon a council of the representatives of the people, but he

failed in all his attempts. The King who cared only for his prestige did not consent even to the grant of minor reforms and boldly declared that none could limit his powers. With Mirabeau's death, his party also disappeared the party of common people arose. This may be said to the the Bolshevik party and they look upon the sword and other weapons as proper instruments for carrying out their object. It was these that broke open the prisons in France and let loose the political prisoners. The revolutionaries referred to by Sir Michael have not yet appeared in India. Gandhi resembles Mirabeau and, if the necessary reforms demanded (expecting the advent of this party?) by him were not granted, revolutionaries may perhaps arise. Is O'Dwyer expecting the advent of this party? We hope that Sir Michael and his party will make proper use of their knowledge of history and statesmanship and see that they do not create this party of revolutionaries. It is terrible to think of the execution of Louis XVI and of the suffering of France and we wish to avoid such evils here.

50. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 26th January, publishes in Tamil a communication from a correspondent in which the

Advice to political  
workers.

following finds place among

others:- Guru Govind did ~~not~~

not preach anything against Islam, but his attacks were directed only against the Moghul Government, of whose despotic ways he did not approve. The downfall of that Government was due only to their want of sympathy with the people. Our youths should note the courage of the little disciple of Guru Govind who, when he came to know after his release that his mother had saved him from the gallows by saying that her son had nothing to do with Guru Govind, declared that his mother's statement was entirely wrong. Both young and old should now join together to work for the country's good, remove India's fetters and redeem people from Saavery. We should now have in mind the devotion of the boy who courted death in preference to the denial of his GURU and understand that fear and want of faith obstruct the advancement of the country.



51. Referring to a meeting said to have been recently convened by Mr. Lloyd George in London to consider the question of the unemployed in Britain, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 31st January, observed:- Seeing that the unemployed are a source of a great danger to the Government, the British Ministers are very much anxious to find employment for them. But the Government of India have no thought of the crores of people in this country who are suffering for want of employment. The chief reason for this is that Government in these days are not in the habit of redressing grievances before an agitation is started therefor. We request the Government and the general public to understand that such indifference may lead to great dangers in future.

54. Comparing the old Indian conditions under which the labourer or craftsman worked for himself with the present system of the capitalist employing labourer, the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 25th January, observes in its leader:- The Problems that have arisen into the west with regard to this matter are arising in this country as well.. How can it be otherwise when our country has adopted the western methods of labour? The evils resulting therefrom cannot but repeat themselves here. . . . . The labourer under the old conditions obtaining in India, was his own master. Each man was weaving with his own hand-loom and the profits gained by the sale of the cloth woven by him was his own. The craftsmen led a life of freedom and were not servants of anybody. Where was the scope for strikes under those conditions? There was no possibility then for the employment of the present arbitrary methods of the employers. There was ample opportunity for the labourer to exhibit his skill. . . . . Things have now changed With the idea of earning large profits, the capitalists curtail their expenditure as much as possible. The Welfare of the labourers is not so much their concern. The labour, on the other

hand, wished to get as much as possible for himself. This leads to differences between them and strikes follow. At the outset, the employer, with all his influence, meets with success. Gradually the labourers form unions and eventually succeed as in Europe. Bolshevism is everyday threatening Europe. . . . .

India has now passed the first stage. Did the labour agitation abate merely because of the firing on the Buckingham Mill Coolies? On the contrary, it grew worse. . . . . Of course, the labour Commissioner and other officials have been appointed, but they never seem to have effected any compromise between the capitalists and the laborers. This is only one more addition to the ~~la~~ already existing Government Department, but it does not appear to be of much use either to the Government or to the people.....

These Mills, even though they are opened by Indian capitalists, are of little or no value in ~~smuch~~ as they never sell cheaper the cloth manufactured therein. We may say that the Government are the chief of all employers in India. They ought to have shown the way for others by their conduct, but no efforts are made by them in that direction. . . . . To whatever conference we go, India's dependence position stands in our way. International Conferences may be of some use when India attains complete Self-government and not otherwise. . . . . Everywhere efforts are now being made for shattering these labour unions. The Government and the employers are both afraid of these unions. The Government are afraid that this labour movement may help on the political agitation. . . . . It is well to understand that it is the indignant condition of the labourer that is the cause of the labour unrest. When that condition is not improved, the economic <sup>cm</sup>problem will turn out to be a political one. . . . . Until now, neither the Government nor the employers in Madras have tried to settle the labour disputes. This indifference may lead to troubles in the future. The labourers, who depend on their self-help, will eventually succeed if they aim at justice only and work with patience. The present system must disappear and handi-



crafts must develop in the country. It is to bring about this result that Mr. Gandhi is working. Future historians cannot but record the services of the new movement as regards national regeneration if this kind of work meets with success.

56. A correspondent to the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 22nd December, makes the following remarks in the course of an article

Bolshevism.

in Bolshevism:- As a result

of our contact with the west,

we have imbibed certain qualities of the westerners. Unfortunately, for us, poverty has prevailed in the country. Wealth has increased in importance and DHARMA or duty has declined. We fear the prevalence of social violence also. Over and above all, the hard earnings of the people go into foreign coffers, the prosperity of the country is vanishing and servitude is on the increase. These are indications of Bolshevism, but it is merely a delusion to suppose that Bolshevism will follow the non-co-operation movement. The circumstances of the country are not, as in the west, such as will introduce Bolshevism at present.

60. Reviewing the situation created in Madras consequent on the 'strikes' now prevalent therein, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of

the 27th January, observes

The difficult situation in  
Madras.

in its leader under this heading:-

The Madrasee who is noted for his 'patience' can be a Gandhi if he also in him the virtue of insisting on his own rights. He does not generally give out what he feels, but silently bears the mental worry. The tramway strike is a case in point. It is continuing for the last 17 days. The employers and the employees have not come to any terms till now. This being so, the people in general are suffering from the evil results thereof. The employees are not very great losers by the 'strike'. Though the employers lose their money, they generally make good that loss by raising the fares, when the strike is over. The rich

have their motors and carriages, while the Europeans do not make use of the tramcars even when they are running. That is why nobody troubles himself about this matter and the Government also are equally indifferent while the labour department appears to be quite unconcerned. . . . . The Tramway Company must primarily look to the convenience of the people. For months together, the tramcars stop away, and this difficult situation is recurring four or five times in the year. The people can well ask for the withholding of a licence to such a company. Nowhere else in the civilised world will such incompetent companies be entrusted with such responsibilities. Somehow or other, either through arbitrators or otherwise, disputes must be settled and it is not proper on the part of the company to subject the people to inconvenience. It is because the people are not pressing for their rights that the Tramway Company has its own way of doing things. . . . . We may say that the people in general have no sympathy with the present strike. It is well for the Tramway Union and its leaders to understand this point. Either more stringent rules should be made to safeguard the interests of the people or the Tramway must be totally removed. . . . The scavengers' strike has commenced yesterday and the whole city is in an insanitary condition. We need not say what possibility there is for the spread of epidemics in the present state of things and in what danger the lives of the people are. Who is responsible for this situation of affairs? Why did they not give the people sufficient warning beforehand? Why did the Corporation authorities keep quiet until matters reached a climax? Why did they not give the people sufficient warning before hand? These are questions which every one is putting to himself. . . The Arrangements must hereafter be made to enable the people to manage without scavengers. . . . The labourers have far higher duties to perform to the country than merely working for an increase of wages. The labour movement must be made to co-ordinate with the national movement for the speedy attainment of SWARAJ.



66. Amongst the Associated Press Telegrams in the ANDHRA-

Gandhi's address to ladies.

~~Raxrix~~ PATRIKA, of the 28th  
January, the following is

published in English:- "Mr. Gandhi addressed a ladies' meeting held at the house of Sir C.R. Das,. He described the present Government as the Kingdom of sin. Just as Rama was born to destroy Ravana's kingdom of sin, the present non-co-operation movement might serve the same purpose. He urged them to take away their brothers and sons from the Government schools and colleges....."

69. Referring to the address delivered by Mr. C.F. Andrews

SWARAJ for India.

at a largely-attended meeting  
of the Calcutta Students,

the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, in its issue of the 28th January, in an English article under this heading, writes:- "Mr. Andrews has spoken like a true and unsophisticated Britisher. It is men like these that brought the British Empire into existence. Such men have become scarce. We have now Dyers and O'Dwyers in legions. They have begun to overturn the foundations of the British Empire. They and their co-adjutors are the sworn enemies of the Empire. Coming events infallibly cast their shadows before. We have been witnessing the moral decline of the great British Empire an Empire on which the sun never sets. Good forbid that this decline should be followed by the fall of the British Empire. Mr. Andrews deserves to be the keeper of the conscience of the British Empire. He deserves to be the uncrowned sovereign of the British dominions. Empires can stand on justice and fair-play. Remove them and the Empire is bound to collapse like a pack of cards. It is gratifying to note that good sense is obtaining recognition in the Counsels of the Empire. The appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy and Governor-General of India confirms the statement. He has all the qualities necessary to cement the relationship between India and England. We do not know whether he has the nerve to do this. When official villiany

tries to overpower him, he must have a manhood which can politely say 'No' to the mandates of unconstitutional and arrogant impudence of the Jingoese.

70. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 29th January, publishes briefly the proceedings of the meetings held at Coconada, Bapatla, and Narasaraopet (Guntur District) Non-co-operation. in furtherance of the movement of non-co-operation.

The PAURAN, of the 14th January, points out that Indians have been forced to resort to non-co-operation as they had no other means to safeguard themselves and their selfrespect, and that what the Anglo-Indian Press should now do is not to advise the Government to resort to repression but ~~ea~~ to call upon them to grant lawfultself-government to India, just punishment ~~xxx~~to ~~xxxx~~ the offenders in Punjab and an equitable revision of the Turkish treaty, thinks that ~~ad~~ all Indians having self-respect have decided to gain self-government at any cost repression will only make matters worse and observes that atrocities will be commenced not by the patient and unarmed people of India that follow Mahatma Gandhi, but by the bureaucrats who act according to the advice of foreign newspaper editors.

The MANORAMA, of the 18th January, notes the steady increase of the non-co-operation movement after the Nagpur ~~xxxxxxx~~ Congress and how the attitude and tone of its critics are now changing. It refers for instance to the remark of the SERVANT OF INDIA that the non-co-operation movement, however foolish and suicidal, and however weak, will nevertheless break the prestige of the Government. It also refers to the fact that several Englishmen are now of opinion that it will be calamitous if the Government should, instead of redressing the grievances of India, try to put down non-co-operation by a policy of repression.



In the course of a leading article under the heading, 'Non-co-operation and Government's duty', the MANORAMA, of the 21st January, points out how Non-co-operation and Government. the passive resistance movement originated by the continuance of the Rowlatt Act even after the conclusion of the war has, through the Punjab atrocities and the Khilafat muddle, now culminated in the non-cooperation movement, and how, though opinion is sharply divided about the movement itself, it is unanimous about the causes of the movement, calls upon the leaders to direct their efforts towards the unification of public opinion and upon the Government to remove the root cause of the present unrest. It suggests that the Government should convene a conference of the representatives of all parties ~~to~~ to discuss what can be done to remove the grievances of Indians.

The KERALA PATRIKA, of the 22nd January, also admits that the non-co-operation movement is steadily gaining strength.

Non-co-operation movement. Judging from the meetings and movements in Malabar, it expresses the doubt whether all people will always follow Mr. Gandhi's advice of non-violence. It points out that a section of the press in England is urging the Secretary of State to resort to repression who, in his turn, is calling upon the Government of India to do the needful, who, in their turn, are asking the moderates to combat the movement. The movement can be ~~e~~ quelled only in one of two ways ~~via~~ either by repression or by the Government modifying some of their own actions. It prays the Government not to resort to repression as that will endanger innocent persons as in the horrid story of the Punjab and prays the non-co-operators on the other hand not to plunge India into <sup>f</sup> internal anarchism.

The YOGANESHEMAN, of the 28th January, writes:- The

Non-co-operation. British themselves seem to

be now beginning to be aware of the fact that it is because anti-British public opinion is

spreading in India that the non-co-operators are gaining strength. Some people contend that if one should feel proud of his citizenship in the British Empire, it is but natural that he should desire to have the same rights and privileges as are ~~xxxx~~ enjoyed by other citizens like himself, and while the laws of British India openly proclaim that there is a wide difference between Britishers and Indians there is nothing surprising in the reluctance which the Indians feel to calling themselves British Subjects. If Indians are not respected in their own country, where else can they claim equality? Why wonder, then, that Indians occupy such an abject position in British colonies? If one has no liberty within his own house how can he claim it in another's? Unless this question is finally settled, there does not seem to be any prospect of a cessation of agitation in India.

75. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 25th January, in a short note, writes:- India gave a huge loan to England at the time when the latter was in difficulties. Now that the war is over and the question of the repayment of the loan has arisen, England has begun to put forward all sorts of excuses and say that there has been much confusion in the accounts regarding the loan, that an inquiry is being held regarding the same and that everything would be settled in due course. Possibly the matter might be placed before an 'Impartial Arbitration Board' and the opinion of Mr. Churchill, who dilated on the confusion in accounts, might prevail in the end. But it is neither Malaviya nor Lajpat Rai that maintained these accounts; it is the partisans of Mr. Churchill, who do not forego a single opportunity of benefitting England, that really collected these figures. The fact is that the Military expenditure Bill of England is now being felt to be a bit too long as money was spent freely at the time of the war, and now that the time was arrived for the tax-payer to remonstrate against this lavish expenditure, the Ministers have ~~xxxx~~ thought fit to raise a hue and cry



of confusion in the accounts with the express purpose of throwing a part of the burden on shoulders other than those of the British and thus save those who squandered away money at the time of the war. They also borne out by the fact that the Premier recently gave out ~~that~~ the British Government would carefully scrutinize the accounts submitted to them by the Government of India and would decide how much of the public debt should be borne by England, and how much by India.

76. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 27th January, in the course of a leading article under this heading, gives a brief

Non-co-operation of students at Calcutta. resume of the speeches delivered by Dar, Pal and other leaders of the non-co-operation movement at a meeting of students in Calcutta, and observes:- There is not the least doubt that all those who read these speeches will take the vow of SWARAJYA. Bepin Chandra Pal's address is fit to be inscribed in letters of gold. The Indian students who read this address will act up to the advice contained therein, and, if they so act, India will surely attain SWARAJ and autocracy will disappear. For this speech of his Mr. Pal's image deserves to be worshipped in every town and village. Mr. Gandhi had said that India would get SWARAJ within nine months. But considering the spirit which has inspired the students of Calcutta, we make bold to say that SWARAJ has already dawned upon India.

In the course of a leading article under the heading 'students and non-co-operation', Students and non-co-operation. the NAZRANI DEEPIKA, of the 25th January, expresses the fear that the non-co-operation movement is likely to spread and increase in force amongst the students in various parts of the country, expatiates on the folly of the step, and says:- As a result of the non-co-operation movement among students, India is likely to suffer harm in several ways. It cannot be thought that such agitation amongst the students can go in all parts of the country without breach of the

peace. Even if it were possible, it is doubtful whether the Government of India will remain a quiet spectator in a matter that affects the future of several lakhs of students and the welfare of the country.

77. The VRITTANTAPATRIKA, of the 27th January, in the course of a leading article under this heading, observes:- The new reforms have strengthened A new chapter in the history of India. the position of the popular party, and it might hereafter be found impossible to go against their wishes. Their powers will go on increasing in proportion to the efficiency and discrimination they exhibit in working for their goal. The extremists wish to destroy so potent an instrument as this and replace it by a weapon of their own, which may lead their country to ruin. It behoves all those who are ardently wish for the prosperity of this country, ~~(to ruin. It)~~ be they Englishmen or Indians, to heartily co-operate with each other in making the new reforms a success and endeavouring to enable India to attain that system of Government which has been laboriously acquired by England and other countries.

78. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 1st February, under the heading, 'Last Week' writes:- Some of our people are over-enthusiastic about the appointment of Lord The appointment of Lord Sinha. Sinha to the Governor-ship of Behar and consider this a great boon conferred upon us by England. But have any of them ever tried to understand the significance of the sympathetic suggestion some members of parliament have been making for half a century, past, that England would turn Indians into her enemies if she does not confer high appointments on capable Indians? Have they endeavoured to inquire what terrible discontent and unrest has arisen in this country in consequence of the disregard of that suggestion? Lastly, have



they at least opened their eyes and tried to find what policy it was that enabled Akbar to maintain his empire in tact? If one fortunate person becomes the head of a petty province, say, once in the course of a century, can it in any way be said that all the previous rulers of India were bankrupt of statesmanship? Can it be said that Indians have now acquired some special merit which they did not possess before? Even at that time of racial animosity between the Indians and the Muhammadans, the Indians and how many of the higher military appointments have been kept open for them? Herein lies the difference between a sympathetic administration on the one hand and autocratic sway over a dependency on the other hand.

79. The MODERATE ADVOCATE (The English supplement of the MITAVADI) of the 10th January, expresses warm appreciation of

The Magna Charta of the Backward Classes.	the catholic sympathies and far-seeing statesmanship of
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His Majesty, seen in His Majesty's instrument of instructions to the Provincial Governors, which has rightly been called the Magna Charta of the Backward classes, in which His Majesty commits the cause of the depressed classes to the care of the Governors. "But the King proposes and the Minister disposes", says the new proverb which has often been proved in the political history of India . . . . . (which) teems with dark episodes of promises solemnly made and cleverly broken, hopes deferred and aspirations unsatisfied." The article points<sup>nt</sup> out that the backward classes call for preferential treatment in the matter of representation and in the matter of education. Writing about the former, the article says:- "It is most cruel to take them (the backward classes) away from the benevolent supervision and care of the white bureaucrat and to shove on to their chest a fat Komati or a te rotund Reddiyar who is as much prejudiced against them as a sleek prosperous looking Brahman." Regarding the latter, the article concludes, "Educate the backward classes . . . so that they might not be suppressed, oppressed and exploited."

80. A note in the MITAVADI, of the 10th January, says:-  
 "We ~~XX~~ fear that there is an insidious, organised and well-laid

Khilafat and non-co-operation out plan to bring the authority  
 in Malabar. of the Government into contempt  
 and to create hatred not only of the State but of Europeans  
 as well. . . . . It is to be hoped that those responsible for  
 the peace of the land will no longer adopt the passive attitude  
 but amputate the gangrened limb before the whole system is in-  
 fected. . . . . ". The Note adds that the Liberals will be  
 prepared to endorse any action which the Government might take  
 to improve the situation.

82. In the course of a leading article on 'Government  
 by the people -- a dream," the Mitavadi of the 24th January,

'Government by the people -- -- points out that the depressed  
 a dream.' classes have received no benefit  
 whatever as a result of the  
 reforms, as not even a single representatives of these classes  
 has been admitted either into the Council of State, or into the  
 Legislative Assembly and the Provincila executive Councils and the  
 ministry are composed entirely of ~~em~~ men of higher castes.  
 These councils could be named Indian Councils only if the depressed  
~~classes (are under our)~~ were not entitled to be called Indians.  
 The English bureaucracy do not pay any heed to the words contained  
 in the Royal Proclamation 'that the depressed classes are under  
 our special care.' The entertainments given by the Zamindars  
 and zamins to Governors and other persons in high positions,  
 are likely to creat misapprehensions and miggivings in the minds  
 of other communities in Indian In England a carpenter or a smith  
 can hope to become a Member of Parliament or even a Cabinet  
 Minister. So far the Government has not become a government  
 by the people , the only result of the reforms being that the  
 power of the already powerful classes has been ~~se~~ enhanced. 'Demo-  
 cracy is still a long way off and of all Indians try hard, it  
 may perhaps be obtained in fifty years.



86. The MANORAMA, of the 25th January, endorses Mr. Lionel Curtis's view that Indian anarchism is a direct result of

Anglo-Indian discourtesy to X Anglo-Indian discourtesy  
Indians. shown to Indians and suggests

that the Government should issue a special order that English officers in India should cultivate friendship, secure confidence and show good manners in their dealings with Indians.

87. The KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 24th January, points out that students have to take a large part in the political

Students and the Political ~~regeneration~~ regeneration of a country,  
regeneration. that the students in British

India have now begun to follow the leaders who are incessantly working for the attainment of SWARAJ and that as a result thereof, Indians are about to obtain political salvation which is their birthright. The article reminds students of Native States, especially of Travancore, to be prepared to do their part to shake themselves free from an enslaving system of education.

91. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 24th January, in a leader on this subject, refers to the remarks of the several leaders

Hands off India. The clamour of the Labour party in England. of the Labour Party notably Doctor Dounston, Mr. Angly,

Mr. Kaig, Mr. Honniman, etc., in their speeches made at an important meeting convened by Lancashire labourers at the Manchester Memorial Hall last week urging the rights of the Indian labourers on the Government, and remarks:- The secret is, however, out, viz., that the Labour Party in England is awake and has begun to ask questions about the situation in India. The British Labour Party can do a good deal, but it cannot save India. This is rather the business of Indians themselves. The Labour Party can strengthen our hands and quicken the sense of hearing of its own Government.

92. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 24th January, referring to the conduct of the Labour Party, observes:- This shows

The effects of non-co-operation. that non-co-operation movements have not been ineffective. Some nominal leaders of the nation, viz., the moderates, have made us understand that the acts of returning decorations, boycotting the Councils, and withdrawing from education will not produce effects calculated to be felt in England, but the action of the Labour party reveals the secret of their aims, and that is, the labour Party in Britain has been roused, and by our persistent efforts in that direction, the party now awake will rouse the sleeping members of the Ministry.

93. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 24th January, referring to the non-co-operation movement, says:- "We have a very

Our delicate responsibility. delicate responsibility in this matter, viz., that we should see to it that no unrest of any kind manifests itself. The simple method of checking any such revolt and unrest is, in our view, to withdraw from rendering any service to the English people, and refrain from making personal attacks on Europeans or their nation. We should limit our objections and remarks ~~always~~ always to what is required by the policy and procedure of the Government; for we are under the control of the Government and not under that of the English nation.



For the week ending 12th February 1921.

No.7 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. The HINDU, of the 9th February, writes:- "The strongholds of irresponsible power and reaction in any country are maintained not only by the threatened exercise of physical coercion but also to a very large, if not actually greater, extent by the acquiescent support of the very victims of oppression. This silent submission of the people at large to the yoke of autocracy is mainly due to the hypnotic influence of organised power and prestige on the mentality of the masses, who, unconscious of their collective might, feel themselves helpless against the serried ranks of exalted officialdom and military power. It is this deceptive vision and self-enslaving cowardice, born of the ignorance and inertia enveloping the massmind, that is sedulously sought to be cultivated by the demonstration of costly functions in the name of the public and cleverly exploited by the self-styled guardians of 'Law and Order' to sustain their sway over the people. By a peculiar process of political alchemy in the Governmental laboratory, the involuntary share of the masses in these demonstrations as idlespectators, and ignorant admirers is transuted into a manifestation of loyalty and love and loudly proclaimed to the world as the symbol of peace and plenty in the land. It is for the manufacture of such false evidence and the strengthening of the hypnotic hold over the masses that the Duke's visit would seem to have been designed in this country. And in spite of official welcomes and artificial parades, the nation at heart, must be deemed to have understood the real meaning of the mission and refused to be misled thereby. But this is only a partial performance. The system of administration we

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we want to see changed has other and more active supports in the willing submission studied indifference and hearty co-operation of the lovers of ease, the slaves of mammon and pleasure, to the forces of injustice and unrighteousness, in so far as their vested interests are not only left undisturbed but also secured against progressive reforms by the administrators of such a system. The bogey of revolution and anarchy is the creation of their panicky dreams during critical periods of popular awakening and revolt against national injustice. National honour and freedom have no meaning for them except in reference to their own personal or communal pleasures and interests. They are not also incapable of service or sacrifice for any cause, as was proved during the course of the recent war, but they have a peculiar weakness for autocracy and prestige, with a corresponding aversion for democracy and progress."

2. The HINDU, of the 10th Febraury, has the following:-

**"THE GREAT ILLUSION."**

"His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught yesterday

performed the most important

His Royal Highness the Duke of  
Connaught's visit.

of the functions which

comprised his mission and nothing brings out the true character of that mission more clearly than the message that he conveyed to the members of the Legislative Assembly from His Majesty the King-Emperor as well as the speech in which he amplified that message. We have time and again insisted that the object of the mission was the apotheosis of the reforms and if tireless beating of the big drum could be accepted in evidence of accomplishment then has the Duke's Mission achieved its purpose. The people of India, outside that circle with whom Dukes and especially Royal Dukes are *IBSO FACTO* on the righteous side, will view with a boredom not unminged with amusements this last supreme effort in that gentle art of window-dressing which had



attained such a tremendous development since the advent of a Premier and a Secretary of State who have been quick to realise the value of advertisement in the Politics. They know what the reforms are worth and how far/short they fall of what they consider their due and they refuse to be bamboozled into translating the magnificence of the bringer of the gift into the gift itself. . . . . It will not be denied ~~A~~ that anticipations had been roused by the ~~Ka~~ Duke's visit that are too evidently doomed to bitter disappointment. While all were agreed that he was bringing a gift of some kind, they only differed as to the nature of the gift. The abrogation of repressive laws, some substantial addition to the reforms, some proposals for a MODUS VIVENDI with stricken India were amongst the anticipations. As regards the latter expectation while no one will question the Duke's sympathy and his very sincere desire for peace, we cannot anywhere find any sign of appreciation either on his part or on that of those who gave him his instructions of the causes which have led to the present unhappy situation. It is idle for persons who only perceive the fact of a misunderstanding but have no proper appreciation of the causes thereof to make appeals for peace. It is equally idle for those who have left undone the things that could alleviate, only to deplore the agony and appeal to the country to forget a rankling wound. That is why when the Duke asks if we cannot all bury along with the dead past the mistake and misunderstandings of the past, the response is not as hearty as the obvious sincerity of the appeal demands. India will naturally ask, which among the medley of conditions, half hearted condemnations and indecent praise that constituted the handling of the Punjab episode she is to place under the category of mistakes and misunderstandings. . . . . Nor does an appeal for peace or a repudiation of force and terrorism come with the best grace from a Government which has carried 'frightfulness' to the lengths of an exact science in Ireland.

)(... .. As a mission of pea)

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(... As a mission of pea)



India wants peace:- She is ready to welcome it, but not at the cost of self-respect. . . . . As a mission of peace the Duke's visit has been a conspicuous failure. He has done nothing and said nothing to that end that could not have been said or done as well by a speech from the Premier or Mr. Montagu. Nor has he been more successful as a bringer of gifts. We referred to the anticipations regarding the repeal of repressive laws. Thanks to a complaisant leader the Government have been afforded an opportunity of shelving an inconvenient question. The hope of earlier instalments of reforms have been dashed to the ground by the Duke's <sup>insistance</sup> at Calcutta on the ten year's probation. The last nails in the coffin of popular hopes have been <sup>c</sup>onclusively driven in by His Majesty's message and the Duke's amplification thereof. . . . . India is to be on probation and to be saddled with the onus of proving her fitness before a critical world and, worse, before a Government that is doubtful of the experiment. We do not think even our moderates would accept a gift under such conditions if they could only bring themselves to realise exactly what they means. The Duke in his speech made much play ~~with~~ with the idea that the principle of autocracy had been abandoned. We seem to detect herein another of those pious expressions of hope, which have so little bearing upon actualities, that it has become the fashion of those in power to inspire."

JUSTICE, of the 10th Febraury, writes:- "His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught has formally inagurated the Chamber of Princes, the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly in speeches which are worthy of the historic occasion and of his exalted position. His Excellency the Viceroy in requesting His Royal Highness to perform the ceremonies gave an illuminating retrospect indicating the various stages in the growth of these institutions. It is not our purpose to-day to dwell upon the character composition and usefulness of the Chamber of Princes. In spite of all that the Viceroy has said we fail to see how a Chamber of Princes is an

imperative necessity. The Viceroy is to control it and the internal affairs of no State will be allowed to be discussed in the Chamber which is to be merely a consultative and advisory body. In other words, so far as these States are concerned, the present policy will continue. . . . . His Royal Highness is a messenger of peace and goodwill. His words are so chosen that they never fail to impress the Indian public with their sincerity, solemnity and weight. Members of every council in the land will undoubtedly lay to heart his stirring exhortation to them to conduct themselves in such a way as not merely to ensure the continued progress of the country, but to shorten the interval, to the extent possible, for the establishment of complete self-government. What can be more touching, what indeed can be more opportune, than the appeal that he has addressed to Europeans and Indians alike, that they should, in all charity and for the sake of the land they love so well, wipe off the bitter memories of the past and labour together as brethren and fellow-subjects and with steadfast and unwavering devotion to the best interests of the country. We have no doubt that His Royal Highness, as a keen observer, has noticed the feeling, which the Punjab tragedy has evoked throughout the country, a feeling which intensified and embittered by the ~~the public indifference~~ attitude of a recalcitrant minority in the House of Commons by the callous vote of the House of Lords and by the aggressive conduct of a certain class of Englishmen in India and Great Britain. He has had time, since his arrival in this country, to ponder anxiously over the problem, and hence his appeal which has come straight from his heart for a blessed oblivion of the past. Yes, only by forgetting and forgiving and by cordial co-operation, on both sides, between the Englishman and the Indian, can India, attain SWARAJ, an expression which, it should be noted, His Majesty the King-Emperor has himself used in his



gracious message to the people of India delivered through his revered and beloved uncle. As to the kind of response the people of this country would make to this appeal we have no doubt. It remains to be seen how the Englishman with his notions of racial superiority will show in his action that he is ready to follow the advice of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

4. Referring to the news published by the BOMBAY CHRONICLE, that Indian Muslims in the British Crown Colony of Basutoland

Indians in Basutoland.

are subjected to great

hardships, the SOURASHTRA,

of the 25th December, observes:- It appears no new licence will be granted for hawking goods and that licences cannot be transferred to the Indians from the Europeans. This shows how unfortunate the condition of the Indians there is. Is there anything more unjust than the levy of a duty for mere ingress and egress? We hope that this matter will receive attention at the hands of the Viceroy.

5. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 15th January, says under this heading:- In the hatred towards the coloured races,

Australia.

Australia has surpassed

even South Africa. It

is to be regretted that at the present time when the clarion sound of universal equality is echoing all over, the Austrians should still hate the Asiatics. The Australian Minister has declared in the meeting of the League of Nations that it is not conducive to the welfare of Australia to allow the coloured races to set their foot in Australia. The white races think that Asia has been created by God for their benefit

The exploitation of the wealth of this country by trade and commerce is an item of their programme. Their propagandism includes the deprivation of the freedom of Asiatic countries keeping them under their control. But the coloured races should not enter their colonies. Is this Just? If the Asiatic countries should say that to allow the while races to enter Asia is not conducive to the welfare of that continent, would they return from it? If the white races try to establish that they have authority to stay in Asia, and carry on both trade and Government, the Asiatics cannot keep quiet. In the name of modern civilisation Asia has been subjected to all sorts of dishonour. Obstacles have been placed in the way of the advancement of the Asiatic countries on their own lines. The Asiatics are looked upon with great contempt in the countries of the whites. Their primary rights have been violated in many ways. But the Asiatics are not so wicked as to return evil for evil. But by their contact with the west they try to imitate the white men who believe in brute force. If they also cherish race hatred, the world will have to face unending misery. It is the duty of the westerners to avert this evil. The statesmen should carry their principle of equality into practice. Only when they bring home to themselves the fact that Jesus Christ whom they worship is a member of the coloured races, will they attain salvation.

## II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

### (d) Education.

11. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 8th Febraury, in the course of a leading article under Students and non-co-operation. this heading, makes the following observations; among others:- Although the Bengali students expressed some difference of opinion regarding the resolution on the boycott of schools and were consequently branded as timid by the students of some other provinces during



the last session of the All-India Student's conference recently held at Nagpur, have they not been the first to carry into action the resolution on the boycott of schools? What have the students who represented the other provinces and freely indulged in platform oratory in the conference done up till now? . . . . . The system of education that is being imparted at present in India being only an impediment to self-respect and national prosperity, the students have done the right thing at the right time in boycotting schools and colleges.

(k) General.

18. The NAVASAKTI, of the 28th January, publishes from the pen of a correspondent, an imaginary dialogue in which the

Government by foreigners. following finds place

among others:- Those who

rule a foreign country are not philanthropists actuated by the desire of effecting the economic improvement of the subject country. They do not bring money from their own country and spend it for the benefit of that governed by them. On the other hand, they deprive it of its wealth by themselves enjoying its products and natural facilities. Those subject to foreign rule lose not only their rights, but also their wealth. The statesmen of the Englishmen that they govern India for our benefit is not worthy of the least credence. It is very much like a man who enters upon and cultivates another's land without his consent, saying that he does it for the benefit of the other. If such a trespasser should say that he is a trustee for the owner and agree to deliver the profits to him, the other will never consent to it if he can himself take care of his land. What have we gained from foreign rule for one hundred and sixty years? . . . . . The post and the telegraph are indispensable not only for the subjects but also for the rulers. Our country would have secured these

conveniences even without the advent of the westerners. It is the foreigners who receive fat pay in these departments, while the subordinate officials who form the basis are not being paid adequately to keep body and soul together. That there should be such a great difference between the higher and the lower officials is neither reasonable nor necessary. But if the latter should understand their rights and indispensability and strike work with a view to get their grievances redressed, work will suffer very much, and, therefore, the authorities and our countrymen should try to avoid such an evil. . . . . The people are being taxed heavily so that the higher officials may receive large salaries. Instead of reducing the pay of higher officials, it has been increased while that of the subordinate officials has been ~~raised~~ raised only to a small extent. . . . . Our countrymen are losing wealth as the foreigners take with them their savings when they retire from service and go to their own country.

19. The Desabhaktan, of the 31st January, writes:-

English writers on Indian history refer in contemptuous terms to what they call oriental Political diplomacy.

cunning. If any body should read such works ages after the disappearance of the English race and their dominion in India, he is likely to gain the impression that the English were the finest specimen of virtue and righteousness on earth, and that they were able to establish their supremacy by setting at naught the wily machinations of the hostile Indian chiefs by means only of their bravery and fair play. On the other hand, the cunning and plotting of no oriental nation can stand comparison with those of the ruling class among the English. Till very recent times, the French were calling England "treacherous Albion." Those conversant with the secret proceedings of the East India Company and the treaties entered into by



them successively with Indian princes will be convinced that the French called them so only as the result of experience. The very blood of English statesmen is saturated with such cunning. In spite of their attainment of an Imperial sway unprecedented in history, they are still strangers to nobility and magnanimity and hold the sowing of dissension among friends as the main feature of statesmanship. The only great secret that they learnt from the ancient Roman republic is the policy of "Divide and rule". In the SWARAJ movement subsequent to 1905, the English officials first created a difference between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Differences were created next between the moderates and the extremists. It was only Lord Morley reputed to be the most honest of English Statesmen that first sounded the note, "Rally the moderates". The bureaucrats and the English statesmen are going on widening the split then created. But ever since Mr. Gandhi entered into this movement, the difference between the moderates and the extremists is getting less and less and this narrowing of the gap is, beyond everything else, causing among the English much of fear and jealousy. So, the diplomatists in England headed by the editor of the DAILY TELEGRAPH and those in India are making Herculean attempts by ~~alternative~~ alternately threatening ~~xxx~~ and flattering the moderates to prevent them from joining the nationalists.

21. Referring to the resolutions of a meeting of the

Adi Dravidas of Nannimangalam and other villages

The Adi Dravidas.

in Lalgudi taluk held in connexion with the closure by the higher class castes, of the only cart track going to the paracheri at Nannimangalam, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 4th February, remarks:- We wish to say one or two words to the Adi Dravidas in this connexion. They should not forget that they belong that they were born in this country and that

~~they~~

they are going to reside permanently herein alone. They should remember that they and the other Indian people are only children of mother Bharata and members of a single family.. They should therefore settle their differences among themselves and it is treachery as well as unwisdom to seek redress by taking the matter to a Government conducted by foreigners. It would be a mistake for the Panchamas to support that the foreigners do not treat them severely on account of their special love for them. On the other hand, it is evidenced by history that the/ ancestors of these foreigners have almost exterminated the native population in America and Australia. The Adi Dravidas should understand that the existence of six crores of their community in India is a proof of the humane spirit of the Aryas and the Dravidas. We think that it is not on account of love but only with a view to accentuate racial jealousy in India that the Europeans treat the Panchamas with greater favour. 'Divide and Rule policy is the fundamental basis of European statesmanship. If they had been actuated by real love, what could they not have done during these one hundred and fifty years to raise that community by giving them good education and providing them with clear habitations? The Adi Dravidas should not forget that it was the British Government that stood against the acceptance of the resolution for the provision of free and compulsory education moved by Mr. Gokhale, a 'high caste' Hindu.

25. The SAMARASABODHINI, of the 26th January, publishes a communication from a correspondent, in which the following

Non-co-operation.

observations find place among

others:- Indians not only

made slaves of themselves, but also helped to make slaves of others! The British public want liberty only for themselves, but are indifferent with regard to the slavery of others.



The poison of English education was greedily devoured by the enslaved Indians. Indians surrendered their birthright and everything else to the foreigners. The non-co-operation movement proclaims that hereafter at least, the poised civilization of the west should be avoided. Let the English people do anything they like. Let them have their own schools and Legislative Councils and we shall not have anything to do with them. We shall patiently resign everything into the hands of the Almighty.

Remarking that the Bengalee students have, as usual come forward and are bearing the banner of non-co-operation, the SAMARASABODHINI, of the 26th January, observes:- What are the students of Madras going to do now? Have they not yet got up from their sleep? The day has dawned and the sun has risen. Wake up! Madrasis! Wake up. God will bless you.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 29th January, publishes an account of the meeting held in Mayavaram, consecutively from

Non-co-operation.

the 22nd to the 25th idem,  
in the last of which one

Mr. Seshadri Ayyar is said to have dwelt upon the defects in the present system of education, pointed to the dectietful acts of Clive, the 'groundless' execution of Nandkumar by Warren Hastings and the 'extortion of treasure' from the Begums of Oudh as instances of cases in which Englishmen have twisted history to suit their own interests, referred to the import of crore of silver coins into England from India at a time when the former country had nothing but paper money and adduced proofs to show that Sivaji was no robber as is mentioned in some writings. The lecturer is siad to have finally exhorted the parents to see that their boys act in accordance with the instructions of Mr. Gandhi for some time.

In the course of a leading article under the heading Non-co-operation, the KERALA KAHALAM, of the 2nd Febraury,

Non-co-operation.

makes the following among  
other remarks:- The non-

co-operation movement, which the Anglo-Indians decisively characterise

as impotent, meaningless and as the creation of Mr. Gandhi's heated brain, is seen to be steadily spreading in the various parts of India. The rapid progress of the movement appears to be due to the efforts of the British Cabinet to induce the Indians, by stimulating their blind loyalty, to accept a system of diarchy which enhances the waste of public funds, and which without granting full self-government to India, can after a short period of experiment be declared not to have met with success. . . . . It is the swelling tide of the autocracy of the bureaucrats as seen in the imparting, through a foreign language, of a purely literary education not helpful to material prosperity and prejudicial to the self-respect of the country, the making of repressive laws, the expenditure of public funds against the wishes of the people, the enhancement of the burdens of the people to meet such increased expenditure, the facilities given to foreigners to fleece the country of its wealth, the arrogant treatment given to the people by the officials, the effort to divide and rule, and racial distinctions, it is this that is now agitating the minds of our brethren of British India. . . . . The Government of India are keeping quiet in spite of the rapid spread of the movement because the administrators cannot bring non-violent non-co-operations within the clutches of the law. In this connexion the Government must also have realised the truth that while the patience of the strong man will cool down the rashness of the weak, any impatient act done by the former is likely to enlist the sympathies of powerful allies on the side of the latter.

The MALAYALI, of the 2nd February, also refers to the successful progress of the movement in various parts of India, thinks that it is not proper to find fault with the students for taking an active part in the movement, and says:- If justice cannot be had for the Punjab disorders and if the Allies will not treat Turkey with respect, Indians will no longer keep quiet as the slaves of the world. We remember the words of our ~~poet~~ poet that death is preferable to slavery



and that there is no happiness if we become the laughing stock of others. We should be prepared to make any sacrifice to liberate India from her slavery. It is an auspicious sign that the student population hates the preachings of people who have neither the mind ~~not~~ the ability to make the required sacrifice.

The NAZRIZANI DEEPIKA, of the 8th Febraury, while admitting that the movement is spreading like wild fire among students throughout India, poohpoohs Mr. Gandhi's prediction that real lovers of the country are afraid of the evil consequences that may result from the non-co-operation movement. It also calls upon the Travancore and Cochin Darbars to take the necessary precaution to prevent the movement entering their states.

The MUSLIM, of the 29th January, points out that the principle of non-co-operation is based on the lawful foundation that there should be no co-operation with the English who have shown indifference to the lawful prayers of Indian Mussalmans and caused unpardonable delay in the settlement of the Khilafat question and are now governing India with their own self-Interest as their chief motive, and futher that history bears testimony ~~that~~ internal dissension and non-co-operation will cause the decline and ruin of any Empire, and ~~that~~ none need be afraid to carry into effect the resolution of the Indian National Congress, as those who commit no evil need fear no danger, and expresses the hope that those who love mother India and Islam will open their eyes to what they should do and do the needful ~~at~~ at this critical ~~juxx~~ juncture.

The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 5th Febraury, commenting on the speeches of several Muhammadan and Hindu leaders on non - co-operation, and remarking that veryfew educated people have taken part in or joined the movement, pertinently asks, supposing the English have India, the country obtain SWARAJ under the direction of Mr. Gandhi, and the people are administering their own affairs of the motherland, and in the meantime should Japan make an attack from the south-east or

1/21/83  
1/21/83

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