

35

EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON
ENGLISH AND VERMACULAR
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H. F. M

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Pages 201-400

294-300
335-337
369-370

the Afghans embark an invasion from the north-west, what will be the immediate steps that will be taken to repel such inroads?

26. The SAMARASABODHINI, of the 26th January, writes:-

Soul-force. The westerners, who hold that physical force and

military power can achieve anything on earth, cannot realise the principle of soul-force. They may, by means of military power, conquer countries and hold the people there under repression and amass everything required for human life, setting at naught truth and righteousness. But this cannot last for any long time as there is a limit for everything. They should well understand that a transgression of such bounds will result in trouble. We learn from History that rulers that carry on the administration in accordance with the wishes of the people on democratic lines, seldom get into any trouble; but disturbances in the State, stress and anxiety will be the lot of the rulers who act against this principle. The Punjab massacre and the Khilafat question have awakened the people and the Hindu-Muslim unity is gaining strength day by day. Though India is lying bound by the fetters of repression, her children are intent on the achievement of SWARAJ.

30. Stating that an unarmed crowd of labourers was unjustly

The shooting of the labourers of the Buckingham Mill. fired by the Police on the 9th December, 1920, the

DHANAVYASIA OZHIYAN, of the 17th December, remarks:- What an unlawful act is this? It is proper to find out the culprits and punish them. But it can, in no way, be lawful for any Government to kill unarmed persons like this without any inquiry. It will not be tolerated even by the Almighty. Is it impossible to do the right thing if the white and the black mixed? It is perhaps those that act unjustly that will get more emoluments.

31. In a leader under this heading, the VAISYAMITRAN, of the 15th November, writes:-
The economic condition of India. It might be said that the Government of India have remained indifferent to the economic interests of India, being themselves inclined to favour the interests of foreign merchants. In the name of Imperial Preference, they are attempting to exploit the economic resources of India. The Government of India do not appear to evince any real interest in the improvement of Indian trade and industries. It is further evident that the British want to reduce India to the position of a supplier of raw products from the fact that the special committee instituted for the purpose have recommended that the countries within the Empire growing oil-seeds should export all the surplus produce only to the Britishers. The committee have also recommended that rather than the imposition of an export duty on Indian products, an import duty might be levied on all the oils and fats imported into England from other countries. The real object seems, therefore, to be that India should grow oilseeds and export them directly, as the Britishers know very well that there are not many oil mills in India.

32. Remarking that the administration would, in future, be conducted by the members of the New Legislative Council
The Reforms. of the New Legislative Council in a way and that there would be no use in questioning the right or capacity of the members now elected, the VAISYAMITRAN, of the 13th December, writes:- The Ministers will only have to act under the control of the Governor and the Executive Council which will be disposed to support him. It is therefore idle to say that the Legislative Council has been invested with great powers. The Governor is empowered to dissolve the Legislative Council if it should hamper the administration and so the members of the Legislation Council cannot fight for liberty in it. The Governor may exercise his prerogative under the pretext of

The Reforms

of peace, order and good government and this makes the Ministers subservient to the Governor and the Executive Council. It will, therefore, be impossible for these members or the Ministers to consult the wishes or the interests of the public. These reasons go to prove that the new reforms are worse than the system in vogue till now. Further, in the name of reforms, the people will be burdened with additional taxation. Until the powers of the Governor are curtailed and the Legislative Council invested with complete authority, it will not be possible to derive the full benefit of the reforms. The British have not only failed to adopt remedies for improving the economic condition of this country, but have also adumbrated the new reforms so that they may serve to perpetuate the slavery of the Indians.

34. Remarking that the Indians are now realising that

it is no longer possible

The Congress.

for them to obtain SWARAJ

and liberty with the help of the bureaucrats, and that they should individually use their soul force for their advancement, the VAISYAMITRAN, of the 13th December, observes:- The bureaucrats are under the erroneous impression that the non-co-operation movement is resorted to by the public because of the propaganda work of one or two. The time is long past when the leaders can thrust their opinions on the public and the recent elections afford ample testimony to the fact that the public are well acquainted with what is good and what is bad for the country. It was only owing to their knowledge of the character of the reforms that most of the voters refrained from exercising their franchise. This is due to the fact that the nationalist spirit is vigorously spreading among the people.

The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 8th January, says:- The India of to-day is not real
The Nagpur Congress. BHARATAVARSHA but is only a reflection of England. BHARATAVARSHA has still now been behind the curtain of British Politics. Now the Nagpur Congress has removed the curtain and revealed the real nature of BHARATA. The Congress guns have opened fire on the idols now enthroned on the hearts of the English educated classes. The shells are knocking down the crest of the English language. The colleges that spread the glamour of the west are being shaken. The law courts which administer false justice in the name of DHARMA are being blown up. The mills which crush humanity are being broken. Political areas known as British India, native states and the British Empire are being effaced. These are the abodes of the great Goddess, the modern civilisation. If these fall, where is the room for the Goddess to dwell in? If that Goddess vanishes, the English-educated classes will no longer worship her. The English language is already losing its importance in the Congress. The fashions of the lawyers are disappearing and foreign dress is becoming rare.

The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 15th January, contrasts the present day Congress with the Congress of the days

of Hume X, Mehta and Gokhale and observes:- (The Congress of old had for its object to ^{make} ~~an~~ the British Government good and popular. It never dared to upset the present administrative policy. It never knew that people's government meant the 'enthronement of popular force' in the country. It thought that contact with the British constituted the Indians ~~as~~ into a nation and believed that without a long training under western masters, India cannot become fit for self-government. Its criticisms, warnings and memorials were characterised by humility and no unfoldment of national force and no firmness of purpose were manifested. Its policy was rather mendicant, and our leaders

were very patient and were utterin cries of distress at the gates of the dwellings of the authorities. The only result of all this have been repressive laws and such other evils. The times have changed and when the whole world is agitated by a new force, how long will India alone follow old methods? The old Congress ~~does~~ has been swept away and a new one has taken its place. The New Congress does not aim at any political reform, but has undertaken to revivify this country., and make ^{it} ~~it~~ lead the rest of the world. Who can now say that the Indian is a slave? His mind is now free. He is in possession of a new force as will be seen from his words and looks. He can move about in any co ntry with his head erect. All the white races who worship brute force are, which mingled feelings, wondering that India is trying to attain sXalvation by spiritual force. Who will now hesitate to say that the National Congress that is effecting this great revolution is the Congress that in an immortal form has risen from the burning flames of the Punjab pyre.)

The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 15th January, reports

The Congress.

Mr. Yakub Hussain to have

said at the meeting of the

subject Committee of the Congress as follows:- All the empires have perished after the war. The British empire also should perish. We are not in need of the help of the British. We shall ourselves attain SWARAJ by every effect.

It reports Mr. Muhammad Ali to have said:- We, the Muhammadans are giving the British the last opportunity, we follow the principle of non-co-operation at present. If this method fails, we, Muhammadans, will follow another. Except Mr. Gandhi and a few followers of his, there are not many here who advocate the use of peaceful methods.

38. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th Febraury, publishes

Students and Political work. from the pen of a correspondent,
an article in which the

following sentiments find place among others:- Our mother Bharata, who has~~s~~ been suffering under foreign rule for 170 years, is now crying unable to bear the shafts directed against her by Lloyd George who says one thing and does another with regard to the Khilafat and the shots of the Government~~s~~ of India. Do you not, sons of Bharata, hear the cries of your mother? ~~At~~ Indians! Get up and save your mother's honour as otherwise, the world will ~~laugh~~ at you. Only if we, students, should vigorously work in the villages in accordance with the resolutions of the Congress, we would achieve SWARAJ within nine months as stated by Mahatma Gandhi.

40. ✓ In the course of~~a~~ an article criticising the proceedings

✓
The Moderates' Conference. of the Moderates conference
held at Madras, the KISTNA-

PATRIKA, of the 1st January, says:- The President of the Conference could not but admit that to stop non-co-operation the Government should remedy their wrongs. Mrs. Besant also suggested the same thing. But the Government must first admit that what they have ^{done} ~~one~~ is wrong, so that they may set it right~~s~~. They have not expressed any regret even in the case of the Punjab~~s~~. The reforms have come, elections have taken place, and Indians have been made Ministers. But what has the Esher Committee recommended? They laid down the ~~Minister~~ that^y the Indian army should be released from the control of the Government of India and placed under the military authorities in England, as if God has ordained that India should be in servitude for ever. It is surprising that the Indians still believe that the British will "crown them".

41. The KISTNAPATRIKA of the 22nd January, feels highly gratified that Mr. C.R.Das Non-co-operation.in Bengal. has, in response to the call of his mother country, renounced all his worldly interests in Bengal/~~the youths~~ ~~max~~ through which the holy Ganges flow, and in response to his call, 15,000 Bengalee youths have manifested similar self-sacrifice and have followed him. It says:- The light of freedom has shone forth in the heart of BHARATA. There is no longer any fear. ~~B~~ Doubts have cleared. When the Mother Ganges is transported with joy, will the Godavari, the KISTNA, the PINAKINI (PENNAR) and the TUNGABHADRA remain depressed? Oh!! AANDHRA SONS! Make yourselves ready to free your mother from humility~~d~~. Make haste!

46. Writing about the nature of the 'Duel Government' granted to India, the BALA-BHARATI, of the 17th December, The Duel Government. remarks:- The ~~August~~ August declaration first gave hopes of the grant of self-government to India. The declaration, being couched in ambiguous language, gave room to all sorts of interpretations. The spirit behind it was not well understood. The Montford scheme of Reforms curtailed to some extent, the intentions of the declaration, while the Inquiry Committees ~~further~~ ^{further} reduced them and the Bill of the Government of India removed even the little hope that had been entertained. The Joint Committee introduced some changes and made it ambiguous, and we had to wait for the rules to understand it correctly. Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha took great pains to pass "the skeleton like" Reforms through the House of commons. When at last the rules were published, they thoroughly disappointed all parties. The ~~le~~ elections took place and the nationalists kept aloof. This frustrated all hopes entertained about these councils. The moderates who are always anxious to curry the favour of the authorities and the members of "the Justice Party", who

regard the Government as guardian angels, were the only persons available . We can well guess what may happen to the country under these circumstances.

48. Speaking about the causes which led to the present

Country's poverty. impoverished condition of

India, the BALABHARATHI, of

the 21st January, observes in its leader as follows:- There are still some in our country ~~who~~ who hold that previous to the advent of the British ~~were~~ were a wild race without any civilization, arts, or culture. The advantages and disadvantages of the British rule in our country will be evident if we place side by side with the Post offices, the Telegraph department, the aeroplanes and motors and bicycles, our decline in the matter of civilisation and arts, and our country's poverty and helplessness. We do not agree with those who say that on the whole we gained no advantage by our connexion with the British but at the same time we cannot simply flatter them for~~getting~~ forgetting the loss ~~we~~ sustained while gaining certain advantages. Our country would not have lost so much if the British people had carried on either their administration or their trade in this country. As they wield powers connected with both at the same time, our country is declining.

5. 50. Writing in connexion with the letter addressed to

Mahatma Gandhi's letter. the Duke of Connaught by

Mr. Gandhi, the ANDHRAPATRIKA

of the 3rd February, observes in its leader:- On the very day on which the Duke of Connaught opened the new Council in Calcutta, meetings were held in eight different places in the city to express the opinion of the people that the new Legislative Councils did not represent them, and as such, the new members must resign their seats. It has become quite clear that the Madras and the Bengal Councils are not ^erepresentative bodies. Does not the Duke of Connaught know this? Has he not understood

the meaning of the disapproval expressed in each and every town? If the Duke is come to this country as a messenger of peace, it is his duty to know the opinion of both parties. If he had done his duty impartially, people would not have boycotted him. On the other hand, as he acted according to the wishes of the authorities and did not even make an attempt to understand the opinion of the people, his visit has proved unprofitable. Why is there such an agitation in the country? Why did the country boycott the Legislative Councils? Why does it intend to boycott schools and courts? Does all this indicate that the people are satisfied with the present state of things? If not, is it not the duty of the Duke to know the real cause of the discontent? Why should the Duke undertake to open the Legislative Councils which are not wanted by the people? When Mr. Gandhi, who started the non-co-operation movement, was nearby, could not the Duke consult him and find out the real condition of affairs? It is a matter for regret that the Duke has let slip this opportunity. If the Duke has shown any anxiety for ascertaining the people's wishes they could have shown him greater regard than the authorities. Even though the Duke lost his opportunity of pacifying the people, Mr. Gandhi acquainted him with the spirit of the new movement by means of his letter. It is not a matter for pleasure either for Mr. Gandhi or his countrymen to have to adopt the method of boycott when a member of the Royal House comes to this country. For thirty years, Mr. Gandhi helped the Government in all directions. ~~Thy/For thirty years, Mr. Gandhi helped the Government in all directions.~~ The Indians are not at all angry with the Duke personally, nor do they entertain any hostile feelings towards individual Englishmen. India never intends to apply any violence against them. What, then, India is fighting against? This question has been answered very well by Mr. Gandhi. India is directing her efforts to change the system of administration which made the methods of O'Dwyer and Dyer possible in this country and which dishonoured the Muhammadan religion. She

is determined to establish SWARAJ in the place of such system of administration. Instead of trying to mend it the Duke is directing his energies to protect its prestige. That is why it has gained in strength. As individuals, both Lord Willingdon and Lord Ronaldshay are good, but they have not well understood the hearts of ^{their} ~~their~~ respective provinces. India cannot afford to waste her time with the reforms which are not able to solve even one of the problems staring her in the face at the present moment. She is resolved to get the system of administration changed by adopting non-violent 'non-co-operation'. Even now, the non-violent part of the method is not practiced in the country in the way in which it ^{ought} ~~ought~~ to be done. People are just understanding the spirit of it. Mr. Gandhi is asking the Duke to examine this new movement well as it seeks to uplift the whole world, and not one nation. The authorities might have told the Duke so many matters against Mr. Gandhi, but he has now acquainted him with the real situation..... It is but right for the Duke to accept Mr. Gandhi's invitation, and tell His Majesty all about the nature and force of the new movement in India. The whole civilised world is waiting to see what reply the Duke is going to give to this. There is no use treating the new problems with ~~with~~ ~~an~~ indifference. England and India are now passing through an ordeal. If they both come out of it unscathed, an everlasting friendship will be cultivated between the two countries and that will lead to the reconstruction of the whole world. We wish that Mr. Gandhi's letter will create in the minds of the English nation, such lofty ideals.

51. Commenting upon the views expressed by the NATION on

The present situation:-The NATION.

the present situation in India, the ANDHRA PATRIKA, of the 4th

February, observes in its leader:- Even a Liberal paper like the Nation has got its own mistaken impression about the primary aspirations of the Indians. The place which the Congress

occupies in the country is not well understood by the English people. Even when the Punjab and Khilafat affairs caused violent agitation throughout the country, the British people did not notice the intensity of the Indian feeling and try to remedy the injustice done to the Punjab or to pacify the Muhammadans. The NATION is afraid that, though Mr. Gandhi's movement is started with good intentions, it may end in violence like the Sinn Fein movement. It cannot be possible for the NATION, which has the Sinn Fein movement in view to understand the virtues of Mr. Gandhi's movement. The NATION is feeling sorry to see that England is showing the same weakness, thoughtlessness and stubbornness with regard to India, as she showed in the case of Ireland. The paper is advising England not to rule India by physical force, but to enter into an equal partnership with her. As the NATION HAS put it, it is the defect in character ~~that~~ that is ^{the} chief cause of the failure of Britain. The violation of promises made by Mr. Lloyd George and the silence of England in the matter of Punjab are so many bolts on the English character. The Englishmen's capacity for self-Government becomes defective thereby. However great a nation's physical and military strength may be, when once its character becomes defective, the nation will lose its greatness. It is good omen that even among Englishmen there are some who, like Mr. Gandhi think that the present problem is purely one of DHARMA. If Mr. Gandhi wishes ~~are~~ fulfilled, there is no doubt that the wish of the NATION ~~WILL BE AN~~ ^{will be an} accomplished fact. The present critical situation can easily be solved by removing the primary causes. If both England and India take the same path of DHARMA, they will eventually meet and a lasting friendship will be formed between the two.

60. V.N. writes in the "Review of News" column of the

MALAYALI of the 19th January:-

The Government and non-Brahmans.

The non-Brahmans are conti-

nuing their denunciation of the Brahmans. The unlawful support given by the government to the non-Brahmans on improper occasions and in unworthy causes is certainly not consistent with British justice. Though the British have a reputation for sympathy with the aggrieved party in questions of rights and privileges, they should not play the part of the monkey arbitrator between the cats.

61. Referring to Doctor Ansari's presidential address at

the All-India Muslim League,

~~MAL~~ Muslim League

the KERALA CHANDRIKA, of

the 17th January, observes among other things:-It has been made quite clear that the promises of the Prime Minister and of Viceroy of India have served only to ~~hide~~^{hide} with a white skin a black heart of hatred of Islam. Though the Khilafat deputation explained to the people of Europe the consequences of the arch-treachery shown to the Muslim world, the English Cabinet and authorities have not shaken off their madness. The work of the deputation was fairly successful in France. But England no such success was possible on account of the towering personality and influence of certain evil genii We are now determined to try our own strength. Our faith is in non-co-operation.

62. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 28th January, in contrasting

Strikes in Madras

the course adopted by the

employers in Private firms

or factories, and that followed by the Government in dealing with strikes, remarks that the former blame the employees and vice versa, but the latter take prompt steps to sooth the feelings of their servants. For example, when the Postal and Telegraphic

staff threatened a general strike, the Government promptly considered their claims and redressed their grievances. Likewise when the police applied for an increase in their salaries the Government promised to consider their claims favourably.

The writer refers to the strikes in the city of Madras and remarks that the outlook is black indeed when the Government fail to instruct mill owners to follow their example in settling strikes.

63. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 29th January, refuting

the charges made by a gosha

A true explanation.

lady that the paper is in

receipt of a monthly Government stipend of Rs.200 and therefore writes against the non-co-operation movement, asks if any Mussalman can repudiate the Khilafat and says that it should be borne in mind that no Muslim, who is an enemy of the Khilafat, can become the friend of the Government and get a pension. We Publicly declare that the JARIDAH is not in receipt of any monthly allowance from the Government, and that it is a false rumour set afoot by our enemies.

In reply to an inquiry as to what alternative should be taken by Mussalmans to gain their object, the writer appeals to his community to rely upon prayer and the laws of their religion.

67. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 2nd February, publishes a

communique, from the Government

A religious decree.

of Madras to the effect

that the Nizam's Government in the Political Department denies the issue of any Farman by His Exalted Highness on the subject of non-co-operation.

69. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 3rd Febraury, dealing at length with the confused condition of Indian politics and the conflicting views of leaders who, by starting certain movements, creat among the public a favourable impression for themselves and hatred for others, refers to Mr. Gandhi's effort to connect the Khilafat problem with politics to the ^{noisy} ~~noisy~~ demonstration of leaders made on the platform utterly devoid of their either truth~~s~~ or sincerity and to their hypocritical protestations of hatred, avarice, prejudice and pride, and observes:- Up to the present the flood of non-co-operation was considered to be fordable, because it was thought that ~~only holders of high titles and those, who hoped to become members of council, would go under. But the actual fact is that even our promising young men are about to be caught in the torrent.~~ ~~holders of high titles and those, who hoped to become members of council, would go under. But the actual fact is that even our promising young men are about to be caught in the torrent.~~

The writer finally appeals to the community to rise to the occasion and prays to God that He may unite Mussalmans and save the ignorant community from false leaders.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

71. Characterising, as unjust, the order issued by the Raja of Pudukkottai prohibiting Mr. Satyamurti and Pudukkottai. Mr. Satyamurti from entering his State, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 3rd Febraury, observes:- It was the practice of the Russian Emperors to banish to the cold regions of Siberia persons whom they did not like. The Pudukkottai State has not got such a tract. But the Russian Emperors found not later to their dismay that, despite the banishment of countless persons, the very movement to stifle which the banishment was made grew powerful in their country. Had there been anything wrong in the speeches of Mr. Satyamurthi, why ^{they} could ~~they~~ not have been pointed out? Did not the Governor of the Punjab reply in public to Colonel Wedgwood when the latter wrote that the Reforms Act was not properly given effect to

in that Province? Why could not the Raja of Pudukkottai also do so? If Mr. Satyamurti is prevented from entering Pudukkottai will not the spirit of the times find other means of ingress into the State?

The Navasakti of the 4th Febraury, also refers to this subject and remarks:- It is not proper for the ruler of an Indian State to issue an order prohibiting the entry of a patriot into his State. *It is highly disgraceful.*

74. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 9th Febraury, in the course of an English article under this heading; writes:-

Princes in Politics.

The Maharaja of Kolhapur has no business to interfere into the Congress policy. The Congress does not interfere in the affairs of his State, unless his own subjects choose to call in aid of the Congress. His uncalled-for remarks about his treaty and other rights are ill-advised, impertinent, uncalled for and unworthy of the descendant of Sivaji, a Chatrapati who gloried in being the servant of his people.

For the week ending 19th Febraury 1921.

No.8 of 1921.

English Papers.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. The WEDNESDAY REVIEW, for the week ending 9th Febraury,

Non-Co-Operation. observes:- "Whether or not the the Government of India

are now realising that the 'non-violence' non-co-operation of Mr. Gandhi's school-boy followers has reached a stage beyond which it is undesirable to let it go, it is somewhat encouraging that the authorities in the affected districts have apprehended the situation better. That is because they have to face the trouble ~~thence~~ themselves while the Government of India from their Olympus can afford to moralise over it and issue pious resolutions ~~for~~

for the guidance of the lesser mortals. After the incidents in Calcutta, no Government can ignore what is due from them to the law-abiding public. It ought not to have been impossible for the authorities in Calcutta to put a stop to picketing and other kinds of obstruction and annoyance ~~caused~~ caused by a handful of non-co-operating students. Instead of putting their foot down on the nuisance, they looked on the whole thing as a huge joke. That is exactly the kind of attitude which has such a demoralising influence on the general public. While it disgusts the law-abiding, it encourages the law-breakers in a way which the authorities may not ^{bargain} bargain for. Even if every school has to be closed owing to the wholesale withdrawal of boys, the business of administration will go on as usual and there is no fear of the machinery of the Government coming to a stand-still on that account. But, it is the demoralising effect of it on the general population that really matters. The Government of India can no longer pretend that the non-violence non-co-operation has not reached that stage beyond which it would be unsafe to suffer it to go, and think that a press communique will meet the situation. Something ~~wa~~ more drastic than press communiques is necessary to deal with a situation which has passed all bounds of decency and order and which can only cover the Government with ridicule."

2. The KARNATAKA, of the 12th Febraury, remarks:- It has always been our contention that a body like the Chamber of Princes is, in the very nature of things, bound to be an inane theatricality; and that we made no mistake about it is proved beyond question by the proceedings of the inagural ceremony of the Chamber of Princes performed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught on Tuesday last. The occasion, we read, was such as could recall the magnificence of the Moghul. But the Moghul's politics was comparatively simple and artless

and therefore more innocent; his theatricality was the product of native vanity rather than of deep political design; and magnificence was part of his daily life and was not invoked for special occasions as the Sunday suit is by the shop-boy. And the Moghul's days were also different in that there were then more Indian Princes who considered it no honour to be patronisingly addressed in Darbars and reminded of their own comparative smallness. Anyway, Royal magnificence is fast becoming a rare commodity in the world; and ~~their~~ Highnesses may well congratulate themselves on having been able to delight in it for once, while republican outbreaks and Bolshevik onslaughts ~~are~~ ^{are} dealing the last knock-out blows to the old authoritarian scheme of things.

"The entire proceedings connected with the Chamber are based on the fundamental misconception that the PRINCES are the States. It is utterly strange that this error, ~~which~~ ^{which} was not tolerated in the eighteenth century, should be perpetrated in the twentieth by the Power that had made responsible Government its special gift and message to the rest of India. ~~It is~~ as true in India as it was anywhere else that the Princes are not the States and that the people are the States. Any scheme of constitutional re-construction for India should therefore have taken note of the rights and requirements of the people of the States; and it need have been no part of it to ~~show~~ ^{show} solicitude for the 'rights and interests, a dignities and powers, privileges and prerogatives of the Princes and chiefs."

3. The HINDU of the 14th Febraury, has the following:-

"DAUGHTERS OF THE HORSE LEECH."

We have referred more than once to the orgy

of extravagance that so far

Demand for further revision
of salaries and allowances by the
I.C.S. Association, Madras.

remains the one tangible

blessing that the Reforms

have brought in their train. Costly and much-multiplied Executive Councillors, Ministers whose status as the chosen of the people demands an equal ~~and~~ costliness, a President paid a princely

salaries for looking ornamental, Secretaries galore at one end of the administrative machine; at the other a starved and overworked unit who has been praying for some small measure of relief and praying with as much hope of response as one crying in the wilderness; the contrast is moving enough to appeal to anyone except the wastrels in whose hands ~~are~~^{are} placed the adequate booming of the Reforms. The unfortunate tax-payer, who ~~contemplates~~ the cost of his tutelage towards self-government, may well reflect that freedom, as interpreted by his tutors, is not an unmixed blessing. Enjoying the proud distinction of being the poorest tax-payer in the world he could always lay the flattering ~~unction~~^{action} to his soul that he yet proudly pays for the costliest administrative machinery among the nations. The Indian Civil Servant is the highest paid officer of his class and status in the world but this proud eminence^f does not afford a motive strong enough to place a check on the acquisitive ambitions of this pampered class. If our information is correct a memorial is about to be submitted to the Secretary of State by the I.C.S. Association in Madras demanding -- when does the heavenborn act otherwise than in character? -- a further revision of salaries and allowances. That these indispensables should give any reason for the claims that they prefer it is, of course, foolish to expect and it is therefore more as a concession than a right that the public and the Secretary of State is favoured with the argument that the recent revision was given to them on the recommendations of the Public Services Commission with a view to compensate them for increased ~~responsibility~~ responsibility under the Reform scheme and not with a view to the increased cost of living. The argument is something too subtle for less exalted minds to follow. Mr. Montagu never misses an opportunity of paying a tribute to the glorious virtues of an incomparable service and the lesser lights of the dispensation faithfully echo their master's voice. Sir Valentine Chirol is naively pleased at the manner in which the services has thrown itself heart and soul into the task

~~of~~ making a success of the Reforms. It is obvious that behind all his viscous flood there is an under-current of fear, that the praise is not so much meant to appraise as to placate. The authorities are afraid that the service may disapprove or, which Heaven avert, may even resent. That is why the Service was the first to reap the benefit of the Public Services Commission recommendations. It was also the most pappered beneficiary. Revised pay, revised allowances, more generous annuity and pension rules, they dropped into its lap a golden shower sufficiently generous to satisfy the most greedy. The Service had to be 'squared' unless the Reforms were to be made even more of a mockery that they are. And 'squared' the service was accordingly in a variety of ways. Its ruffled plumes were smoothed down. Flattery was laid on with a trowel. Its 'vested interests' -- that comprehensive if innocent-looking phrase that, at a stretch may be induced to include the prescriptive share of the pick-pocket in the purse of his victim -- were secured by statute. And last but by no means least, its pockets were amply filled. Care was taken by the multiplication of Executive Councillor ~~ships~~ and other posts that there should be no real displacement of service offices. One would have thought that all this was sufficient recompense for what after all amounts to a very negligible sacrifice. A little pretence of submission, hard as it may be for the stubborn neck of the service to bow down, to disguise the fact that there has been no real shifting of the centre of gravity, nor ever will be if the service can help it, that is surely a small thing to ask for their very substantial acquisitions. It is not as if Esau had sold his birth-right and was claiming more pottage. We are therefore frankly surpraised, though we ~~though we~~ ought by this time to have become accustomed to such little jokes as it might please our masters to play upon a long suffering public, that the I.C.S. Associations should have chosen to make such a demand. While we can appreciate the sense and desirability of striking while the iron is hot --

and what time could be better ~~dx~~ than this present halcyon one, with the disbursers of the tax-payers' purse in a mood of large-hearted benevolence? -- We yet believe they are a little ill-advised.

4. The HINDU, of the 17th Febraury, has the following:-

"THE OBJECT-LESSON".

"While the air is full of the triumphant paeans
of laquacious moderates for
that the coping-stone has been set upon the task of their
The imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hassan and his fellow-workers. lifetime and while they are
thrusting their forgiveness
obstrusively upon none too repentant culprits, a startling
reminder that the new state of things is not much better than
the old, is furnished from Malabar. Elsewhere, we publish
a telegram which speaks for itself regarding the action taken
agianst Mr. Yakub Hasan and his fellow-workers. Because they
refused to submit to an obviously unjust and arbitrary order
they ha e been committed to imprisonment for six months. Out-
side of quarters which are content to be in a state of placid
beautitude because of a few soothing words, the action will
disillusion no one. The people of India have long ago learnt
to appreciate the great game of make-believe at its true worth
and they did not need this object-lesson to demonstrate that
nothing has been changed at the heart of things. The bureaucrats
may have added a modest coat of whitewash to tone down the
luridity of his pristine complexion but his mentality is the
same as ever. Like the Bourbons, he has learnt nothing and
forgotten nothing. And yet one may be permitted to express
the spirit of surprise that our local tin goods should not
have perceived the necessity for letting a decent interval
elapse between the promise, as set forth in multitudinous speeches
from the King-Emperor downwards, the realisxation as so graphically
presented in Malabar. The deputy Providence who,
for its sins, rules over happy Malabar, prohibited the holding

of certain contemplated meetings. That in itself was a denial of the elementary right of free speech and public meeting which is strikingly suggestive in connexion with the committee of selection which was all that the modesty of the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri emboldened him to ask for and which was granted with suspicious facility by the Government. No one can pretend that the conditions in Malabar are at all sufficiently disturbed to justify the suspension of civil rights. And yet the authorities gaily prohibited meetings, in strict accordance with the great bureaucratic principle of sitting immovably on the safety-value. The subsequent proceedings however throw some light on the mentality of the Magistrate. Having convinced himself, presumably a task of considerable ease, that they intended to defy his omnipotence he promptly calls upon them to execute bonds to be -- of all things -- of good behaviour. A procedure that is generally applied to gentlemen who prey upon society is naturally apt to be resented by any self-respecting man, but considerations of decency seem to have weighed as little with the Magistrate as considerations of justice and he took advantage of their apparently recalcitrant attitude to clap them into jail. It was a member of this same precipitant fraternity who once said that there were only two kinds of Indians; those who were in jail and those who ought to be. Acting on this profound generalisation the Magistrate has obviously tried to do his best to rectify the balance. We cannot conceive of any other reason except that their politics are an offence in the nostrils of the Magistrate, why in the first place he should have prohibited meetings, or why he should, even granting that ~~they~~ they intended to disobey, not have taken a course less severe than sending them to jail for six months like common felons. If the Magistrate thought the primitive simplicity of his Arcadia was being disturbed by these pestilent agitators he has taken a course most carefully calculated to inflame bitterness among a people, a considerable

section of whom are highly inflammable and prone to express resentment in unpleasant ways. Repression is a direct invitation to disorder and on men like the Magistrate concerned, as upon the Government which tolerates if it did not inspire such acts, rests the terrible responsibility that any disturbances and their suppression would involve. Meanwhile the question remains what should be done. To a public which has learnt most thoroughly the lesson that nothing is to be hoped for except of our achievement, this striking earnest of the halcyon days to come will not be a surprise. If those~~de~~ others, who would bear with fortitude a little mild repression provided it is confined to those who have deposed them, play variations on the brick-bats theory, it would be consoling to reflect that they have ceased to count except as stalking-horses for the bureaucracy."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

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II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(b) Courts.

11. The MUKBIR-i-DAKHAN, of the 9th Febraury, congratulating

<p>A Muhammadan Judge in the Court of Small causes.</p>	<p>Mir Zymud-din Sahib Bahadur, LL.B., Bar-at-Law, on his appointment as Judge of the court of Small Causes, Madras, thanks, the Government for having granted the long-felt desire of Muhammadans and hopes that the Government of Madras will both from the point of necessity and justice, appoint a Muhammadan Judge to the Bench of the High Court of Judicature at Madras in place of the Hon'ble Justice Sir Abdur Rahim; for there are many delicate questions of Muhammadan law that crop up during legal proceedings which a non-Muslim Judge must find it difficult to deal with.</p>
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(d) Education.

12. The KERALA SANCHARI, of the 9th Febraury, enters

Special educational facilities ~~given to Europeans and Anglo-Indians.~~ a loyal protest against the special educational facilities given by the

Government to the children of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and says:- This is not the only instance that a distinction has been made between Indians and Europeans and Anglo-Indians who, in several cases, enjoy much greater privileges than Indians, with Indian money. (This is one of the Princip~~al~~ privileges than Indians, with Indian money.) This is one of the principal complaints laid at the door of the Government ~~of~~ by most people. Be the causes of the unrest and agitation in various parts of the country what they may, it is only just that the Government should consider and do the needful in the matter of doing away with racial distinctions, and this will be absolutely necessary at this juncture.

It is the duty of all loyal subjects to bring to the notice of the Government cases in which they have, through ignorance or otherwise, swerved from the paths of justice. In~~d~~ any case pure British justice should never be stained in any way. It should be considered that the abolition of such distinctions as early as possible will strengthen the relations between England and India.

(k) General.

17. Stating that the Police opened fire on an unarmed

and innocent crowd in Perumbur in December, last, the

The shooting of the labourers of the Buckingham Mills.

VAISYAMITRAN, of the 20th December, observes:- The Government also support such actions. It is a memorable event that, at a time when the people were still smarting on account of the doings of General Dyer in the Punjab, such an act should have been committed in the Madras Presidency. This will only add

to the existing misery and serve to strengthen the Hindu-Muslim Unity. It is a wonder indeed that, under the British Rule, brickbats should be met by bullets. Should the Government of India act realising that, in England and other countries, the Police use only their batons for dispersing crowds committing mischief and take to firearms as a last resort only after giving due notice, innocent people will not be subjected to unnecessary suffering. Such incidents are perhaps intended to serve as a foundation for the new reforms.

18. Referring to the statement of the President of the Congress recently held at The Nagpur Congress. Nagpur that, by improving national industries in India, the British merchants should be made to suffer pecuniarily, the DHANA VAISYA OZHIYAN, of the 31st December, writes:- The Indian administration is being conducted by a bureaucracy dominated by the British merchants who are of the nature of vultures. Is it possible to make the British merchants suffer pecuniary loss in the near future? It is clear that unless, by means of a huge agitation free from disloyalty, the British public are made to attack the parliament and the Government of India fashioned on democratic lines, our economic resources, trade and industry cannot be secured for us.

The GODAVARIPATRIKA, of the 4th January, says under this heading:- The President of the Congress is under the impression that in the absence of the present courts of law, anarchy would prevail. But he should have known by experience that the judicial policy followed in the courts established by the English is mainly responsible for the wickedness, perjury and false arguments prevailing therein. The present day-witnesses speak the truth outside the courts, but when they enter the box and give evidence on oath, what they say is contrary to truth. It is not true that the removal of the present law courts

will end in riots and anarchy. We are in agreement with the President in his opinion that it will be well if a member of the Royal family is sent to India as viceroy. We believe that Viceroys who are members of the Royal Family will not allow the machinations and misdeeds of civil servants to continue unchecked. The statement of the President that the Indians have lost confidence in the Parliament is true. Not only the Parliament, but the Viceroy also cannot do us justice. The Punjab horrors bear testimony to this. The present Viceroy himself passed the Immunity Bill which enabled the evil doers in the Punjab to escape from the law courts. If the Viceroy had been a member of the Royal family, there could have been no room for the Rowlatt ^{laws} ~~act~~ or for the Immunity Act. So long as those who do not belong to the Royal family, are Governors-General in India, it is difficult for us to attain our wishes. The President has stated that if His Majesty the King-Emperor, liked, he could do us justice as in the Colonies. But in the Colonies, the inhabitants are white races and His Majesty can be made to do justice to them. But to get justice done to India which is inhabited by the coloured races, by that means, is, we think, impossible if the interests of the people in England are at stake, they will not consent to the King-Emperor doing anything for India; and His Majesty is not a free agent under the constitution. The British first came as missionaries, then as traders and then they occupied the country and began to govern it. Now they cannot part with it easily in our favour. This is the political policy of the west. If the dealing with them we follow the mild and unworldly ways to which we have been accustomed for long, we will be duped again as usual. It is our firm belief that when we do not and cannot undertake to fight with them with swords and daggers, they will pay no regard to us if we speak empty words to them. We have to deal with them in a worldly fashion and our philosophy which has ruined us can have no effect on them. Only when we ~~s~~ can speak out our hearts to our rulers, will they believe us?

The GODAVARIPATRIKA, of the 11th January, in writing
about the resolutions passed
The Congress resolutions. By the Nagpur Congress touches

the subject of exchange and observes:- England is purely a country of merchants. If the tradesmen there suffer, an agitation regarding the irregularities of the administration in this country, will surely be made. The English are experts in earning money but they cannot bear a loss. If our trade ~~develops~~ of SWADESHI articles develops, foreign trade will suffer. If our boycott of the goods in the Customs Office succeeds, our swadeshi trade will also succeed.

21. Referring to the news that the management of the tramway in Madras is to be taken over by a new agency The Tramway in Madras. be taken over by a new agency the DESABHAKTAN OF THE 9th February, observes:- It is not known whether the new agency is to be Indian or European. But the Madras Corporations should not remain quiet at this time; if it should take up the management, it will be advantageous to the public in many ways and not the least of it will be the immunity from frequent strikes. It is also necessary to the public should have a voice in the administration of the tramway. It is hoped that the corporation will act realising the spirit of the times.

Adverting to the order said to have been issued permitting officials working in the Public Offices in Madras to attend office late by half an hour in view of the inconvenience caused by the strike of the tramwaymen, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th February, observes:- The officials are no doubt fortunate in that the Government have been so considerate towards their servants in view of the unexpected predicament. But did the Government make any inquiry as to the fate of the labourers that struck work? What attempts did they make to put an end to the strike? No trustworthy official intelligence has

has reached us in regard to this matter. What is the meaning of the Publicity Board Keeping silent in this matter, while it is busily issuing pamphlet after pamphlet even on subjects that are not very useful to the people of this Presidency? What steps did the corporation take for insisting on the fulfilment by the Tramway Company of their terms of the contract? When facilities of transport have not been afforded by them as required by the conditions of the licence issued to them, what becomes of the contract? Further there is rumour that the management of the tramway is to change hands be true, is it not incumbent on the part of the Corporation to take charge of it? Though the plea of want of funds may be urged against this it will not be difficult for them to raise the capital if they mean to take up the management.

Referring to the same question, the Hindu Nesan, of the 11th February, states, that the public are being subjected to great hardship on account of the strike of the tramway men and hopes that the Government will speedily take over the management of the tramway so as to avoid such troubles.

24. Remarking that none except some self-seeking moderated
 will admit that the visit of
Visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught.
 His Royal Highness the Duke
of Connaught is an epoch-making event^y in the history of India,
the VAISYAMITRAN, of the 24th January, observes:- It is usual
for His Majesty the Emperor and members of the Royal family
to be more liberal in the expression of their views than the
bureaucrats. While, so, there is no need for the Duke of Connau-
ght to inaugurate the system devised by the Bureaucrats for
their own benefit. The legislative councils might very well
have been opened by the respective Governors and Governor~~s~~-
General in each province without much expense and show. Further
the Duke has insulted the Indians by saying that they are now
being trained with a view to test their fitness for taking

up the administration. It is a fact well-known to His Majesty and English people that, in point of statesmanship and the administrative capacity, the Indians are not behind the people of Australia and New Zealand. But the Duke on his ~~return~~ to England is bound to acquaint His Majesty with the fact that responsible persons in India do not come forward to conduct the administration and that only a small men actuated by the love of money and titles offer themselves for it. We believe he will also surely apprise His Majesty of the attitude of the majority of the Indians and of their disgust for the reforms.

Reverting to this subject and remarking that, in all the speeches made by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, he did not utter a single word calculated to please even the moderats, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th February, writes:- If it were possible to forget and forgive as required by him, the bitterness caused by the incidents in the Punjab, the Indians might, out of their love for the Duke, do so. But this is not a private matter concerning their one or two as the whole country and the whole nation has been disgraced in the Punjab and the consequences thereof are likely to be visited upon our posterity also. So if we forget and forgive this without establishing SWARAJ and safeguarding our birthrights in view to prevent the recurrence of such cruelty and shame, ourselves and our posterity may have to face a similar situation and we will be making ourselves liable to be then charged with being the authors of the same. If the person or persons that put a whole race to disgrace were adequately punished, then there may be room to expect that such a thing will not recur. If, in the absence of punishment, such persons are forgiven, it will be tantamount to the Indians offering themselves for being kicked again. It is impossible to call back to life those that were killed in the Punjab; it is not possible to restore honour to the women who lost it there. We do not ask the Government to perform such impossible feats. But what

we want is only that the delinquents should be punished and that the officers who permitted such acts and defended them subsequently should repent for their wrongful acts, acknowledge their mistakes and give an assurance that such thing ~~it~~ would not recur. We request the Duke to inform His Majesty and His Ministers that, in the absence of such action, it will not be possible for India to forget and forgive. We are glad that the Duke has understood the feeling of the Indians. We request him to acquaint the same to the British Government, the Members of Parliament who supported Dyer and the editors of the British newspapers who collected funds for presenting a jewelled sword to him in appreciation of his heroism. It is then that they will realise that they were entirely mistaken in having thought of ~~saying~~ satisfying the Indians by ~~the~~ sending the Duke to India. The British Government need not have sent him over such a long way to explain the significance of the Act of 1919 which is only too well known to the public while the Indians, after a ~~xxx~~ careful scrutiny of each and every provision in the Act, have learnt that it has not given them a government responsible to the people and that it has only afforded additional facilities for those who wish to wield autocratic powers, how can they believe the statement of the Duke that autocracy is dead? In fine, the ~~object~~ object with which he was sent to India, has not been realised.

The NAVASAKTI, of the 11th Februaury, contains sentiments similar to those expressed by the ~~SWADESAMITRA~~ SWADESABHIMANI of the 14th January, in His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. article No. 13 occurring on pages 86 and 87 of Report No.4 of 1921.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th Februaury, publishes a communication from the pen of a correspondent, in which the following observations occur among others:- The Duke spoke disparagingly to the effect that patriots in India had for generations been dreaming the attainment of SWARAJ for their country, while it was never the subject of a free gift

from one nation to another. Yes. Certainly no one would have made a gift of ~~the~~^{the} nature of the present reforms which deny the power of the purse to us. If the statement that the strength of our sovereign lies in our prosperity and contentment be true, we wish to know what remedial measures have been taken in connexion with the Punjab incidents and the Khilafat question. The Duke has observed that the economic position of India is satisfactory. It is because of this that many Indians die of starvation? Sir W. Hunter himself stated in 1892 that four crores of people in India lived on a single meal a day. Is it ~~(because of this)~~ also due to the financial ~~te~~ strength of India that the Viceroy is paid £16,720 a year while the Premier of the British Empire gets only £50,000? It would be more appropriate to say that the present day rulers lack the breadth of vision necessary to understand the greatness of Akbar, Sivaji, Changanagupta and others than to state, as the Duke has done, that the ancient rulers ~~xx~~ were lacking in breadth of vision. We would finally request the Duke to inform His Majesty and His Ministers and the British people that, if the Indians should live contentedly within the Empire, the British should treat them with sincerity and love as was proclaimed by Her Majesty Queen Victoria and accord to them the equality and liberty demanded by them.

The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 12th February, says:-

Some people were all on tiptoe expecting that His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught would give us some boons. In his ~~speech~~^{speech} at the Indian Legislative Assembly, there is to be found unusual sympathy, but where are the ~~boons~~^{boons}? No law was repealed, no prisoner released, no right confirmed, no officer in the Punjab punished and no defect remedied. He advised us to forget the past and urged the Indians and the English to be on terms of friendship. Empty advice will not bring about such friendship. There can be no friendship and peace so long as the Indians are in every respect not treated on terms of equality with the

English. His Royal Highness has noted the differences between the rulers and the ruled, but ~~if~~ it is to be regretted that he has not seen the means rectifying them. In the very city of Delhi where the Duke of Connaught spoke of friendship, meetings have been prohibited. In the very province of the Punjab with reference to which he urged the need of friendship, the people should not convene meetings. Why should we expect boons and be disappointed? 'Dependence on oneself is happiness, and dependence on others is misery.'

In the course of a long comment on the speeches delivered

by His Royal Highness the
His Royal Highness the Duke's
arrival. Duke of Connaught on the
occasion of his landing in Madras and of opening the Madras
Legislative Council, the GODAVARIPATRIKA of the 18th January,
makes the following, among other remarks:- The Duke's
words clearly state that it was owing to the help of the Indian
sepoys, that the Englishmen were able to establish their Empire
in India. He also said that the time had come for India to
have necessary training in self-government even though she
is not ripe for it. To grant the new reforms it took 100 years.
We do not know how many centuries more it will take for the
grant of complete self-government. It took the Phillippine
Islands only ten years to secure independence after they fell
into the hands of the Americans. Are not the Indians at least
as fortunate as the Phillippines?

The KANTHIRAVA, of the 15th Febraury, in a note
under the column 'Last Week' observes:- The Duke will not be
justified in taking it for granted, from the crowd that musters
strong to witness the display wherever he goes, that the whole of
India accords him a hearty reception. The Duke should understand
that the HARTAL that was observed by the people of Calcutta
during his visit to that city was the only welcome accorded
to him by the public. Strictly speaking, not a single human
being with an iota of love and respect for his motherland took
any part in this welcoming ceremony. How can any patriot be

expected to join in it when the Duke comes to this country as a representative of those who cruelly harassed and insulted the Indians and stubbornly cast aside as a trinket the burning question of the Khilafat? How can they feel any exultation at a time when the country is shedding bitter tears over its miserable lot?

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 17th Februaury, in a short note, writes:- None His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. of the speeches delivered by the Duke in India have been such as would tend to evoke a spontaneous sense of loyalty and devotion on the part of the people. Punishment of the wicked is far more important than the protection of the righteous. Any neglect shown by the rulers in not punishing the wicked will be tantamount to the protecting of the wicked and the rulers themselves become wicked in the eyes of God and lose divine support. Those who do not possess divine support become weak and suffer the consequences of their misdeeds.

Page No: 232

25. Referring to the report said to be current that ~~xxxx~~ the Government of India Beginning of Repression. have issued circulars instructing the Provincial Governments not to think lightly of the non-co-operation movement and pointing out how those connected with it should be kept down and that similar instructions have been issued by the local Governments to District authorities, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 9th Februaury, writes:- We understand that the Government of India propose to open their armoury of repression after His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught leaved India. The special feature in regard to this is that Lord Sinha, the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, will be the first to use this weapon. While the inhabitants of Bihar and Orissa are glad with the hope that they may gain some benefits by the fact of an Indian being their Governor, it is indeed a matter for surprise to everyone that Lord Sinha should have

decided to resort to repression. But it is clear that he had only repression in mind while replying to the address of welcome given to him by the ~~European~~ Europeans Association at Patna. If he should ~~not~~ lead ~~the~~ the other provincial Governors in the matter of repression, his name will shine all the brighter in the pages of Indian History. Lord Sinha covets this perhaps. We wish to warn the Government of India even now that it is a suicidal step for them to take to repression. We hope Lord Chelmsford will not stir India at the eve of his retirement from office. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, after stirring the Punjab in 1919, fled like 'thief running away during night.' We trust Lord Chelmsford will not follow his example. We ~~are~~ urge in this connexion that it is impossible to put down the movement for SWARAJ by any manner of repression.

28. The NAVASAKTI, of the 11th Februaury, publishes a continuation of the imaginary Government by foreigners. dialogue abstracted in paragraph 18 of Weekly Report No.7, in which the following finds place among others:- If the rulers of this country had brought money from England and invested it in the Railways in India without any expectation of return, they would no ~~do~~ doubt be entitled to our gratitude. But the fact is otherwise They might at least have raised loans at a low rate of interests in the open market in England and other foreign countries. Instead of doing so, they have granted the monopoly of Railways to a few British Companies, undertaken to indemnify them against loss and guaranteed to them an interest of 5 per cent per annum. When the railways worked at a loss our countrymen~~x~~ had to bear it, while the foreign capitalists got their full interests Even when the railways are now working at a profit, our people are benefited only to a small extent. The members of the ruling class held ~~the~~ all the higher offices even during the period of loss and enjoyed fat salaries, while the subordinate

officials and labourers, who form the basis of railway administration, are not adequately remunerated.

29. Remarking that the qualities of men vary according

to the climatic conditions

Non-co-operation.

of the country inhabited

by them and that the people in cold countries who eat too much are naturally prone to be restless and to inflict harm, while the Tamil people who dwell in a hot country naturally excel in passive resistance, the NAVASAKTI, of the 11th Febraury, writes:- If the ^{old} ~~old~~ Tamil civilization, education and rule were now prevalent in the country spiritual movements like that of non-co-operation would spread without any effort. But modern civilization, education and system of administration stand in the way of that movement whose express object is the destruction of these three things. Those who may come forward to lead the movement should not have any fancy for modern civilization, education or system of administration. If the movement should be headed by such men, there can be no doubt that it will spread like wild fire.

The DRAVIDAN, of the 2nd February, adverts, to the evils likely to arise from students taking part in the non-co-operation movement and remarks:- If unbounded political unrest should take root in India, our countrymen also may have to share the fate of the Russians.

The VOKKALIGARA PATRIKE, of the 16th Febraury, in the course of a contributed leading article decrying the non-co-operation movement, observes:- We trust that the non-co-operation movement will soon die a natural death. The steps that are being taken by the British to put a stop to the activities of the leaders thereof bespeak their wisdom. This movement could have been nipped in the bud if some restraint had been put upon them, but then the non-co-operationists would have posed themselves as harassed patriots and made greater noise. Though from

outside the movement appears mighty, it is only a handful of educated leaders and a few Muhammadans of the Khilafat that really go to make up the non-co-operation movement. The major part of the people have held themselves aloof from it, and the students of the Mysore State will do well not to fall an easy prey to the evil advice of these people.

Refuting the argument put forward by NEW INDIA that only the Indian Muhammadans have made common cause with Mr. Gandhi in his non-co-operation movement, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA of the 15th Febraury, observes: It is not the Muhammadans alone that have joined Mr. Gandhi. The whole of India is on his side. Even the moderates are his partisans in their heart of hearts. Some impartial people opine that all the thirty crores of the Indian people side with Mr. Gandhi, and that even such as those who hanker after power and pelf merely pretend to oppose him in order to gain their selfish ends. Even granting for a moment that all the thirty crores of people are not siding with Mr. Gandhi at present, there is not the least doubt that they will join him the movement they understand his principles aright.

The VRITTANTA RATNAKARA, of the 14th Febraury, in an article under this heading, writes:- On the 7th instant one Mr. Tantre delivered a lengthy lecture on non-co-operation in the Chamarajendra Memorial Hall at Chitaldurg under the presidency of Mr. Tirumala Rao, Vice-President of the Town Municipality. Mr. Tantre in the course of his long discourse urged the people to approach His Highness the Maharaja with a request that Mysore should free itself from the British Empire; and; in this connexion advised the members of the local Legislative Council to show more activity and bring up such subjects for discussion.

The sages say that even the Emperor is not all independent. It is true that the strong harass the weak. It is right that we should rule ourselves, but even then, there should be some one to rule over the others. Our Maharaja has bestowed

full liberty on his subjects. Such being the case, with whom are we to non-co-operate? Who will lose if we non-co-operate with ourselves? We are sorry to note that lectures of this type were allowed to be delivered in our midst.

In the course of a leading article under the heading, 'the effects of non-co-operation', the KERALA SANCHARI, of the 2nd Febraury, makes the following among other remarks:- On the whole it must be admitted that there is considerable unrest in various parts of India and the intensity of the unrest is due to the misbehaviour of some of the administrators and the misrepresentation of Indian affairs made by the Anglo-Indian press to the British people. Be the cause of the unrest what it may, it cannot but be said that the efforts of the non-co-operators in various directions give occasion for misgivings.

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The zeal of the students for the non-co-operation movement must no doubt be attributed to the defects in the present system of education. . . .

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The remark of the President of the Anglo-Indian Association which recently met at Calcutta that to save India from anarchy the Government should resort to repression and the resolution of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri that a committee should be appointed to examine the desirability of repealing or modifying the repressive measures now on the Statute Book will show to what extent the opinions of the Indians and the Anglo-Indians differ regarding Indian affairs.

In concluding a first article on non-co-operation, the MUSLIM, of the 12th Febraury, says:- What is the secret of the colossal strength of the British in India? Surely it is nothing but the co-operation which they receive from Indians in conducting the administration, from the peopn to the Minister. They select some Indians and use them as instruments to conduct their autberatic rule over Indians. The moment Indians say

that they cannot co-operate in future in wielding autocratic power over their brethren and act up to it, the Indian administrative machinery will come to a standstill. But such a thing has not yet been done and this result has not been produced. There is no doubt, however, that when the cause arises it will necessarily be followed by its effect.

While admitting the sincerity of Mr. Gandhi's motives, the KERAIA PATRIKA, of the 29th January, thinks that his non-co-operation movement is not conducive to the welfare and prosperity of India, takes exception to the boycott of schools and colleges by students, which is now spreading throughout the country like wild fire, and suggests to the local Congress Committee that they should advise students not to leave schools and colleges until better facilities for education are provided for them.

The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 11th Febraury, has another article against non-co-operation in which it points out the several disadvantages that will accrue from SWARAJ or self-government and remarks that the real object of this movement is to create feelings of hostility against the British Government.

The MUKHBIR-i-DAKHAN, of the 9th Febraury, has a lengthy leader against non-co-operation in which it points out the disadvantages of the movement and advises the national leaders to carefully consider the question of boycotting education and be prepared to meet the non-co-operationists in their unsound arguments, otherwise the outcome of all this agitation will be serious.

30. Referring to the remark said to have been made by

Freedom of Speech.

NEW INDIA in connexion with the interruption caused by some

to a speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar at Bombay, that it is perhaps the characteristic of non-co-operation to refuse freedom of speech, the NAVASAKTI, of the 11th Febraury, observes,- It is no wonder that Mr. Sastri, who supports a

Government that restrict freedom of Speech, should not be allowed that freedom. Is it not the administration that taught the ~~xxx~~ art of restricting freedom of speech that should be condemned by NEW INDIA? Were our people trained in this art during the reigns of Rama and Akbar?

Page No. 234 (d)

31. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 11th Febraury, publishes a communication from the pen of a correspondent in which the Evils of repression. following observations find place among others:- It is clear that England is determined to crush the rebellion in Ireland by means of repression in which they may be said to have a blind faith. It has been repeatedly pointed out by the history of the world that the adoption of such a policy when the people are already in revolt against cruelty will not only be useless but will also tend to aggravate the evil. Still, it is only this policy that the French-men attempt to follow in Syria and the Englishmen are following in Arabia and Mesopotamia. The adoption of such a course renders the Ministers unfit for guiding the affairs of the State. Have the Principles of the universal brotherhood and equality no application in the case of Ireland, Arabia, Mesopotamia, India and Egypt? The divine laws are inexorable and those guilty of cruelty and injustice are sure to meet with retribution. Those who enslave others will themselves become slaves. We regret that the European statesmen have not learnt any lesson even from the immense hardships suffered during the great European war on account of injustice and inequality.

32. Remarking that, in the same manner as the Indians have lost their country and liberty, India's poverty. the agriculturists who have no knowledge of their own needs are quite unaware of their being induced by the bureaucracy to satisfy the needs of foreign merchants, the VAISYAMITRAN, of the 24th January, writes:- The Government do not assist the Indians in carrying on industries on a large scale, while they afford all facilities to the foreign merchants and English planters so much so that

Indians have come to depend upon British capital. The requirements of the Government of India are purchased mostly from English ~~pl~~ and not Indian manufacturers. Heavy duties also being levied on Indian manufacturers. Even in this twentieth century, the Government are not inclined to impart industrial and commercial education to Indians who are denied admission even to the colleges in England. The English manufacturers also do not consent to train Indian students. Can the Indians hope to obtain redemption from slavery so long as they continue to be ruled by people having such views? Can there be any doubt as to the fact that India will not be able to rid herself of her poverty without achieving SWARAJ?

34. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 1st Febraury, ~~of the 1st Febraury~~, reproduces in Tamil the substance of an article "SWARAJ in a year." under this heading said to have been contributed by Mr. B.C.Pal to the AMRITA BAZAAR PATRIKA in which he points out how, by the adoption of the principles of non-co-operation, the Government may be non-plussed and brought to terms and India enable to achieve SWARAJ, expresses his convictions that political revolutionaries will resort to violence if non-violent non-co-operation should not succeed in achieving SWARAJ and puts forward the repeal of all repressive laws the grant of the right of volunteering to Indians and the fixing by legislation of a time limit within which all departments (including the army and the navy) should be transferred to the Legislative Councils which are responsible to the Indians, as conditions for arriving at an amicable settlement.

Writing about the use of the word SWARAJ the ANDHRA-PATRIKA of the 11th Febraury, writes in a note:- As a word SWARAJ conveys also the idea of complete independence the moderates are afraid that the use of it may indicate disloyalty. Some of the nationalists suggested the use of the expression 'Responsible

Government' instead of SWARAJ, and others the expression democratic SWARAJ. All those doubts are now removed. The word SWARAJ is heard repeated all over the country. Further, this word has been used in His Majesty's recent message. Though the message contains nothing that will satisfy the people, it gains value by the use of the word SWARAJ. We hope that the word will ere long be used all over the world.

35. Adverting to the remarks of the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 29th January, on this subject abstracted in Paragraph 42 of Weekly Report No.6, the DRAVIDAN, of the 2nd Febraury, observes;-

Our Opinion is that , when
 Appointments under Government.
 non-Brahmans have not yet
 secured adequate representation in Government offices where in
 Brahman are still holding supremacy, it is not unjust to reserve
^{seven eighths}
~~sevenths~~ of the appointments for non-Brahmans. On the other
 hand we consider ~~(Ministers with)~~ that even one-eighth is too
 much for the small community of Brahman. The Ministers will
 not, by such action, be restricting the equal privileges of
 all subjects as stated by the SWADESAMITRAN, but will only
 be providing for the due representation of the various
 communities in Government service. The salaries drawn by thousands
 of Brahman officials amount to lakhs, and cause serious loss
 to the public. How is it equitable then to ask for a curtailment
 of the salary of the Ministers alone without asking for a reduction
 of the salaries of the Brahman? Further, the few thousands
 of rupees paid by way of a salary to the Ministers are met
 from out of the taxes paid by persons of their own community
 and these amounts will be spent only on the members of that
 community. Our emphatic wish is that the salaries attached to
 all the high posts under Government should be gradually reduced
~~to~~ and that the savings effected thereby should be properly
 utilised towards the improvement of education, agriculture,
 industry and sanitation.

40. The KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 12th Februaury, writes

Village Associations. under this heading:- Not
only have the English-

Educated classes not been able to enunciate the country, but they are also the cause of the country's bondage. Whether the non-co-operation movement has succeeded or not, it has certainly made one thing plain, namely, that the educated classes are selling their country to others. They desire freedom not for helping the developpment of the country's prosperity, etc., but for increasing their incluce and for securing for themselves more appointments, powers and honours. Though from an economic point of view, they feed fat on the wealth of the country, in mind, they are the descendants of a foreign bureaucracy. They are dependent on others and they cannot do without the English language, courts and schools. It is futile to rely on such men for attaining SWARAJ. It is therefore that Mr. Gandhi has stated that the non-co-operation movement depends upon the agriculturists for ~~instancess~~ success. There are, of course, some ~~are~~ among pleaders and the students who have given up their profession and schools and devoted themselves to the attainment of SWARAJ. Some teachers too have left off training students as slaves and have become the votaries of freedom. If the courts and schools be entirely closed, our object will be easily accomplished. But the educated classes not only cannot break their own bonds, but they also try to bring the country under bondage. But although the few who have freed themselves from the bondage cannot get the courts and schools closed, yet it is through them that the country is awakening. They turned their attention from the west and have directed it to the villages, where they are awakening the ryot population from their lethargy, so much so that a new ~~eranza~~ has commenced in the country. It is now plain that only in the villages and not in towns, that there is real life. The villagers are nothing their power. The weakness, the selfishness and the

dishonesty of the majority of the educated have dispersed the illusion of the villagers. The vow of the SWARAJ taken by some members of the educated classes has incited self-confidence in the villagers. The spirit of renunciation as manifested by such persons as Motelal Nehru and Chitta Ranjan Das has contributed not a little to the success of the new movement in the villages. India has revealed herself in her true form. (The Congress) therefore does not now look up to the Legislative Councils or courts. Its attention is wholly centred on the villages. Mahatma Gandhi reposes his entire confidence in the ryots. This shows the need of village associations. The village is the foundation and life of the Congress. It is only the village that the authority to speak on behalf of India. The representation of the village is real representation. Only when we can instal the goddess of village on the throne of the Congress, can India shine in her true form and attain SWARAJ. O! Indians! Worship with devotion the mother in the shape of village and attain emancipation.)

41. A correspondent to the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 12th Febraury, writes under
The ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. this heading:- some even,
of those who do not agree with the ideals of Mr. Gandhi, are trying to free the Indians from thralldom by paralysing the foreign Government even though it may result in anarchy. If the people are persuaded not to pay taxes to the Government, the unsatisfactory political policy now introduced will certainly change and all power will go into the hands of the people's representatives. But Mr. Gandhi thought that this may not be possible without violence and had a resolution passed in the Congress recommending the adoption of three lower steps. If many of the people follow these steps, there is no doubt that in one year we will get SWARAJ. If we do not get it like that, the SATYAGRAHA vow not to pay taxes will spread in the villages gradually. So revolution must start from the villagers and not from the

educated classes. The village officers, and pettandars, who from the foundation of the administration can easily paralyse it. But it will take some time to bring the above policy into force. For this there is not a sufficient number of educated and influential men, who have received the same training in spirit as Mr. Gandhi. So the Government servants, pleaders and teachers could not give up their professions. There is no use if only a few enthusiastic men give up their professions. But if at least these few go about the villages, establish village panchayats to decide disputes among the villagers, and devote all their time to the successful working of the panchayats, we can get complete SWARAJ in some years. I have already dwelt on the many inconveniences that will be caused by the closure of courts at present. The advice of Mr. Gandhi to pleaders and students is impracticable. But the few that plunge themselves into the war deserve our gratitude. Though their efforts will not bring immediate results, there can be no doubt that they will be holier than the efforts of the members of the present Legislative Councils, will form the solid foundation of SWARAJ and will soon free us from slavery.

43. Referring to Sir Valentine Chirol's remarks about the success of the recent elections.

elections under the Reforms

Act, described in his article to the TIMES and to his other views which find a place therein, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 8th February, observes in its leader:- Mr. Chirol is counselling the authorities to take advantage of the spirit of disunion dividing the moderates in the councils from the nationalists outside it and improve the condition of the country. This advice is not new. It is a policy customarily adopted to divide the people into two parties and to rally the one against the other. To succeed in doing both these things is a difficult matter as they are incompatibles. Further, even though the

the moderates do not follow Mr. Gandhi they cannot but show some persistence in the matter of the Punjab and the Khilafat affairs. They too know that unless those problems are solved, there can be no possibility of working the Reforms. We can understand what eagerness the moderates are exhibiting with regard to this matter if we take note of the resolutions proposed to be moved in the Delhi councils. That is why Mr. Chirol is of opinion that, unless the Punjab problem is solved, the movement of Mr. Gandhi will grow in strength. He suggests this, not after consulting the nationalists, but by following the views expressed by the moderates on this question, who have been trying to do away with the policy of Mr. Gandhi. If England does not pay heed to the words of a conservative like Mr. Chirol, England's statesmanship cannot but be questioned.

48. Writing mainly on the renouncement of titles recommended by the Calcutta Congress, The first caterpillar. The JAGAPATHY, of the 10th December, observes in an article under this heading:- Though the National Congress worked for 30 years it was not able to find out what drug the Government was administering in order to keep the subjects in a delusion. It has now found out that the medicine that the Government was giving as a tonic, only weakened the Indians more than ever. The people have therefore lost all faith in the efficacy of the said medicine and a repulsive feeling is also felt for it. Mahatma Gandhi found out that the Indian nationality was suffering in health owing to the titles and honours conferred on the Indians by the Government and owing to the Legislative Councils, the State-aided schools and the courts of justice. The educated people hunt after these titles even at the risk of losing their self-respect supposing that they contributed considerably to their personal respect and dignity. The Government also have now discontinued to attach much value to these titles

They have begun to grant them just to induce the recipients to support the authorities. Eventually the said titles proved to be baits thrown at the people and Mr. Gandhi found out that this was the arch worm what was eating up national honour and preached the 'non-co-operation' doctrine asking us to despise them.

54. Writing about the opinion held by some of the English

people on non-co-operation
movement, the ANDHRAPATRIKA

The chief defect.

of the 14th Febraury, observes in its leader under this heading:-
From a bureaucrat like Sir Michael O'Dwyer on to the labour leader like Colonel Wedgwood, none has understood the cause of the movement of non-co-operation adopted by the Indians. They seem to view lightly the insults offered to the Indians on the Punjab and the violation offered to the religious faith of the Muhammadans. Enjoying his life comfortably in England at the expense of India Sir Michael O'Dwyer may indulge in any prattle he likes. Nor will it be surprising if his advice is followed. Colonel Wedgwood, writing to the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, expressed his regret to the failure of the elections. He did not understand that the boycott of the elections was adopted as a means (to a particular end). He described the causes of the boycott and says that the Calcutta Congress resolution is the result of the country's indignation. We are surprised at Colonel Wedgewood's confusion. The Indians resolved to boycott the elections as there was no other successful way of expressing their wishes. Instead of congratulating the Indians for it, we do not see any reason why he should express his regret. On the contrary, he must have felt glad that India had given an opportunity for England to correct her own mistake. On the whole, nobody in England has, understood the real meaning of the Indian problems. All of them view those problems with selfish motives and not with a view

to secure happiness to India. But the people need not be disappointed at this. If the Indians tread the path of righteousness by discharging their own DHARMA, the British people cannot but see their defects one day or other. The moment they do so, India will attain SWARAJ.

55. Quoting what Mr. Gandhi writes in the YOUNG INDIA

A very important matter. emphasising the necessity for observing non-violence

with regard to the non-co-operation movement, the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 14th February, remarks:- If we do not understand that ^{note} 'non-violence is the key-~~stone~~ of non-co-operation, the national movement will drift aimlessly like a ship without a rudder. Those who lead the labour movement must specially note this. If that movement is not guided with sufficient farsightedness, there will be greater harm than good, done to the country and it may also prove an obstacle in the way of the attainment of SWARAJ. If the Indians work without swerving even an inch from the path of non-violence and truth, they will soon come out triumphant.

63. In the course of a leading article under the heading,

'the Reformed Councils', The inauguration of the Reformed Councils and His Royal Highness the the KERALA PATRIKA, of the Duke of Connaught's appeal.

12th February, points out

that though there are differences of opinion regarding the suitability of the reforms it is advisable that Indians should make a proper use of the privileges now granted to them and ~~xxx~~ by obtaining in due course the powers now reserved by the Government should try to win soon complete self-government under the British Government. It further observes that the personal appeal made by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to forget and forgive the past should be accepted by Indians and hopes that the majority of the people will do so.

The Manorama of the 11th Febraury, also thinks that the heartfelt appeal of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught which manifests his affection for India and his grief at the split of India will surely be accepted by Indians, but observes that the people of India are still expecting some Royal boons to redress their grievances and wishes that India's wounds may be healed and that His Royal Highness may be blessed with long life to see the future prosperity of India.

65. The MITAVADI, of the 7th Febraury, supports the action of the District Magistrate of Malabar in prohibiting Khilafat and non-co-operation meetings in the Erand taluk and observes that the Hindu population of the Taluk will be grateful to the Government for preventive measures against Mopla riots.

69. The SAMADARSI, of the 12th Febraury, refers to the order of the District Magistrate of Malabar prohibiting non-co-operation meetings in the Ernad taluk and observes that the personal references in the order to Messrs. N. Gopala Menon and K. Madhavan Nayar were unmannerly and that if the bureaucrats behave in this fashion towards the leaders of the people no one can contemplate the future with complacency. The note characterises the District Magistrate's conduct as arrogant.

Referring to the same subject the KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 14th Febraury, writes:- It is clear that the Magistrate who set about to destroy the privileges of the people which are their birthright, at a time when the people are full of resentment at the injustice of the British Government, has neither good manners nor tact. The Magistrate's order insults, in language fit for vagabonds, gentlemen who are held in great

respect by the people. If self-respecting Indians refrain from non-co-operation out of a desire for peace, even such will be driven to disrespect of the Government by the rowdiness of this unmannerly European. We condemn with all our heart the conduct of this Magistrate. If there are ten such Magistrates in the Madras Presidency the preaching of Mahatma Gandhi will not at all be required here any longer. Non-violent non-co-operation will immediately undergo a transformation. If the Magistrate has acted in this manner with the concurrence of the Madras Government, then a repetition of the Punjab disorders is not distant. So says the MALAYALI. (It is ^{not} clear whether the whole or only the last sentence above is from the MALAYALI. Tr.)

73. The HILAL, of the 23rd January, has, in its correspondence column, a poem which criticises There are Martial law, the gallows and arrest. the leaders who support the KHILAFAT, saying that, while supporting the Khilafat, they fear the Government as well, and asserts that the poet will not hesitate to tell the truth, even though it may mean National Law, the gallows or arrest.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

77. Referring to the letter of the Editor of the SWADESA-MITRAN pointing out that the Mr. Satyamurti and the Pudukkottai Darbar. Pudukkottai Darbar had no power to issue the order of externment on Mr. Satyamurti, the same paper in its issue of the 11th February, writes:- The Darbar has no right to oppress its own subjects. If such a thing be proved, the British Government have the right to annex a portion of its territory. From the fact that the British Government have, on certain occasions warned that, in case the Rajas misbehaved, the administration of the state would be taken over by them, we have to infer that the British Government have claimed such a right and that the Rajas of

Pudukkottai have acknowledged its existence. When the Rajas have no right to harass their own subject, ^{even} it needs no saying from us that they cannot have any to ~~molest~~ ^{molest} the British subjects. Mr. Satyamurti is a British Indian subject and, as such, he is entitled to go freely to any part of India and give free vent to his opinions, subject to the limitations prescribed by law. It is not known how Pudukkottai Darbar got the power to deprive him of his right. If he had transgressed the law, the Darbar has the power only to bring him under the penalties prescribed by it and not to forfeit his liberty. Did the Government of Madras authorise the Darbar to exercise a power which it did not possess? If not, did they point out that it ~~had~~ not right to interfere with the liberty of one of their subject? In the absence of such action, are not the Government ~~of~~ of Madras alive to their duties regarding a subject of theirs and their powers of control ~~in~~ regard to Pudukkottai? These questions demand an answer. Repression is nothing but oppression. Unless the people also agitate so as to make the Darbar realise that it ~~had~~ neither the ~~right~~ right nor the power to oppress the people, they will lose their zest for life.

78. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 16th Februaury, in a short note under its 'News column', writes:- The

The chamber of Prices. Nizam, the Maharaja of Mysore, the Gaikwar and such other prominent Indian ruling Princes have not taken part in the Chamber of Princes. Only a few minor chiefs have joined it with a view to escape from the annoyances of their Political Agents. It is widely ~~Believed~~ believed that there is no chance of the Government of India following the advice of these chiefs, nor is there any likelihood of the latter being largely benefitted by the former, and that the Chamber is a useless superfluity.

Referring to the Chamber of Princes recently opened

at Delhi by His Royal

The Chamber of Princes.

Highness the Duke of Connaught

the YOGAKSHEMAM, of the 11th Februry, says:- The Government themselves appear to have misgivings regarding the permanency of this Chamber. In the first place, the objects of such an institution are not clear. In the second place it is very difficult to understand what it can accomplish. Thirdly, it is doubtful whether the Princes will be ready at all times to attend the meetings at a huge sacrifice of money. On the whole, experience alone will show how far the chamber will be productive of any beneficial results to India.

Writing on the same subject, the MALAYALA MANORAMA of the 12th Februry, observes:- These annual meetings of the Indian Princes will certainly be productive of several benefits to the Indian Empire and to the Indian States. The creation of mutual confidence between British rulers and Indian Princes as well as their co-operation will greatly help the permanency and prosperity of the Empire. Further the Chamber will serve to induce the Princes to introduce administrative and other reforms within their own States.

For the week ending 26th Februry 1921.

No.9 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. JUSTICE, of the 21st Februry, writes:- "It was

The imprisonment of Yakub Hasan and his fellow-workers. but right that the present situation in Calicut should have formed the subject of a debate in the local Legislative Council. If, instead of the motion for adjournment being talked out, it was considered in the usual way and voted upon we should have liked it better. The Madras Legislative Council,

as it exists

AS IT EXISTS to-day, is a deliberative assembly, and it should ~~have liked it to~~ be afforded an opportunity of discussing every question of vital moment to the public. We do not propose to pass any judgment upon the legal aspect of the action taken by the District Magistrate of Malabar against the non-co-operation ^{is} concerned. It is, however significant that he did not take advantage of any of the extraordinary measures ^{which} ~~which~~ are now under the consideration of a committee to be appointed by the Government of India, but acted in accordance with the ordinary law which, ~~(are now under the consideration of a committee to be appointed by the Government of India, but)~~ he believed was sought to be defied. Whether he ought to have waited for the consequence of the infringement of his order to take any action may be a matter of opinion. The question is often asked whether in matters of this kind it is just policy to deal only with small fry leaving untouched the originators of the mischief. That it has been the policy none can deny. It is well to bear in mind that for this policy no authority in India is directly responsible. The moment the present Secretary of State before he was a few weeks in office chose to weaken the authority and lower the prestige of a local Government, the result was anticipated; and those who have been following the course of events during the past three years can have no two opinions on the subject. If you allow the Government to be called a Satanic Government and its agents to be called names -- it is no wonder that others else-where should themselves act in the spirit of this teaching. We love liberty -- rational political liberty -- as much as anybody else; and if reforms have come it is not due to movements like the non-co-operation propaganda and to the free employment of Billingsgate but to other reasons. It is absurd to talk of everything being right in Malabar in spite of the militant preaching of the non-co-operator. The Hon^{ble} Sir Mionel Davidson gave specific instances of what this kind

of preaching had led to; and peace-loving inhabitants of Malabar especially in places where Moplah fanaticism is likely to explode have, we are assured, been getting alarmed. Prevention is better than cure. By all means allow as much liberty to the politician~~s~~ as would be necessary for him to propagate his ideas of social well-being and political elevation. But the Government cannot altogether ignore the present interests of the millions in anticipation of some remote advantage. Law and order must be preserved, and we use the expression deliberately though it may offend the HINDU".

2. Writing under this heading, the HINDU, of the 23rd

Februaury, remarks:- "According

The Junkerist game.

to certain correspondents

who analyse the Indian situation for British newspapers, there are at present two great perils hastening India to ruin: the one is Mahatma Gandhi and the other Hindu-Muslim Unity. With as little sense of humour as imagination these observers on the spot delude themselves and their British readers by a misreading of facts, whose patent absurdity makes it seem the ~~result~~ rather of deliberate self-blinding than of short-sightedness. The leadership of Mr. Gandhi and the closer fraternisation of the two great Indian communities symbolise a new unification of political forces, which cannot help being inconvenient to people who counted on the perpetual success of the 'divide and rule' principle. Beneath the fact of unity, which they find undeniable, these British correspondents do not see the growing cohesiveness of a nationalism conscious of its own strength, but merely a conspiracy to deprive Britain of her brightest jewel. They, therefore, take care to feed the British reader with such a ~~xx~~ variety of misrepresentation as may be replied on to play on ~~th~~ his instinctive feeling that India is a possession and not a trust. It is the old game again and, as of old, it is followed up by a cry for the strong man. The new Viceroy is invited to believe that he is coming to

a beehive of intrigue and nothing is left unsaid which would strengthen the case for a policy of intensive repression. We have referred more than once to the howl against Mahatma Gandhi both in Parliament and in the British Press. The fact that under him India has got to a near approach to unitary leadership sits like an incubus on the junkerist brains, and he suddenly becomes in their eyes the embodiment of the vilest sedition. The demand to put him down is reinforced by a half-cynical emphasis on the uniqueness of his personality, whose compelling force appears to them as the one great trouble in India."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

~~II. FOREIGN POLITICS~~

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

11. The SWADESAMITRAN of the 15th Febraury, observes:-

The King's Message.

The message states that

the Indians desire an

opportunity for progress to the liberty enjoyed by the other dominions. There is no justification for the British Ministers to be ignorant of the resolution of the Nagpur Congress which states what kind of SWARAJ is wished for by the Indians and how soon they want to realise it. We think they should have forgotten it completely, as, otherwise, they could not have described SWARAJ in terms indicative of slow pace. His Majesty (might, or ought to, have been aware) wants our representatives in the Legislative councils to prove their fitness for being. Our gratitude is due to him! But we think that His Majesty might have granted this SWARAJ. For this, we have been aware of the fact or ought to be aware of the fact that there are no real representatives of the Indians on these Councils. The sons of India are aspiring and working for the attainment of real SWARAJ, as is being enjoyed in England by His Majesty's English subjects. We request His Majesty to read the Presidential address of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at the Calcutta Congress.

15. Referring with appreciation to the acceptance by

The Council of State. the Government of the
resolution of the Hon'ble

Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar in the Council of State for the appointment of a committee to inquire and make recommendations as to the advisability or otherwise of repealing the existing 'repressive laws,' the HINDU NESAN, of the 16th Febraury, remarks:- We will not say that all the repressive laws on the Statute book should be repealed ~~in~~ IN TOTO , nor will it be advantageous to do so. We think that, as the resolution was approved by all, it is sure to be productive of great benefit.

Referring to the same resolution, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th Febraury, remarks:- The Hon'ble Mr. Sastriyar, has, by moving his resolution when many are, on account of the enforcement of repressive laws, losing their liberty and living in hells of prisons, condemned the people to suffering for a yet longer time. page 250 a There is the Penal Code to punish every offender, but the offence should be proved in Public before punishment can be meted out to him. It is the very object of the repressive laws to secure this by means of a private and not a public inquiry. What harm can one do to the country worse than that of ~~sa~~ asking for the appointment of a committee to consider the advisability or otherwise of repealing such laws when the country's salvation depends upon their repeal? It seems he will not consent to their repeal in TOTO even if the Government should be willing. That is why the authorities praise him to be a level-headed person~~s~~ and give him a place on the committees appointed by them. But people who desire such an encomium happen to betray the country's cause. In accordance with the saying 'Birds of a feather flock together,' it is quite natural for those who have gone to the Legislative bodies against the mandate of the Congress to abuse Mr. Gandhi and speak as if they had dropped down from the Sky. It appears he has, by prophesying that non-co-operation which may begin

in non-violence will end only in violence and bloodshed, advised, the Government to knock it on the head before such results were brought about.

16. Referring to the speech of Mr. Jamnadas Dwarakadas

The Indian Legislative Assembly. in moving the resolution on the Punjab question

in the Indian Legislative Assembly, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th February, remarks:- While professing to speak on behalf of his countrymen, Mr. Jamnadas has done as much harm to them as he possibly could. From the very fact that the member for the Government and European members spoke in appreciation of his ~~action~~ *resolution and speech we may draw our inference as to the character of his action.* There can be no objection whatever for the Government to admit, as required in the first part of his resolution, that they hold in equally regard European and Indian lives and honour, as it has been quite usual for them to allege such equality; and the Parliamentary enactments also make mention of it. But, in practice, there is a difference in the treatment of the Indians and the Europeans. Various Indian Laws also are being administered in the same way. India has not, therefore, benefited in any way by Mr. Jamnadas having secured an admission of equality in words only. Did not the Hon'ble Mr. Sastriyar and Mr. Dwarakadas, when the two spoke to the effect that Mr. Gandhi's non-violent non-co-operation would lead to cruelty and disorder and when Mr. Dwarakadas expressed himself in effect that the Ali brothers were rousing passion and racial hatred in the people, directly instigate the Government to adopt repressive measures against them? It is only on account of the statements of men like the Hon'ble Mr. Sastriyar and Mr. Dwarakadas that one or two district authorities in our Province also have begun to apprehend danger and adopt repressive measures with a view to prohibit speeches of ~~non-co-operators~~ non-co-operators.

17. Referring to the proceedings taken by the District

Incidents in Calicut.

Magistrate of Malabar against

Mr. Yakub Hasan and others,

the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th February, remarks:- As it is the function of the authorities to preserve the peace, no act of theirs should be calculated to disturb it. But the District Magistrate of Malabar perhaps wants to do a thing likely to rouse popular feeling! He does not seem to have properly realized his duty. If it be his intention to preserve the peace, it is not clear to men of ordinary intelligence why he should have demanded security from those who came forward to advise the people not to transgress the law and wished to co-operate with the Magistrate in preserving the peace. Besides how did the Magistrate order their arrest before they held the meeting in disobedience of his order? If the meeting had been held and any evil consequences ensued therefrom, it would have been proper for him to take action against them. Among the Muslims leaders in Madras, Mr. Yakub Hasan is being held in very great respect by the people and even the Government will admit that he is a conscientious man. The people in Malabar hold in great esteem Mr. Madhavan Nayar and others who work for the Public good. Did the Magistrate think that such leaders would secretly intend to create disturbance while they outwardly spoke of preventing it?

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th February, observes:-

Incidents in Calicut.

We need hardly say that the

use of force against an

illustrious leader like Mr. Yakub Hasan has excited the public feeling all over the country. How to pardon this Government who, while seeking forgiveness for past mistakes, go on committing new ones at the same time? How is it possible to co-operate with them either? It will appear from a consideration of the incidents in Calicut that the actions of the local Collector are very strange. Mr. Yakub Hasan states that his object in

desiring to address the people was to impress ~~off~~ on them the importance of non-violence and prevent them from doing any acts tending to disturb the public peace consequent on the exasperation likely to be caused by the feeling of disappointment on learning that the meeting was prohibited by the Magistrate's orders. Do the higher authorities think that the Imprisonment of these four persons will increase the contentment and loyalty in India and chiefly among the Mussalmans? It is not enough for the Government to have rebuked General Dyer and to have disowned their responsibility for his actions. Unless the Government cast away the officials who have recourse again to the measures, which form the basis of General Dyer's actions, it will not be possible to secure the confidence of the Indians. As the passive struggle for SWARAJ has begun in accordance with the mandate of the Congress, it cannot be stopped by any one; but it is the wish of the Indians that this struggle should go on peacefully and on righteous lines and without unpleasantness and hatred on either side. This alone will be advantageous to the Government also. Surely, they do not wish to witness India being devoid of peace and beset with hardships and difficulties. If they do not, let them put an end to this repression at once.

Referring to the proceedings taken by the District Magistrate on Malabar against Mr. Yakub Hasan and others, the

NAVASAKTI, of the 18th

Incidents in Calicut.

Februaury, writes:- Now

for some time things opposed to British principle and justice are taking place in the British Empire and British greatness is dwindling in consequence thereof. There is no need for a detailed description of the repressive laws in force in India from the commencement of the British rule, as the British are well aware of the dissatisfaction of the Indians on account of the existence of such laws. When announcing the new reforms, His Majesty proclaimed the dawn of a new era and all the officials

were unanimous in their praise of the reforms which have now become law and been brought into force. But we find neither liberty nor sovereignty of the people there in; we see only the system of repression and bureaucratic rule. Repression is in full swing in Northern India and it has begun to make its appearance in the south also. Mr. Yakub Hasan and others have been sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Mr. Yakub Hasan went to Calicut to preach liberty and the District Magistrate issued an order prohibiting him from addressing the proposed public meeting on the ground that the Public peace might be disturbed by a reference to the Khilafat and non-co-operation. It is only this order that will disturb the public peace and not the speech of Mr. Yakub Hasan. A trivial act of the bureaucracy done without any deliberation becomes the cause of a huge disturbance. If Mr. Yakub Hasan and the others who came with him had been allowed to speak, no disturbances whatever would have occurred in Calicut. The District Magistrate's order has served only to rouse public enthusiasm. The non-co-operation movement will not slacken on account of repression but will gain in strength. The Magistrate is wrong in having restricted freedom of speech and in having inferred that the four persons intended to disobey his order. It is nothing but unwisdom on his part to have believed the information which should have been furnished by the Criminal Intelligence Department with regard to the intention to disobey the order and restrained Mr. Yakub Hasan and others. Human rights have not yet begun to be protected in India. It is nothing but a barbarous act to restrict freedom of speech. What to say of the system of administration which restricts the freedom of speech of a person like Mr. Yakub Hasan whose merit entitles him to occupy the place of a Governor when India is self-governed? Now that the President of the Khilafat Committee in Madras has been imprisoned, repression will be in full swing hereafter. It is only repression that will rouse the feeling of liberty in the country and speedily secure SWARAJ. While the lectures of

of a thousand persons may create a sense of liberty in one or two only, the imprisonment of a single person will rouse that the feeling in thousands of people. The imprisonment of a person like Mr. Yakub Hasan will serve to rouse a whole province. Brethren! Do not forget the two weapons of truth and fearlessness which will always protect us. We assert that the repression now resorted to by the bureaucracy will speedily bring about the establishment of SWARAJ.

19. Referring to the recent lock-out in the Buckingham-Mills and the strike of the condition of labourers in Madras. the tramwaymen in Madras, the VARTAKAMITRAN, of the 30th January, observes:- Is it sufficient for the Government to have appointed a Labour Commissioner to settle the disputes between the capitalists and the labourers? Who is going to be satisfied by this appointment, when the common impression is that, understand¹ that the capitalists did not pay any heed to the recommendations of the Commissioner in a recent arbitration. How then can it be said that the labourers do not take his suggestions? No benefit whatever can be derived from this appointment, so long as the Labour Commissioner is not given a legal status and his decisions are not made binding upon the parties. The capitalists should feel that the money amassed by denying to the labourers their legitimate wages is that earned by shedding the blood of the latter. But are the greedy Europeans capable of realizing it? No. How can they, who deem marriage and other important sacraments to be of the nature of ordinary contracts, be expected to help the labourers? As the Indian capitalists have on account of their association with the foreigners, imbibed their bad qualities, our labourers are not in a position to expect any good from them also.

22. Referring to an order said to have been passed by the Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur prohibiting Repressive measures.

Cotton merchants and brokers from making contributions to a national fund, the SAMARASABODHINI, of the 16th February, observes:- Agreeably to the saying that coming events cast their shadows before, it is usual for the bureaucrats., before resorting to active measures of repression, to threaten and intimidate the people. It is generally said that, in the plenitude of their powers, the bureaucrats often forget themselves. Let our moderate friends understand that the statement hitherto made that the bureaucrats will revive our indigenous industries is only of the nature of a solace offered to the Indians.

23. The TAMIL NADU, of the 13th February, writes:- The

Visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught.

Promises made during the war and the faith we reposed

therein have all ended in disappointment. Our expectations have not been realized in respect of the reforms also which at the very outset have created differences among the people. A hoax has been played upon us by getting the pseudo-Legislative Councils opened by the Duke of Connaught at an expense of £7,000 All is mere show and there is no advantage to the people from the new Legislative Council. The rain in Madras on the morning of the 12th January clearly indicated that the meeting of the Council did not meet with divine sanction. All the arrangements were made only to delude the people and our rulers are great adepts in having recourse to such tricks. We do not want the preaching of the Duke. Only the people belonging to his race and the Bureaucracy stand in need of it. Countless are the unjust acts that are being committed in India because of the differences between the governing and the governed, class. Let the Duke advise the ruling class here and the whitemen who afflict the Indians in the colonies to put an end to class

differences. After having deluded the Indians in this manner, he will go to England and proclaim that India is in a very peaceful condition.

25. The TAMIL NADU of the 13th Febraury, expresses regret

Non-co-operation. at the conduct of lawyers
in not having followed

the mandate of the Congress and ^{re}marks:- It is these lawyers that are well acquainted with the rotten condition of British courts. It is a fact known to every lawyer that they are ~~ex~~ courts of justice merely in name and that justice is not rendered to parties even in 10 percent of the suits decided by them. As a result of the procedure adopted in these courts, our people who have a regard for truth, have become experts in giving false evidence. It will, in fact, be no exaggeration to say that truth and righteousness have been dwindling in this land ever since the establishment of the so-called British Courts of Justice. Do not the lawyers know that, on account of the stupid procedure adopted therein, it is ~~easy~~ ^{hard} to get justice in any suit? There can be nothing more dishonourable than the failure on the part of the lawyers who are acquainted with all these to boycott British courts. Even if it be admitted that by chance, justice may be obtained in suits between Indians, it is the rarest of rarities to get it when the matter is between Indians and Europeans. How many of the Europeans who killed the Indians have been sentenced to be hanged since the establishment of British courts in this country? Ninety-nine per cent of them would have been fined or acquitted. It has become usual for the judges to write in their ~~in their~~ judgments that the death of the murdered Indian was due to the enlargement of the spleen caused by Malaria. On a careful consideration of all the matters, it will be clear to all that the courts have been established only for lending support to the autocratic rule of the bureaucracy. Because of the support given by lawyers to these courts till now, we continue to be slaves.

It is they who form the foundations thereof (will not set) (foot therein if they lawyers should boycott them) and who invest them with honour and dignity. There is no doubt that litigants will not set foot therein if the lawyers should boycott them and establish Village Panchayat courts.

A correspondent to the DESABHIMANI, of the 30th

Non-co-operation.

January, contributes a song which contains the

following ideas:- When one's honour is lost what is the use of having life? If you value self-respect, refuse to co-operate. Many innocent men, women and children have fallen a prey to shots. We do not know how many more would have been killed if the ammunition had not been exhausted. Throats are being cut and we are asked to forget the same. How can that be forgotten? How can arbitrary methods go on unchecked in this twentieth century? How can you endure the dishonour done to Islam? Give up the schools where in only the greatness of foreign countries is always taught. Seek such branches of learning as (~~greatness of foreign countries is also~~) teach us the methods of independent living. Agitate in a constitutional way.

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 21st February, in a

Non-co-operation.

short note, writes:- Non-co-operation came into

existence, because of the fact that the righteous British people took to unrighteous acts in the Punjab. From the tenor of the letter addressed ~~by xxxxx~~ by Mr. Gandhi to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, the Prime object of this movement appears to be to turn the British into righteous men once again. Mr. Gandhi will lower down his flag of non-co-operation if Lord Chelmsford, General Dyer and Sir O'Dwyer should be impeached before Parliament and punished according to the measure of their guilt, if all those imprisoned unjustly be released and if the property of all those ~~authorities~~ ^{authorities} who were instrumental in creating these disturbances be confiscated and utilized ~~in~~

in recompensing the families of those who were murdered in the Punjab. Then and then alone will the British and the Indians live together in a fraternal spirit.

26. Referring to the speech of His Excellency the Governor in the Legislative Council
The Buckingham Mills. in reference to the lack-out in the Buckingham Mills, the NAVASAKTI, of the 18th February, remarks:- Lord Willingdon expressed satisfaction on account of their affair having come to a peaceful termination. If it had come to a satisfactory termination, we would also have joined with him in expressing our gladness. But Lord Willingdon has spoken without knowing the truth which is within the knowledge only of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Wadia. The labourers went back to work on the faith of Mr. Wadia's words, but it does not appear that he announced before the labourers the real conditions accepted in the arbitration.

Page 259
32. Writing about the resolution regarding repressive laws moved by the Hon'ble
A mountain in Labour. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri in
the Council of State, the ANDHRA PATRIKA, of the 16th February, observes:- For some time past, much noise was made about this resolution in the country. A telegram was sent to the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri by the Government informing him that leave for motion was granted to him. What is the resolution? It does not ask for the repeal of all repressive laws, but for the appointment of a committee to examine and report which of them should be repealed or amended. All the laws that affect the birthrights of the people are well known. It is but right that they should all be repealed immediately. We don't see what necessity there is to appoint an Inquiry Committee. India has become quite disgusted with such committees. Did any one committee appointed till now fulfil the wishes of the people? What purpose do these committees serve? The moderates alone can

understand it. Mr. Sastri had divided these laws into three groups. The first group includes those which are politically harmful, such as the Rowlatt Act. The second group contains those laws which must soon be removed from the statute book such as the Press Act, and the third group consists of laws which may be amended or repealed after ~~fa~~ careful scrutiny. Under this head come the groups ~~come~~ the seditious Meetings Act. etc., . In the eyes of Mr. Sastri there may be so many groups of these laws, but in the eyes of the people the repressive laws come ~~the~~ under the first group alone. The people, not being able to bear them for a minute longer, are wishing for the speedy attainment of SWARAJ. Mr. Sastri, speaking about 'non-co-operation', said that even though the non-violent nature of it is proclaimed outwardly, it cannot but soon lead the country to violence and blood-shed. What more is required by the authorities? Their primary wish is to make Mr. Sastri express that non-co-operation will lead the country to bloodshed.

... We may say that it was the misfortune of Mr. Khaparde that led him into the Council of State. He has been rightly requited for getting into it. Once before when he introduced a resolution in the Imperial Council to postpone the passing of the Rowlatt Act until the formation of the new Councils, all the members of the Council opposed it with one voice ~~and~~ ^{and} defeated his resolutions. The members of the Council of State also have acted with the same shortsightedness today. It is well if Mr. Khaparde leaves the Council even now. However much he may fight inside the Council, ~~he~~ will have to bear the responsibility of all the resolutions passed therein. . .

... The promises made by Sir William Vincent with regard to the personnel of the committee asked for by the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri, melted the heart of Mr. Dadhaboy who withdrew his amendment relating to that subject. Sir William Vincent said that they must be men of experience, who would hold themselves responsible both to the people and to the Government. From

such description, we may guess the sort of members that will form a committee. Another important point~~s~~ is that the Government will not be bound to adopt the report of that committee. What an excellent committee has Mr. Sastri obtained! The Government ~~officials~~ think that the ~~s~~statement of some people that these laws are enforced severely, has no foundation. So they think that by the evidence given by some of the Government officials - i this committee will serve the purpose of telling the truth to the people about these repressive laws. The efforts of Mr. Sastri bring to mind the story of 'a mountain in labour' We can say that this committee will report that, in view of the present critical time, it is inadvisable to repeal any of the repressive laws, but that some changes may be made in some of them. This decision will, no doubt, ~~will~~ be in consonance with the wishes of the Government of India. We know from on our past experience that there is no other method more effective in defeating any object than that of appointing committees. Will the Indians be satisfied with committees and their decisions? They are spending their energies for the ~~for the~~ protection of their birth-rights. All the repressive laws which affect them should at once be repealed. What we now want is not power, but freedom. It is being said in England that Lord Reading will render justice to India. But we do not know what changes may take place in him, the moment he begins to breath the Indian atmosphere. There is no use in depending on individuals. . . . Unless the country obtains speedy SWARAJ, real freedom cannot be had. That is why it is necessary for the Indians to work with devotion for the speedy attainment of SWARAJ, without being deluded by small favours.

35. The DESABHIMANI, of the 30th January, publishes

The Punjab atrocities and non-co-operation. some verses from the pen of a correspondent, which

contain the following sentiments among others:- The British have been ungrateful to us who have helped them in the war and have granted reforms comparable to a pot of poison with milk at the mouth. We can place no faith in the English Ministers who enunciating such principles as self-determination played us false. The fact that for one or two Europeans killed in the Punjab, a very large number of unarmed Punjabees have been killed will break even an adamant heart. For, the evil deed of dragging one PANCHALI (a Punjab lady, i.e., DROWPADI, wife of Pandavas) to the court, the Bharata heroes (of the Mahabharata fame) sacrificed their lives. To-day when several hundreds of the Punjab ladies have been dishonoured with violence, will they (Bharata heroes in India) bear it? We do not want any murderous weapons, which are worthy of demons, which are worthy of the western nations only. We need not exercise any brutal force. Our soul force alone will remove all injustice.

39. Referring to the deposit of Rs.500 required by the

Freedom of Press. District Magistrate of Kistna from the editor of the

SUDARSANI, under the Press Act, the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 17th February, remarks:- When, on the one hand, a committee is being appointed to consider the question of repealing the repressive laws such as the Press Act, the freedom of the Press is being destroyed. It is these acts of repression that prove the spread of the non-co-operation movement in the Andhra country.

41. Referring to the arrest of Mr. Yakub Hasan and others

The awakening of Kerala. in Calicut, the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 18th February, writes

in its leader:- There was not much of political activity hitherto in the district of Kerala. As if to make good that defect, Mr.

Mr. Thomas, the District Magistrate of Malabar, sent to jail four leading persons, and thus created an agitation in the minds of the people. The Police and the Military are parading the streets and the people are filled with indignation. If the leader had been allowed to lecture, there ~~would be~~ not have been such a commotion among the people. Their words would have been forgotten. The District Magistrate, by his action has awakened the people as a whole. For this, not only the people of Malabar but the whole of India should express their gratefulness to him. Mr. Thomas has rendered considerable help to the Congress propagandists, as it was not convenient for them to extend their activities to an out of the ways district like Malabar. If Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers had also visited Malabar, Mr. Thomas would have sent them also to jail unhesitatingly. ~~What the Government of India and the Provincial Governments have been hesitating to do he would have done at once.~~ If Sir Michael O'Dwyer knows about this, we can well imagine how very pleased he may be. We can see from the action of Mr. Thomas what truth there is in the statement of Sir William Vincent made recently that the Government have not had recourse to repression. Men like Mr. Thomas are not wanting even in other provinces. The District Magistrate of Arrah prevented Messrs. Mazrul Haque and Rajendra Prasad from entering into his district. Lala Lajpat Rai was also served with similar orders. While adopting repressive measures outside the Councils, the Government state in the Councils, that they are not doing so. The people, therefore, do not have any confidence in their words. The Viceroy recently said that the bureaucratic method of administration had come to an end. We must see whether the action of Mr. Thomas illustrates this statement. Malabar was peaceful. Mr. Thomas threw it suddenly into a state of agitation. We hope by the effort of Messrs. C. Rajagopala Achariyar and Kesava Menon, who have gone to Malabar, the whole district will be induced to adopt the movement of non-violent non-co-operation and bring credit to the whole

of the Madras Presidency. Is the District Magistrate going to leave them alone? We will soon know about it. The officers of Civil Service do not appear to have ~~met~~ properly understood the new movement in the country. To them, peaceful methods do not appeal quite so well as repressive methods. No change will take place in the present condition of things by the adoption of temporary measures. The sooner India Attains SWARAJ, the better will it be for her if she wishes to maintain a respectable position among the nations of the world. The actions of men like Mr. Thomas accentuate the first for SWARAJ among the people.

45. Referring to Dewan Bahadur Krishnan Nayar's motion

Restraint of freedom.

in the Council about the

arrest of Mr. Yakub Hasan

and others, the ANDHAPATRIKA, of the 19th Febraury, writes:- While the Government of India are considering the repeal of repressive laws, and the authorities are wishing for the success of the reforms, and while the words 'Forget and forgive' are reverberating through every nook and corner (of the country), the Collector of Malabar has prevented the possibility of such a result (of the past being forgotten). When officers like Mr. Thomas adopt repressive measures, instead of the past being forgotten, new critical situations will be created. Mr. Thomas does not understand the truth that the more the mouths of the leaders are muzzled, the more will ideas spread. If Mr. Yakub Hasan and others had been allowed to speak on 'non-co-operation' which only teaches non-violence and DHARMA, people would have followed their advice and remained peaceful. The Collector of Malabar lost the opportunity for the creation of such a state of affairs. Mr. Krishnan Nayar said that even though Mr. Gandhi lectured to many thousands of people in Calicut when he visited that place last, there was no disturbance. So he made it clear that the Collector's apprehensions at the present time were due to mistaken notions. When Gnetleman of

of the experience of Mr. Krishnan Nayar expressed that the action of the Magistrate was unnecessary and that it would lead to disturbances, it cannot but look queer that Sir Lionel Davidson should have tried to express a different opinion. The collector's Order is important in a way. Hitherto the authorities never knew that the Criminal Procedure Code contains in it a provision for prohibiting the holding of certain meetings. If they had known it, they would not have enacted the seditious meetings Act. Even if the committee that is to be newly formed, happens to repeal the repressive laws, the action of Mr. Thomas shows that the ordinary laws are by themselves sufficient for the repression of the people. It is becoming more and more clear that there cannot be any room for freedom until after the attainment of SWARAJ. Did the District Magistrate act according to the orders of the Government? He issued a general order prohibiting the holding of meetings in certain taluks. The reason given for such a drastic measure was the social boycott adopted by ~~the~~ Mr. Gandhi was against it and if Mr. Yakub Hasan had been allowed to lecture, he would have shown to the people the mistake of adopting it. The report of the Collector, further, does not show any special circumstances existing in the district of Malabar. He refers frequently to the fiery nature of the Moplas. They form only a minority of the population of Malabar, and it is wrong to be always blaming them. There is no circumstance more favourable to create a feeling of indignation in them than the action of Mr. Thomas. Sir Lionel Davidson suggested that a petition might be submitted to the High Court. He himself knows that Mr. Yakub Hasan and others will not agree to argue their case in a British Court of law. Mr. C.D. Ramaswami Ayyar also supported him. This is an illustration to show how one's angle of vision changes, the moment one occupies an official position. The MADRAS MAIL writes about the dispersion of the crowd when the Military were ordered to load their machine guns.

load their machine guns. If the people had ~~not~~ dispersed, there would have probably been repeated in Calicut the tragedy of Jullianwallah Bagh. The reason why Mr. Gandhi and others have not been arrested by other Provincial Governments is not that they had not the power to do so, but ~~that~~ they knew that such a step would prove more disadvantageous than advantageous. Do the Madras Government not know this? If the District Magistrate was short-sighted, why should the Government have~~d~~ encouraged him? The nationalists need not blame Mr. Thomas, because by his action he created only a favourable situation of affairs. The more men come out with a spirit of self-sacrifice, the more will the movement gain in strength. When good men encounter difficulties their virtues will become manifest with greater splendour. It will then take long to reach the goal.

48. Referring to the statement of Mr. Gandhi that India
 is India approaching Swaraj? would get SWARAJ within
 one year, the MYSORE STAR,
 of the 20th Febraury, in the course of a leading article under
 this heading, expresses satisfaction that the non-co-operation
 movement has not in any way gained ground in the land, inasmuch
 as the vakils have not given up their profession, Government
 servants, their appointments and title-holders, their titles,
 and proceeds to observe thus:- Unity, which is so indispensable
 for the attainment of SWARAJ, has been more at a discount
 today than ever before. Class and religious animosities have
 reached a climax. Attempts at deceiving and ruining one another
 are seen everywhere. Arrogance, calumny and impolicy are the
 order of the day, while patriotism and fellow feeling are spoken
 about only on the platform and in the press. Such being the
 case, it is nothing short of an idle dream to believe that
 India is approaching SWARAJ. If, as an experiment, the English
 were to leave the shores of India even for an hour or two, there
 is no doubt that during the short interval the Indians will
 break each other's heads. May the Almighty save us from ^{Catastrophe!} ~~sunhda~~ /

49. The MYSORE STAR, of the 20th Febraury, in a leading article under this heading, The Royal Message.

welcomes the Royal Message

as evincing a genuine desire on the part of His Majesty to grant SWARAJ to India, and proceed to observe:- In no message transmitted by the Crown up till now have the words 'SWARAJ for India' been used. The use of these words now by His Majesty himself evinces the genuine sympathy of the Imperial Government and their willingness to grant SWARAJ to India. Under the circumstances, it does not speak well of us, nor is it in any way conducive to our welfare, if instead of showing our fitness for self-government by our diligence, loyalty and good conduct, we grow impudent and proclaim our wish to sever our connexion with the British in case we are not grant SWARAJ.

50. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 21st Febraury, in the Political awakening in Malabar. English article under this head-line observes:-"The

gagging of soeakers and propagandists is sometimes a powerful weapon. When the people become desperate and show a determination to obtain justice or die in the attempt; it becomes a futile weapon. Tyranny in such cases heightens enthusiasm. The Public men of Malabar think that Mr. Thomas deserves thanks for the help he has rendered in disseminating the movement. The people of Erand Taluk are said to be conscious of the justice of their cause, and it is stated that they are prepared to preserve in their policy of non-co-operation and suffer the consequences thereof, though the limbs of Government forge fetters and manacles to their freedom of passive resistance."

55. Applauding the speeches delivered by the Duke in

SWARAJ for India.

Delhi, the VRITTANTA PATRIKA, of the 24th Febraury, in

the course of a leading article writes:- These new Councils have once for all put an end to autocracy and established SWARAJ

in India. It can be said without fear of contradiction that such a momentous occasion as this would be considered unprecedented in the annals of any nation. Most of the nations have acquired self-government only step by step. It might be the opinion of some people that India got it rather too late; but when compared with other countries, it must be admitted that it she got it unexpectedly and what is more has acquired it, without any revolution or war which other countries had to resort to before attaining self-government.

56. The KERALA CHANDRIKA?, of the 14th Febraury, advocates

the adoption of sympathetic

Adoption of sympathetic non-co-
operation in Native States.

non-co-operation in Travancore

in respect of educational, commercial and industrial connexions with British India foreigners.

57. In an article on "the proffered heaven of Dajjal "

(cf. Anti-Christ) in the
"The Proffered heaven of Dajjal."

KERALA CHANDRIKA of the

7th Febraury, the writer 'M. Ahmed Kannu' described the present state of Muslims in India as more dangerous than the dreaded days of Dajjal, about which Muhammadans pray that their lives may be taken away before those days, come. Dajjal's heaven is the gateway to hell. The writer bitterly complains that the Muslims of Malabar and of Travancore particularly are blind to their duty, nay more, they are co-operating with the enemies of Islam though they know them to be such. They do not hesitate to given them entertainments and to sit in the official seats offered to them by these enemies. What, indeed, can be the glory of the bureaucratic favour and of their seats, except the glory of the bureautratic favour and of their seats, except the glory of Dajjal's heavens. The writer points out, in conclusion, that the leaders, who miss this present opportunity of walking up sleeping Muslims, are enemies of God.

58. A contributed article in the KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 7th February on 'the ravings of a co-operator.' ravings of the MITAVADI? condemns that paper for its unreasonable attitude against non-co-operation, and in doing so refers among ~~to~~ other things to 'the intense misery and loss of freedom which Indians have been ~~as~~ suffering for a century and a half under foreign domination' 'the war of righteousness' which the nationalists have begun to wage against 'a faithless bureaucracy given to violence', to win 'salvation for Indians writhing under the kicks of Britishers' and gives further descriptions in the same style regarding the perfidy of the British Government in respect of solemn promises, their ingratitude in imposing on Indians Martial Law, Defence of India Act, etc., as a reward to Indians ere the wounds which they sustained on European battlefields had time to heal, the satanic massacre at Jallianwallah and the British Government that said 'yes' to O'Dwyer and Dyer who perpetrated the wholesale murder and the mean insult offered to hundreds of Hindu and Muslim women. The article expresses derisive surprise that the MITAVADI should dare speak ill of holy personages that have started the non-co-operation movement against such ~~axx~~ Government.

59. In the course of an article under the heading 'the British Government and Indian Muslims' the KHILAPAT PATRIKA, in its first issue dated the 15th December 1096 M.E. (29th December 1920) refers to the unimpeachable loyalty of Indian Muslims to the British Raj from the beginnings of British Rule in India in spite of the gradual robbery by the Government of the freedom and privileges bestowed on the people by the proclamation of Queen Victoria. Religious Freedom however, remained untouched till the solemn assurances and promises of the Prime Minister and of the Viceroy (extracts from which are quoted) were scattered to the four winds in the drafting

Indian Muslims

of the Turkish treaty--"The reply given by the wolf to the crane who removed the bone that stuck in his throat can to a certain extent be justified. But to think of the reward which the Government gave to the Indians who, putting simple faith in the sweet words of the Government, fought against their religious head and co-religionists and saved the British throne from the jaws of the German monster, will set the blood of even the most hard-hearted person boiling." With this (i.e., the teacherous breach of promises) the confidence of Indians, especially of Indian Muslims, in the good faith of the British Government, was completely destroyed. To get salvation from the unjust acts and atrocities of the British and thereby to obtain freedom, the one successful measure which Indians should adopt at present is to non-co-operate with the existing Government in everything. To the brethren that condemn or do not participate in the non-co-operation movement, it says:- "A Government that unhesitatingly trifles with their conscience, and throws over board their own solemn promises and assurances, who put dust in our eyes and made us tools with which to destroy our own religion and religious head -- is it with such a Government that we should co-operate? -- the Government that conducted a man-hunt in the Punjab by making Indians a prey to their sword and cannon, the British Government that showered honours on Dyer and O'Dwyer -- the meanest of men who made the pet children of Bharata to crawl like circus dogs? Alas! Alas! Oh Muslims that are opposed to non-co-operation, think a little for yourselves. Will your sense of justice allow you to continue co-operating with a Government who who, not caring for truth and justice, treat us like cattle? If not how is it that you do not resort to non-co-operation? If even a drop of the sacred blood of those veteran ancestors who sacrificed their lives and worked unselfishly for the establishment of Islam, is running in your veins, how can you co-operate with the Government which is now proved beyond doubt to be the bitterest enemy of Islam?

62. Referring to the prohibition of non-co-operation

The non-co-operation and Khilafat agitation in Malabar. and the Khilafat meetings in Calicut and the arrest of Messrs. Yakub Hasan and others, the MARGADARSI, of the 18th Februaury, commends the action taken by the District Magistrate of Malabar.

63. The MUSLIM, of the 19th Februaury, advises the non-

co-operators to follow What the non-co-operators should do? strictly Mr. Gandhi's directions regarding non-violence, upon which the success of the movement depends, points out that it is not proper to hate Englishmen because they are Englishmen and that what is to be hated is the policy of the English administrators who do harm to the religion of Islam and put obstacles in the way of India's freedom, and observes that if people follow Mr. Gandhi's advice peacefully there is no doubt that their grievances will be redressed within a year.

The paper also tries to refute the contention that the movement is unconstitutional and remarks "whether to co-operate or not to co-operate with a Government depends entirely on the will of the people", and that in the history of the world nothing is known as effective as the Mahatmaji's non-co-operation movement to bridle the administrators without violating any of the laws in force in the country.

66. Referring to the order of the District Magistrate of

Malabar demanding security Order of the District Magistrate of Malabar. for good behaviour from Mr. U. Gopala Menon and prohibiting non-cooperation activities in Malabar, the YOGAKSHEMAMA, of the 18th Februaury, observes:- We hesitate to say whether this opposition of the Government to the non-co-operation movement in Malabar is for good or for evil. In most parts of India the Government is practically ignoring the movement, and the non-co-operators in those parts

(of India the Government is practically ~~ingn~~ ignoring the movement, and the non-co-operators in those parts) are consequently doomed to disappointment. We are afraid that the opposition of the Government to this movement in Malabar will add to its strength. The District Magistrate of Malabar must, of course, have seriously thought of these consequences before he acted as he had done.

Writing on the same subject and referring to the arrest and imprisonment of Messrs. Yakub Hasan and others, the SAMADARSI, of the 19th Febraury, predicts that the action of the District Magistrate will create great unrest throughout Malabar, and exclaims:- What is the meaning of this highhanded action? Where and how will this end? Is this the liberty which the new administrative reforms have brought? Is this the procedure for securing peace and tranquillity? Is he the man that has no freedom of speech and action anything but a slave? Neither Mr. Gopala Menon nor Mr. Madhavan Nayar did anything against the law of the land. They merely engaged themselves in a movement determined upon by a body of 16,000 representatives of India. The Government have not notified that the resolution passed by that body is unlawful, or that those who carry out that resolution will be punished. As for non-co-operation itself its principle ~~xxxx~~ is non-violence. Granted that the majority of Ernal Mappillas are illiterate, and some of them prone to riots, this present movement of non-violent non-co-operation would have weaned them from their natural instincts. The people can only look upon the apprehension of a foreigner that the action of educated respectable patriots like Gopala Menon and Madhavan Nayar would tend to a breach of the peace as nothing but sheer folly. It is the District Magistrate's action that is detrimental to peace in Malabar. The repressive policy (of the future of M) of the District Magistrate depriving the people of their freedom of speech has stained the future of Malabar. After all is it

not better to lead a well-protected quiet life at the cost of the Government in a prison house than to roam outside it poor, slavish and unprotected, without freedom of speech and action, without freedom to bear arms or for looking after the affairs of their own country or for anything else, India itself being an extensive goal?

2. S. 67. The NAZRANI DEEPIKA, of the 18th Febraury, concludes Non-co-operators trespassing ~~from~~ ^{from the rowdy behaviour} bounds. of the student non-co-operators who interrupted and annoyed Mr. V.S. Sastri at Bombay and Poona, that non-co-operators have begun to trespass bounds. The paper notes how the movement has just begun to spread to Travancore and C~~h~~ochin, and calls upon the Governments of those States to prohibit by notification all speeches and efforts to drag students into non-co-operation within their States, and points out that the reasons for Government's quiescence in British India do not exist in the Native States.

68. The KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 21st Febraury, exclaims that a 'machine-gun-policy' will not meet with success in India where the people look upon Prohibition of meetings in Malabar. the body merely as a garb of the soul, refers to the events in Malabar from the prohibition of meetings and speeches in the Ernad taluk to the arrest of Mr. Yakub Hasan and others and to the consequent agitation and unrest in the district, condemns the action of the District Magistrate who treated respectable gentlemen as ordinary K.Ds., and points out that this is the right moment for (starting) complete non-co-operation with the Government.

The KERALA PATRIKA, of the 19th Febraury, notes that many people are of opinion that the District Magistrate's action exceeded bounds, but says/that since to him is entrusted the peace and safety of the people, his orders whether right or

wrong should be respected.

69. The MITAVADI, of the 14th February, points out that
Depressed classes. though many people speak of
the depressed classes in
very sympthetic terms nothing has yet been done to materially
improve their condition, and that the very fact that they are
not represented in the Council of State and in the Legislative
Assembly goes to show that they have been entirely forgotten.
It further refers to the difference shown by the Government
in the treatment of the Mussalmans and the depressed classes,
though the numerical strength is the same; and observes that
so far as the representative nature of the councils is concerned,
all expect some powerful classes like the Brahmins are like
uninvited guests.

70. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 16th February, referring
to the remark made by His
Madras and the Duke Sahib. Excellency the Governor
in the Council that the non-co-operation movement was not
successful in the matter of boycotting the Royal visit, observes:-
We do not know why Lord Willingdon have made a statement in
support of which ^{we} Government cannot produce any proof. If inform-
ation of the success of non-co-operation could not reach His
Excellency in the Government ^{House} ~~House~~ or if intelligence has been
withheld by the CID. then the Government themselves ^{have} ~~are~~ at
fault. The success of non-co-operation was manifest in every
street, road and locality. All the Bazaars and shops were
closed. The gathering on the beach was so large, that even
seven platforms were insufficient to speak from. We do not
know why His Excellency's Government are trying to throw dust
in the eyes of the public.

The writer remarks that the whole city can bear
witness to the fact that nobody joined in the official celebrations
except Government servants and certain title-holders, and says

that if His Excellency had taken the Duke along public roads and streets, instead of proceeding with the procession along roads where the public were conspicuously absent,' he would have seen black flags flying on the top of every house and shops. "Was this a sign of the success of the Government? We think that His Excellency would be well advised not to give ear to such gossips and the narratives of self-interested persons."

IV. NATIVE STATES.

73. Referring to the order of externment passed by the Raja of Pudukkottai on Repression in Pudukkottai. Mr. Satyamurti, the VARTAKA-

MITRAN, of the 6th Febraury, observes:- The Raja of Pudukkottai has come out creditably in the examination held by the English in regard to the enforcement of repressive measures. It is widely known that he closely imitates the English in regard to the enforcement of repressive measures. It is widely known that he closely imitates the English in regard to all matters. Otherwise, he would not have married an Australian Lady. He ^{is} known very well that his subjects are dissatisfied with his marriage. It is our opinion that he would have issued this order only under the impression that the advent of Mr. Satyamurti into Pudukkottai might tend to increase the bitterness of feeling of the public towards him.

Adverting to the aforesaid order, the TAMIL NADU, of the 13th Febraury, remarks:- The breeze peculiar to the British Administration has begun to blow in the Pudukkottai State also. We have been daily witnessing the issue of such a cruel orders in British territories only till now. There was nothing in the speech of Mr. Satyamurti tending to create disloyalty,. The people can have only one opinion in regard to the succession to an Indian State of a prince born of a European lady. Mr. Satyamurti has been banished from his native ~~place~~ place for the offence of having given expression to this opinion in public. The subjects of Pudukkottai are

bound to do their best to get this order cancelled and to prevent
~~(might tend to increase the bitterness of feeling of the public)~~
~~the son of the European lady from succeeding to the throne..~~
~~(towards him.)~~

(Adverting to the aforesaid order, the TAMIL NADU,
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to an Indian State of a)

74. Referring to the opening of the Chamber of Princes,
Chamber of Princes.

The MALAYALI, of the 16 th
February, says:- His Majesty
has declared that the meeting of the Princes under the control
of the Viceroy will not curtail their rights and privileges.
But the fact that the Princes who were from early times considered
as His Majesty's equals should now be under the Viceroy's beck
and call is not becoming to their dignity. This is the secret
of the Mysore Maharaja's letter proposing to send His Ministers
to attend the Chamber of Princes. We have already expressed the
opinion that as a result of the opening of this institution
the administration of Indian States will be regulated according
to the will of the Viceroy and that the privileges of the subjects
will be forgotten. The Viceroy says that this view is wrong,
but he does not give any explanation in support of his statement.
Though as a result of this institution correspondence may be
reduced, Indian Princes may rest under the wings of the Simla
Government and the administration of the country may be ~~xxx~~
made uniform, we do believe that the constitution of the Chamber
is prejudicial to the welfare of the subjects of Indian States
and to the dignity of the Princes. The object of the British
Government may, perhaps, be to keep the Indian Princes/the
control of the head of the administration in India even if
(British) India should get self-government sometime in the future.

For the week ending 5th March 1921.

No.10 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

2. The MUHAMMADAN, for the week ending 24th Febraury,

writes:- "If any proof

The imprisonment of Yakub Hasan
and his fellow-workers.

were needed of the mentality

that animates our bureaucratic rulers, it is afforded in abundance in the Malabar debate in the Local Legislative Council. It is no reasonable apprehension of any breach of the King's peace that led to the gagging and the subsequent arrest and incarceration of the non-co-operationist leaders. Calicut is not properly speaking, a Moplah centre. There was neither intimidation or terrorism nor even social boycott in the town. There was absolutely no reason at all here to apprehend trouble. It is clear therefore that the District Magistrate abused his powers under the Criminal Procedure Code. And he abused it with deliberation. The action under the code was taken 'to prevent the movement spreading any further.'. He had resolved 'to scotch the movement.' It was with that insidious object, it is as clear as daylight, that Mr. Thomas used the code. We have carefully considered the defence of the Collector by Sir Lionel Davidson. We profoundly regret that there should have obtained anything like terrorism and intimidation. Non-co-operation categorically and definitely sets its face against such petty persecutions and cruel tyranny; and the non-co-operators, as Mr. Yakub Hasan stated, have a right to see that their followers are free from the taint of his species of violence. This right was, however, denied to them; and, under the guise of putting an end to intimidation, the Collector wants to 'scotch the non-co-operation movement' which, he finds to his dismay, is fast taking root in the district. If the Collector had any sense of justice in him, he would have

prosecuted the intimidators and THUS maintained the majesty of 'law and order,' instead of gagging innocent non-co-operators and depriving them of their constitutional right of free speech. Owing to cowardice or what, we do not know, the Collector allowed the intimidation to go on, and he now comes out with intimidation, which it was his duty to get punished, as the reason to curtail popular liberties! He has thus ~~xxx~~ failed, on the one hand, to protect the people from intimidation and, on the other to protect the rights of the law-abiding people. To the non-co-operators, we need say little. Their path is clear. Unawed by jeers and unbridled by gain, they have to follow -- and they will follow -- the straight course of undaunted and honest national service without resort ~~to~~ to any kind of violence in word or deed. Let them remember that the Executive are tempting them into violence and civil disobedience which has not yet been inaugurated, that in all they do they are the agents and the representatives, each one of them, of Mahatma Gandhi, and that therefore, by discrediting themselves, they will help discredit the person whom they most revere and the cause which they so much cherish with religious reverence and affection."

The COCHIN ARGUS, for the week ending 26th February, writes:-"The plain duty of these leaders was to obey the order, and Mr. Gandhi himself has repeatedly urged his co-workers and followers to strictly obey any order issued by a competent authority. Mr. Yakub Hasan and the other three determined, however, to defy the order issued to them, and thereby, they challenged the authority of the responsible head of the administration. What was the latter then to do? Was he to return to East Hill, abdicating his authority to Messrs. Yakub Hasan and his friends? Obviously, that would have been ridiculous, cowardly and well calculated to make the Government the laughing stock of the people. More than this, it would have placed the loyal sections of the population in a most unenviable not

to say a most ~~perilous~~ perilous, situation. No, the District Magistrate did not go in for repression, as Mr. Krishnan Nayar, the District Magistrate's very kind and sincere friend, understands repression. The District Magistrate merely did his duty, and all right-thinking people give their absolute and unqualified approvals to the course he adopted. So far as prohibition in the Moplah country is concerned, Mr. Krishnan Nayar himself has been pleased to admit that it was not an unwise or repressive measure. So far as events in Calicut are concerned, if Mr. Krishnan Nayar had cared to study the facts which were already available when he addressed the House, he should have seen that the measures adopted had been forced upon the District Magistrate by defiant and recalcitrant political leaders, who had failed to take the measure of the officer they had to deal with. Of course, there were members of Council, who deemed it their duty to ~~xig~~ sing a refrain to the Malabar members's wail, but it is highly satisfactory to note that other members were not wanting, who could take a clear and unprejudiced view and hold that the District Magistrate had the amplest justification for everything he did."

The HINDU, of the 28th Febraury, has the following:- The complete hartal, which was observed throughout the city yesterday and the gathering of the immense concourse of people in tens of thousands at the Beach in the evening, formed a striking tribute to the monumental folly and grave official misde~~meanor~~meanor of the executive officials, with the approval of the Madras Government, in arresting and committing to Jail Messrs. Yakub Hasan and his three compatriots while engaged in lawful political work of national importance. Lord Willingdon has never been slow to sanction measures of repression. As Governor of Bombay, it was he who began the era of repressive administrative action by directing that Mrs. Besant, who was then in her Home Rule Propaganda days, shall not enter the Bombay Presidency. It was under his administration that a District Magistrate issued an order directing Lokamanya Tilak

to execute a bond ~~of~~ for keeping the peace for having delivered two speeches in support of Home Rule for India. This was set aside by the Bombay High Court as unsustainable in law. Soon after his arrival in Madras Lord Willingdon signalled (ainable law. Soon after his arrival in Madras Lord Willingdon) his accession to the office of Governor by calling upon several Indian journals to deposit security under the Press Act, for (their writings upon the Punjab atrocities. His Government recently discovered grounds of justification and appreciation in the shooting dead by the police of two boys and wounding of others in the Buckingham Mills affair. The latest ^{Act} of the Madras Government of sanctioning and approving the arbitrary, high-handed and perverse proceedings of Mr. Thomas, the District Magistrate of Malabar, in sending to Jail public workers of the standing and worth of Messrs. Yakub Hasan, Madhavan Nair, Gopala Menon and Moideen Koya is an outrage whether regarded from the point of view of law, of Justice or of political morality. It is a sad irony of the situation that even before His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who was inaugurated the so-called great constitutional reform, has left the shores of India there is enough to show how illusory and futile it is. The commonest and most elementary civil rights -- freedom of speech and right to meet in public which ought to be the indefeasible right of every citizen in a civilised community -- are at the mercy of an alien bureaucrat in this country, and a senseless deprivation of the same in the case of such worthy champions of the national cause as Mr. Yakub Hasan and his co-workers by the local authorities has found warm support not only in the Executive Council in Madras but also in the new Reformed Legislative Council, which thus stand self-condemned in respect of its alleged representative character of the people of this Presidency."

NEW INDIA, of the 4th March, has the following:--"The condition of things in Cochin, following on the Khilafat and

Congress invasion, justifies the action of Mr. Thomas in preventing a Khilafat and Congress invasion, justifies the action of Mr. Tho) Propaganda among an inflammable population. Had he not stopped the Khilafat emissaries, Calicut would be in the same condition as Trichur is in to-day. He has been roundly abused for taking preventive measures in order to defend the town against the breach of peace he apprehended, and the non-co-operation papers were loud in their denunciations, of tyranny. Perhaps they prefer the anarchy which has followed their propaganda in a neighbouring friendly Indian State, where there were no officers strong enough to act. We have pointed out this danger over and over again, since this pernicious movement began, and shortsighted people have loudly abused us for doing so. They can now see what happens, when religious feelings are excited, and the mob has its way. Mr. Yakub Hasn had been allowed to attack the Government violently in quiet regions where his denunciation did little harm, and he took full advantage of the contemptuous licence granted to him. Only when he deliberately went into a district where the elements that have showed themselves at Trichur were known to exist, was he prevented from stirring them into flame. Yet one of the largest meetings ever held in Madras assembled on the beach to denounce the tyranny of not allowing him to carry a lighted candle into a shore of gun-powder. People who go to such meetings encourage mob violence by exciting the people still further. As, Mr. Gandhi says of himself, we are all sitting on a volcano, and we have no right to be surprised if it should erupt."

3. The HINDU, of the 26th February, has the following:- "As

The new repression. the tale of repression grows longer with the

passing days something like a definite policy begins to emerge and take shape. Now, nobody loves the word 'repression', not even the MADRAS MAIL. Some fleeting sense of congruity has

impressed it upon those who, because of the so-called new order of things, are intolerant of any opinion which refused to take the new dispensation at its face-value, that it is absurd to talk of reform and repression in the same breath. We have further been assured by peripatetic Royalty that the days of autocracy are over. It was therefore not in the fitness of things, that repression as a policy should be openly advertised. The Madras Government in the correspondence which Sir Lionel Davidson disclosed at the last Council meeting, displayed a well-emphasised reluctance to employ any of those measures which are popularly associated with the word 'repression. Besides it was a little absurd to employ measures which are now, with the reluctant assent of the Government of India, so to say on their trial for ^{life} ~~the~~. That the Madras Government lost little by this act of self-abnegation was simply proved in the event. Similarly, nothing could be more desirable and more admirable than the post-prandial lucubrations of the Viceroy. We commend his speech at the Calcutta Club for a more than casual perusal as an interesting study in the gentle art of saponification. The sentiments, as we said, were unexceptionable. Who, for example, would expect a Viceroy who had for however brief a period ~~at~~ sat at the feet of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who was chastened faithfully and often by the President of the European Association to give expression to the following views:- 'Non-co-operation is spread by propaganda and it behoves us, British and Indians to counteract it by propaganda. If non-co-operation takes hold of grievances where they exist, it behoves us, so far as in us lies, to remedy these grievances.' Had the Viceroy been able to laugh at himself as readily as at others he would have found some amusement, when he was expressing these views, in contemplating how far apart his past practice was from present theory. Had his Government shown any trace of recognising the existence of grievances there would have been no non-

co-operation movement at all. It was because the bureaucracy refused to recognise that there were any grievances at all, or that there could possibly be any in this best governed of all countries, that in sheer despair of its impenetrable self-maintained is not an end in itself; it is only the means to an end. But it suited the Viceroy, as it suits other opponenats of the movement, to put the cart before the horse and to presume that, instead of grievances creating the movement, its supporters for sinister purposes of their own are exploiting the grievances. No view could be more perverted but it is idle to expect so recent a convert to sweet reasonableness. The bureaucracy no doubt believes in prayer but it also believes in keeping its powder dry. It sees nothing incongruous in combining the soft word and the hard blow. How else is one to reconcile the Viceregal sentiment we have quoted with the wholesale, to our mind illegal and in any case arbitrary, exercise of powers which are only intended to secure the preservation of peace? It requires much juggl~~ing~~ing with facts to prove that the presence of Mr. Yakub Hasan at Calicut was a direct incentive to disorder; that his addressing a meeting to emphasise the non-violent character of the movement could at once precipitate Moplah fanaticism; that wholesale prohibition of meetings of any kind ~~of~~ for prolonged periods without consideration either of their character or of their probable outcome could in any sense be regarded as other than repression of the first magnitude; that lastly these outbreaks of repression in practically every Province have no motive power behind them beyond the immediate necessities of the time and the place no inspiration behind them beyond the honest convictions of the men on the spot. It may be so; we have the Viceroy's word that there is no policy of repression, and we have the Duke of Connaught's word that autocracy is dead. If so then we are witnessing a miracle in administration: a policy is being ~~dictated~~ dictated from below instead of from above. But

possibly the miracle is not as wonderful as it seems. The Government of India has no policy. It has however prejudices and not the least of these naturally is a strong antipathy to non-co-operation. It is egged on in its prejudices by the candid friends who are never tired of shouting from the house-tops that the movement must inevitably lead to violence. These new friends and allies of officialdom of course abhor repression -- at least the word. What more easy than to placate them by repudiating repression and secure their tacit assent by exaggerating the bogey of disorder which is already a kind of chronic obsession with them?"

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

6. Referring to the conference to be held in London

Success of the non-co-operation movement. to determine the need for altering the Turkish peace terms, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 21st Febraury, observes in a note:- If the London Conference decides the Khilafat problem in accordance with the wishes of the Muhammadans, we can say that the non-co-operation movement will have met with complete success. If innocent and unarmed Indians by virtue of their soul-force, be able to alter the determination of the Allied nations who are all powerful physically, it will be an achievement unheard of in the world's history. Everybody will then know that DHARMA is the primary factor in determining the ties that bind one nation with the other. Will the British Government work in the London Conference for securing the world's future happiness, or let slip even this opportunity? We will wait and see.

10. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 23rd Febraury, referring to

The Khilafat delegation and
Government.

Mr. Bhargari's motion in
the Council of State that

the holy places may be placed under the suzerainty of the Khalifa and that Moulvi Sadruddin may be included in the Khilafat deputation and to the Home Member's reply, asks on behalf of Mussalmans why the Government of their own accord selected these men. It was their duty to have applied to the Central Khilafat Committee which in consultation with the District Khilafat Committees would have elected its own members. When the matter concerns Mussalmans and the Object of the Government is to send Muslim representatives to the Peace Conference, why did the Government deprive Mussalmans of their rights? The community cannot approve the action of the Government in taking away its privilege. We, on our part disapprove of Mr. Hasan Imam's selection as a member of the deputation.

THE QUESTION OF THE HOLY PLACES.

Referring to the Home Member's statement with reference to the Holy Places that they are in the Muslim jurisdiction, the writer remarks that it is through such humbug that the Government have become notorious and their good intentions are regarded with suspicion. We warn the Government of Indian that they should frankly accept the suzerainty of the Khalifa over the Holy Places. Muslims cannot be misled now by political phrases.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S MODE OF ACTION.

Referring to the Home Member's statement that in the matter of the selection of members for the Khilafat Deputation, Local Governments also were consulted, the writer regrets the Madras Government's action in not publishing the matter to the community and observes that the Government in failing to send Yakub Hasnani to England and the Collector of Malabar's sending him to jail are creating anxiety and suspicion in the public mind, for it had already been decided

by the Central Khilafat Committee to privately send Yakub Hasan to England. Has not the Government of Madras aware of this? Is not the public obviously right in impeaching the Government? Personally we do not charge Lord Willingdon, but his officers have given the people their chance.

RUMOUR OF RELEASE.

The writer, referring to the rumour that Mr. Yakub Hasan will be released if tranquility prevails, discusses at length the abuse of powers by the District Magistrates, and invites His Excellency the Governor to consider the release of the servants of the Khilafat and cancel Mr. Thomas' orders. If Lord Willingdon will not do justice by cancelling the order, then the dissatisfaction of the community will certainly not decrease, and it will get its leaders released by the force of its forbearance and fortitude.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(j) Salt and Ebkari.

20. In a leader under this heading, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 25th Febraury, writes:-
Is the prevention of drinking an offence? The proceedings in the Central Provinces are proving the correctness of the opinion expressed by some wise men, that the appointment of a few Indians to high posts at a time when the Executive Government is not responsible to the Legislature, will be productive of ^more harm than good. In the same way as the nationalists are carrying on propaganda work for spreading the non-co-operation movement, the Government are entitled to do propaganda work to counteract it. But they can have no right to resort to repressive measures calculated to deprive the people of their rights, in view to prevent such a peaceful movement. However, Lord Sinha has issued a circular to his subordinate officials authorizing them to adopt any measure they please for putting down the non-co-operation movement. Hereafter, the bureaucrats may deprive the people of their rights pleading as their excuse

that the necessity for resorting to repression was first realised by an Indian like Lord Sinha. Though the Europeans have no religious objections to drinking as the Indians have admitted ~~that~~, in view of the evils arising therefrom, it becomes the duty of every human being and the Government to prohibit it. Therefore, the imposition of duties on liquor is permissible only for the purpose of prohibiting drink, but the Government will not be justified in making it a source of revenue by encouraging it. It appears that Lord Sinha spoke at a certain meeting expressing anger at people who endeavoured to discourage drinking. In a province Governed by an Indian and in the Central Provinces, it is deemed to be an offence to bring about a fall in the excise revenue by discouraging drinking. While America and other countries have ventured to forego all their excise revenue, it is but a barbarous way of thinking not to wish for a decrease in habitual drinking for fear of excise revenue may go down.

(k) General.

22. Referring to the imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hasan

Incidents in Calicut.

and others, the SWADESAMITRAN,
of the 19th Febraury,

writes:- The discussions in the Madras Legislative Council have made it clear that the proceedings of the Magistrate in Calicut were not taken in view to prevent any serious breach of the peace apprehended. It will be manifest to a close observer that the Magistrate's desire was to prevent the non-co-operation propaganda work from spreading in that district. Turning to the attitude of the District Magistrate of Malabar and of the Government of Madras, it is being said that, as a result of the Khilafat propaganda work there was social boycott in one or two places occupied by the Moplahs and that the District Magistrate suggested to the Government that in Malabar as well as in other districts, all public

meetings should be prohibited for fear that the said propaganda work in his district might lead to serious consequences. From Sir Lionel Davidson's reply in the Council, it is evident that the Government, after consultation with the Advocate-General, suggested to the Magistrate that, in view of the fact that it would not be advisable to apply for permission to enforce a repressive measure at a time when an agitation for the repeal of all the repressive laws was being made, he might go on issuing orders under the Criminal Procedure Code. Apart from the fact that there was no justification for preventing public meetings in the whole of the taluks of Ernad and Walluvanad on account of the existence of social boycott therein, why should the meeting in Calicut, where the Moplahs are not numerous, be prohibited? What made the Magistrate think that, if a meeting were held there, it would lead to a breach of peace? To warrant the taking of proceedings under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, the Magistrate should be convinced of the likelihood of an imminent breach of the peace. As the Magistrate had no such conviction when he passed the order under this section prohibiting the Calicut meeting, there is no doubt that the issue of an order thereunder is a ~~w~~rong procedure. After having issued such a wrong order, when he began to demand security for good behaviour under section 107, it is clear that he wanted only to maintain his prestige and not to avert any apprehended breach of the peace. It is strange that he took action under the section 107 as soon as he learnt that Mr. Yakub Hasan intended to address the meeting in disobedience of his order. The only offence of Mr. Yakub Hasan is that he intended to address the meeting without remaining quiet in accordance with the Magistrate's order. The only offence of Mr. Yakub Hasan is that he intended to address the meeting without remaining quiet in accordance with the Magistrate's Order. But Section 107 can be applied only against those who are likely to cause a breach of the Peace. But Mr. Hasan did not attempt to commit a breach of

the peace and the Magistrate himself admits that he wanted only to avert it. In taking proceedings against Mr. Hasan as if he intended to cause a breach of peace, the Magistrate doubtless abused the powers vested in him by law. The speech of Sir Lionel Davidson supporting the action of the District Magistrate makes it clear that the bureaucrats in Madras are intent on stifling the non-co-operation movement. They have special facilities in Madras, because the Ministers are pliable in their hands and Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar, who is deemed to be the head of the non-Brahman party ~~which~~ which from the majority in the Legislative Council, is ever ready to support the application of repressive measures. The support given by the Advocate-General to the bureaucrats is worthy of note. He attempted to cover the gap left by Sir Lionel Davidson in his having omitted to state the grounds that led the Magistrate to believe that there would be a breach of the peace on that day. But Mr. C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar's attempt to win over the Council by adducing as a reason what was not a fact, did not succeed. The Magistrate, holding without adequate reasons that a breach of the peace was imminent, not only forfeited the rights of the people to hold public meetings, but has also imprisoned four of the popular leaders for the offence of having intended to disobey his order.

23. Referring to the recent speech of Sir William Vincent

in the Indian Legislative
Repression. Assembly to the effect

that the Government are willing if possible to put an end to, or mitigate the severity of, the repressive laws, the SWADESA-MITRAN, of the 21st February, observes: The proceeding in Bihar and Madras go to show that Sir William only pretended in vain and that the Government are unwilling to abstain from repression. It appears as though an experiment is now being

made as to whether it will be possible to resort to repression with the aid of the ordinary laws, if the so-called repressive laws were repealed. In a telegram sent by Mr. ~~Yakub~~ Shaukat Ali in connection with the imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hasan and others, it is stated that he heard that Sir Harcourt Butler, the Governor of the United Provinces, expressed the view that with the help of section 144 Criminal Procedure Code, he could put down non-co-operation. If, with the aid of section 144, the Magistrate can prohibit meetings as he pleases, then, there is necessity whatever for the Seditious Meeting Act.

~~may be repealed~~ A repeal of this law will not in the least, affect the autocratic powers of the Government. The meetings, the lectures and the speakers that could be prohibited by this Act may be prohibited by Section 144. But the Magistrates are overlooking one point in resorting to action under this section. For a meeting or a lecture to be prohibited under section 144, it is essential that there should be a likelihood of an imminent breach of the peace if such meeting or lecture took place. But this section does not authorize the prohibition of a meeting or a lecture if it was likely to lead to a breach of peace six months later. The Magistrates out of hatred towards non-co-operators and their movement, are taking action under section 144 and other sections and are making the people disgusted with the administration. So, it appears they may be proceeded against for creating ill-will against the Government. Apart from this, we ask whether it is proper to make such misuse of section 144. While the law, recognising the natural rights of the people to hold meetings and deliver lectures, has given the Magistrates a special power to meet emergencies, its object is violated by the Magistrates exercising this special power ~~on~~ on ordinary ~~law~~ occasions. If the officials themselves should act against the intention of the law, how can the people have any respect for it? If the Government

should consent and allow the ordinary laws to be converted into repressive ones; how can they command the respect of the people? Should the Government of India, who declare that they would not interfere with the non-co-operation movement, consent to crush that movement by converting the ordinary laws into those of repression they should note that a deep impression will be created in the minds of the people that all reports about the new policy of the Government are mere idle talk.

Remarking that the bureaucracy have begun to resort

Repression.

to repression with a view
to crush the non-co-operation

movement, the TAMIL NADU, of the 27th February, writes:- Leaflets were issued stating that co-operation with the Government through the Indian Ministers would secure the advancement of the country. The Publicity Bureau newly established by Government published, at the cost of the Indian tax-payers, numberless pamphlets for the purpose of proclaiming that Indians are not fit for self-government and that they should continue to remain in subjection for a long time and condemning the non-co-operation movement as far as possible. There is no member of the bureaucracy from the Viceroy downwards, who has not availed himself of every opportunity for decrying our movement as far as possible. ~~There is no member of the bureaucracy. f) There is no member of the bureaucracy from the Viceroy downwards, who has not availed himself of every opportunity for decrying our movement at all public meetings.~~ The authorities are now beginning to entertain some fear on seeing that, in spite of all their efforts, the movement is spreading far and wide. Seeing that other methods have failed, they have begun to resort to repression and this will ensure victory to us. Since the beginning of the world's history, we always find those puffed up with power bent upon keeping the people under them in perpetual subjection. They do not realise,

in spite of the lesson taught by history, that the awakening of a sense of liberty in the people sounds the death-knell of their autocratic power, but attempt to crush the movement for liberty even as Canute sought to command the waves of the sea. They think that, with the help of the wealth, authority, military force and weapons at their command, they can in no time subdue the powerless people. But they do not understand that their power and authority are merely human, while the movement is of a divine character. The movement is sure to spread in the country with tenfold rapidity; and forty persons come forward to take the place of the four men imprisoned at Calicut. Are any other indications necessary to show that the Mahatma's movement will secure SWARAJ for us not in eight months but in four? The time is past when people are afraid of repressive measures. All of them have realised that, in a land devoid of liberty, the jails alone are fit places for their residence and not their temples and mosques. We ~~commend~~ commend the action of Mr. Yakub Hasan and others in having refused to furnish security and courageously gone to the jail. Further, we wish to express our gratitude to the District Magistrate of Malabar who powerfully kindled the non-co-operation movement in this Presidency.

The DESABHIMANI, of the 20th Februaury, writes under this heading:- The Nagpur Congress has laid down that no more confidence should be reposed in the words of English statesmen than in those of gamblers. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught asked the people to forget the past and to co-operate with the Government. But (demand complet) the people who are disgusted with the violation of pledges made by the British demand complete SWARAJ and spread of non-co-operation movement throughout. The artful British Government have understood that this could not be opposed by any devices. So they bent their heads with an attitude of indifference. But little-minded people who are blind, with the pride of authority have not

recognized this secret. They are devoid of any sense of right or wrong. They do not see the limits of their power and authority. The pride of authority prevents them from seeing the force of the soul. Being addicted to material pleasures, they cannot from an idea of the commotion caused by the religious austerity of sages. If they had known that the more the fire is stirred, the more will it spread, they would not have meddled with the present movement. The district Magistrate of Malabar demanded a security of Rs.1,000 and a promise not to hold meetings from Mr. Yakub Hasan and others. But will the Indians who value self-respect more than life yield to such threats. They refused and the Magistrate sentenced them to imprisonment. The matter was discussed in the Legislative Council and Councillors like Sir P. Thaegaraya Chetti supported the action of Magistrate. May self - respecting members of the Council leave the Council at least now and adopt non-co-operation which is the only way to the attainment of SWARAJ.

24. Referring to the statement in an article said to have been contributed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Indian situation. Sir Michael O'Dwyer to the DAILY TELEGRAPH, that the situation in India has already become dangerous on account of the spreading of disloyalty therein, that the British administration is sure to come to an end in India if the present lenient methods should be continued for some more time by the British officials and especially by the Secretary of State for India and that there is yet room for saving if the Indian authorities should have recourse to coercive methods as suggested by him, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 23rd February, remarks:- As we are interested in the future of India which is our country, we have to pay attention to the counsel given by Sir Michael O'Dwyer to those in charge of the administration here. Sir Michael himself has pointed out that the Punjab Government

have begun to resort to his coercive methods after finding that the adoption of peaceful methods for one year and a half have not produced any effect. We should now be watchful as the authorities may repeat in the whole of India to-morrow what is being done in the Punjab, to-day. Sir Michael O'Dwyer is not working single handed in England, but it is a fact ~~now~~ ^{not} unknown to us that he has the co-operation of several other prominent gentlemen of his views. It is also within our knowledge that, agreeably to his advice, the Government of India have already begun to adopt repressive measures in various places. The support given to them by several Indians like the Governor of Bihar and the Ministers in Madras acts as a spur to their action. This is therefore the best opportunity for our men to be prepared beforehand and carry on a very strong agitation. It is the secret of warfare to strike a blow at our enemy before he begins to attack us and it was this method that was adopted by the Japanese in the Russo-Japanese war. We should carry on an incessant agitation for the repeal of all laws from the Rowlatt law to the ordinary law of sedition. The Government say that they are going to show us the way to self-government by the establishment of the new Legislative Councils and that they have consented and are very eager to hand over the administration to us! And we are to have ~~xxxxx~~ repression in the meanwhile! Indians will not, hereafter, be deceived by this old trick.

28. ^{objection to we} Remarking that, in spite of the nationalists that

the system of diarchy

Failure of diarchy.

will not give the desired

result Mr. Montagu persisted in establishing it with the support of the moderates, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 24th Februaury, writes:- The proceedings of the recent session of the Madras Legislative Council make it clear the system cannot go on as intended by Mr. Montagu. While it is stated in the

Failure of unity

Montagu-Chelmsford report that the Executive Council~~and~~ and the Ministers who together form the Executive Government should generally show unanimity in several matters, it appears that there is no practical unanimity among them, from the fact that the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatarreddi Nayudu did not vote in favour of the Executive Councillors on the resolution for the postponement of resettlement operations. It is also learnt that some of the Secretaries to the Legislative councils always voted on resolutions as they chose. It is therefore certain that the Executive Councillors and the Ministers did not show to the public that they ~~are~~ together formed the executive Government. Let us examine if things are being done according to the new system in regard to the Ministers at least. According to the report they should be such as can command the confidence of the majority in the ~~Legislative~~ Council and are capable of leading them. There are even now many indications to show that the inference of His Excellency the Governor who styled Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar as the leader of the winning party, that there is a party in the majority in the Legislative Council which can support the ministers, is ~~xxxxx~~ in correct. The members have been voting on resolutions only as they chose and not as belonging to a particular party. Some of those who voted in favour of the ~~the~~ Ministers in regard to one resolution voted again them on another. It is therefore understood that there is no party in Legislative Council pledged to support the Ministers, as was expected in the Montagu Chelmsford report and this feature does not appear to be present in the Legislative Council, ~~pledged to support the Ministers as was expected in the Montagu Chelmsford report and this feature does not appear to be present in the Legislative Council.~~ (pledged to support the ministers as was) of any of the Provinces. It seems there is no organic unity not only among the members, but among the ministers also. In the same manner as there is no party pledged to support the Ministry, there is also no organised opposition. The proceedings stated above make

make it clear that there is no such opposition. A consideration of these facts goes to show that the transference of the responsibility for the conduct of certain departments of the administration to the popular representatives have not borne fruit till now. But it should be noted that the ~~bureaucracy~~ have, under the new system, gained more power and secured the support of the reactionary Ministers and several others. Resolutions ~~opposed~~ by the Government used sometimes to be carried in the old Legislative Council. But we ~~th~~ have to think that such a thing will not be possible hereafter so far as the Executive Council is concerned. It ~~is~~ will be noted by all that the Ministers and the Secretaries to the Legislative Council, thinking that they owe their appointments to the favour of the bureaucracy, are prepared to speak in support of their reactionary ways and repressive measures..

30. Observing that there are now in existence in India two methods, viz., the method of repression and submission. of repression and that of submission and that, while the bureaucracy resort to the former, the non-co-operators are adopting the latter, the NAVASAKTI, of the 25th Febraury, writes:- Repression is the outcome of physical force and submission, that of soul-force. We do not mean by "submission" the state of being subject to others and living as slaves. It is only the leading of a life without inflicting any harm upon others under subjection. Attempting to keep others under subjection by means of physical force without being able to control the mind is not manliness. India is noted for its quality of submission and it is such a country that is now being made a prey to repression. The bureaucracy in this country resort to repression again and again and it is now being adopted to put down the non-co-operation movement. We believe that His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught who asked us to forget and

forgive the Punjab Massacre is witnessing the repressive policy followed by the Bureaucracy. What can we forget or forgive so long as such a bureaucracy exists in India? As regards Lord Sinha's great efforts to put down the non-co-operation movement, we have to say that it is no civilised rule to place fetters upon human liberty. It is now wisdom for a person born ⁱⁿ ~~by~~ India to try to suppress a movement which is calculated to exercise a purifying influence both over the rulers and the ruled. Why should not Lord Sinha work so as to get justice in respect of the Punjab massacre and the Khilafat. If his efforts in that direction should not prove fruitful, it is his duty to resign his appointment and this alone will be conduct befitting a son of India. We request Lord Sinha not to follow the ways of the bureaucracy, but to pursue the path of righteousness. The method of self-control will flourish in proportion to the increase in repression and be crowned with victory in the end.

31. The NAVASAKTI, of the 25th Febraury, questions the propriety of the alleged Refusal to accept a telegram. refusal by the authorities to accept a telegram inviting Mrs. Yakub Hasan to attend a meeting held on the 20th idem in connexion with the boycott of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and observes that such objectionable practices will continue in the country, until SWARAJ is achieved.

32. Remarking that a great many acts of injustice are being committed in India Colour difference. as a result of the colour difference and that ~~it~~ ^{it} is only the English that are afforded all sorts of facilities which are denied to the Indians, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 20th January, observes:- The complaint

referred to in the evidence of Babu Gosh before the Railway Committee in Calcutta, is a discredit to the administration itself. From this evidence, it is clear to the public how the European capitalists are being favoured by the authorities and how Indian capitalists are being thwarted and this raises the issue whether India exist for the Europeans or for the Indians. An Indian seeking admission to an educational institution maintained for Europeans is subjected to many restrictions and the head of such an institution in the Punjab argues that the grant sanctioned by the Government is intended only for European and Anglo-Indian students and not for Indian Students. It is strange indeed to be told that the grant sanctioned from Indian revenues is not intended for the benefit of the Indians.

33. Referring to the boycott of schools by students,
the TAMIL NADU, of the
Non-co-operation. 27th Febraury, writes:-

By such action, they will be rid of the feature of being helpful to the Government later in life. The closure of all the schools in the country will serve to paralyse the Government. Though a meeting was held in Madras also in connexion with the Boycott of schools, it is not so much in evidence here as in Calcutta, Bombay and the Punjab. It has just now begun to appear and Madras should not lag behind. There is only one cry of "boycott" throughout the Bharata country and all its papers are doing propaganda work with one opinion. Let us, therefore, without a moment's rest, bring this propaganda work to a successful termination in Madras. The time has gone with students were ~~sa~~ prohibited by the Government from taking part in politics, as this restriction can have no effect when the Government schools themselves are being boycotted.

Referring to the reforms, the same paper says:- Oh! England! You~~x~~ have given us the bull of the Legislative Council and enjoined on us o milk it. Persons without the least knowledge of politics and the intricacies of laws and regulations have obtained seats thereon. When do our brethren, who love this chaff of reforms and praise Mr. Montagu, hope to get the essence thereof? Sons of Bharata! Wake up! The massacre p~~r~~etpertrated by Dyer and the cruelties of Smith will surely rouse the anger of God at least. At a time when ~~Mu~~ Muhammadanism it~~s~~elf is in danger on account of the dismemberment of the Khilafat, we, Hindus, should gather under Mr. Gandhi's banner and render all possible help to our Muslim brethren. Will there~~e~~ peace in India and the world unless their sore is completely healed? If Mr. Lloyd George should be a true statesman, is he not bound to stand by the pledge~~e~~ given by him to the Indian Muslims? All the sons of Bharata~~y~~ should be prepared to hold on to the Mahatma and sacrifice even their lives for the sake of the country.

Referring with appreciation ~~the~~ the action of the Nadiad Municipality~~, in~~
Non-co-operation. in having declined the

Government grants as a result of non-co-operation, the DESAI BHAKTAN, of the 28th Febraury, observes:- Our only regret is that the people of other towns are not actuated by the same zeal, firmness and courage. All the other municipalities in India will do well to follow the example of Nadiad, as then only the real position of the Government and the principles of the non-co-operation movement will become manifest. Will the other Municipalities do so?

The MYSORE STAR, of the 27th Febraury, in a leading article, expressing its strong disapprobation of the behaviour of the non-co-operators, remarks:- The way in which the non-co-operators behaved towards the representative of His Imperial Majesty has brought an indelible stain upon the sacred traditions

and the fair name of India. If such things had been done either during the Moghul or the Muahratta regime, there is not the least doubt that the perpetrators would have been hanged in a line. Because the British authorities possess all the magnanimous qualities becoming their great Empire, they have all along been brooking mean actions such as these with c~~x~~alm mind. The non-co-operators will be digging their own graves, if they think that the patience shown by the authro is in any way due to their inability to take effective action.

The KANTIRAVA, of the 1st March, in the course of a leading article under this headline, writes:- No one believes that non-co-operators is an end in itself. There would have been no room at all for such a movement if the causes that gave rise to it had been nipped in the bud. The inconvincible Government stuck to its view that it could live and maintain its prestige only by continually irritating the non-co-operators. If, as His Excellency the Viceroy remarked, that propaganda is to be met only by a counter-propaganda, what cause had the authorities to smell a breach of the peace in the case of Mr. Yakub Hasan. Is this not inconsistent? Is the judgment of the local authorities an unfailing authority in such matters? Say the Duke and the Viceroy what they may. One thing has become evident, viz, that it is the subordinate officers that control the higher authorities in these matters. Why so?

The Government have a strong desire to oppose non-co-operation at every step but they fight shy to put a stop to it by force. There is no doubt that non-co-operation will be rising its head in some form or other as long as the reins of administration do not come into the hands of the people. The British nation having fully realized this fact have nominated Lord Reading as the Viceroy.

36. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 26th Febraury, publishes a communication from a Administration in Pudukkottai. correspondent in which the following observations find place among te others:- The Raja of Pudukkottai, in consultation with the Ministers, has issued an order of externment against Mr. Satyamurti. Why should there be such an excitement; because the people attempt to get the actions of the executive rectified or to obtain redress for their grievances? The subjects of no country in the world will approve of their sovereign going out on tours without attending to the administration of the State. Is it not natural for the people of Pudukkottai, who have been tolerating it so long, to try to rectify it? If repressive measures can be adopted to prevent it so long, to try to rectify it? If repressive measures can be adopted to prevent them from doing so, where is safety for the people? The following questions have suggested themselves to the people may be for consideration and a proper answer to each of them. will afford them satisfaction:-

(1) Is it the opinion of the Raja that the people are not entitled to assemble in public and criticise the defects of the administration?

(2) Does the Raja take exception to his subjects using the strong language generally employed by political workers in British territories in the discussion of political matters? or,

(3) Does he wish to coerce the people into sending a memorial to the Government of India stating that they have no objection to the rights of his son to the throne being recognised?

It is a time-honoured custom and rule obtaining in this State that the ruler, before assuming the reins of Government, should take an oath before the tutelary deity of Sri Brihadambikai that he will carry on the administration in a manner of befitting a devotee of hers. Now, will the

Hindu religion and SHASTRAS permit the taking of this oath by the Raja's son by his Australian wife? It is, therefore, imperative that the Chamber of Princes should take steps to prevent such happenings in other Indian States and to seek adequate remedy for what has already occurred. I make appeal to the Englishmen also who are experts in administration and who are bound to safeguard the rights of succession to the thrones of Indian State with the same care and anxiety with which they have been doing it till now.

38. Quoting figures to show that a European soldier in India costs Rs.175 per Racial difference. mensem to the State while only Rs.41 is being spent on the Indian Sepoy, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 28th February, observes.- We need not say anything more. It is not known in what respect the Indian sepoy is inferior to the European soldier. Such distinctions continue to exist in each and every matter.

40. Referring to the remark of NEW INDIA as to why the attempts of France to get The Punjab incidents. full reparation from Germany should be condemned by the non-co-operation organs, the SWADESA-MITRAN, of the 1st March, observes:- It is no doubt true that the acts of the English in the Punjab may be compared to those of the Germans in France. But the English officials have done in a peaceful time in a country under their own administration what the Germans did in a hostile country in the midst of war.

42. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 28th February, publishes a communication from a Imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hasan and others. correspondent, which, characterising as unwise the action of the District Magistrate of Malabar, observes:- The District Magistrate has been exercising

Martial Law powers, and this exercise at once quite unnecessary and improper. It appears Mr. Yakub Hasan and others have been punished solely for having condemned his highhanded actions. Perhaps, it did not occur to the Magistrate that causing annoyance by means of the police and the military force to a concourse of peaceful people bereft of their leader was likely to provoke them. It is not known what necessity there was for a motor lorry with armed soldiers being sent into the midst of a peaceful procession. What authority has a police official got to deprive a Khilafat volunteer of his uniform and to afflict him? The police dispersed the crowd in front of the house of Mr. Yakub Hasan at the point of the bayonet and terrorised the people. The Calicut Town Hall disturbances case and the Tellicherry torture case are ample proofs of the highhanded actions of the Police in Malabar. If Officers, whose duty it is to maintain peace and order, should abuse their powers in this manner, the object of the leaders who are advising the people to maintain peace will be frustrated.

44. Referring to the Budget for 1921-22 presented in the Indian Legislative Budget in the Indian Legislative Assembly, the SWADESA-MITRAN, of the 1st March, observes:- The Secretary of States for India, with a view to gain fame by keeping down the movement for SWARAJ in India, got the most unsatisfactory Reforms Act enacted last year and consented to an increase of over 50 per cent in the salaries and emoluments of the bureaucracy in order to gain their support for the Reforms. The latter in turn, without examining the source of the profit got from the exchange of Indian currency as a result of the pecuniary help rendered by Indians during the war, began to increase the expenditure beyond limit under the impression that it was owing to their good fortune that money was to be had for such an increased expenditure. As soon as Mr. Montagu felt a

doubt as to whether these psuedo-reforms would be accepted by the people, he created a split among us by bringing into existence a party of moderates for whose benefit he provided a large number of appointments carrying high salaries. He favoured the English merchants, (~~the deprivation of~~) ~~the~~ also in many ways and it was expected that, by rendering financial help to the British Government and affording exchange facilities to the English merchants, the deprivation of India of the profit due to her would not be brought to light. But unwise statesmanship and unlimited fiscal power cannot but come into the public view in the end. These two devices have now therefore failed to have any effect and statesmanship has been rendered in vain by the Punjab and Khilafat affairs and the repressive measures now being resorted to. On account of the defects in the financial administration and the deception in the matter of the currency exchange, new taxes are being imposed, resulting in great hardship. So, the reforms have only served to make the people suffer in many ways. We can draw, from the items of this budget, an inference as to the causes permanently contributing to our present position in regard to taxes and other matters. The increased revenue of twenty crores is to be applied towards meeting the increased expenditure in connexion with the high offices and the salaries referred to above and the carrying out of the reforms and towards providing for all losses due to exchange in respect of the ~~Home~~ charges. The first item will only go in increasing so long as the foreign bureaucracy is not got rid of. The third important feature is the expenditure in the army. They have not determined the amount to be borne by us, on a basis of peace ~~xx~~ at 58½ crores, while it was only about thirty crores before the war. At a time when it is being alleged that the League of Nations is going to put an end to militarism and establish harmony in the world by preventing wars, India has to groan under this Military burden. But the Finance Member informs us that he

fought hard with the military authorities to bring the expenditure down to the present figure. The power of the army is great indeed! If we should note the fact that these new taxes are being raised solely for the sake of the foreign administration, the development of the trade of foreigners, the growth of the British Empire and Military power, the causes of the Burden (of taxes which we have been feeling for a long time and our low income and economic position will become patent to us. If we should achieve SWARAJ and carry on the administration with our own men and defend our country with our own forces and manliness, will there be room for such expenditure of taxes?

— Page 201 —

46. In strongly advocating the introduction of the spinning

The spinning wheel.

wheel in every house in

India, as a potent means

to the speedy attainment of SWARAJ, the KISTNAPATRIKA, of the 19th February, says:- The sooner the slave mentality of the Indians vanishes, the ~~per~~ speedier will their political thralldom come to an end. It is mad to attempt to gain SWARAJ when our mind has been abandoned to the ways of the west. Only when we can become SWADESHI or national in our tastes and fashions, will political fetters slip of themselves just like SEAR leaves drop from the tree. ~~xxx~~ To re-establish the spinning wheel in our homes is to regain our lost prosperity and learning. When we can regain them, SWARAJ is an easy matter. The machine gun of a spinning wheel will not destroy any body but by its use, construction will emerge from destruction, prosperity from adversity, hope from despair, soul-force from the weakness of the heart and independence from dependence, and India will thrive with full prosperity.

53. Under this heading, the HITAKARINI, of the 21st

Repressive laws.

February, attempts to

disprove the statement

of Sir William Vincent in the Legislative Assembly that the

Government have not yet enforced repressive measures, by adducing instances such as the imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hasan and others, which it characterises as an arbitrary act on the part of the Government. It says that from such arbitrary acts, good will at last result, and observes that the Calicut incident has awakened the people of not only Calicut but of the whole of Malabar from their lethargy at once.

54. Referring to 'the various new ways in which section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code is made use of by the District Magistrates', the ANDHRAPATRIKA ~~of~~ the 23rd Febraury, observes in a note:- Sir William Vincent promised that the repressive laws would not be enforced, as far as possible, until the receipt of the report of the Committee appointed to consider the question of repealing them. But since the Criminal Procedure Code cannot come under the 'repressive' laws the infringement of the birthrights of ~~people~~ people thereunder cannot be a violation of Sir William Vincent's promise. Besides the repressive laws, sections 124-A, and 153-A of the Indian Penal Code have been well known in the political history of the country. To-day, section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code is gaining reputation equally with them. A Bill to amend the Criminal Procedure Code has been introduced in the Council. Its details are not yet known. We have to see whether this new application of Section 144 will be included in it.

57. Reviewing the Administration Report of the Government of Madras for the year The Government's administration Report and non-co-operation. 1919-20, the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 25th Febraury, observes in its leader:- The present political situation is described in the first portion of the Report, which says that the extreme section of the

~~the~~ nationalists have not given up their habit of condemning severely the actions of the Government. It is untrue to say that they condemn ~~the~~ the Government without any reason. Without mentioning the real causes for the present unrest in the country, such as the unsatisfactory nature of the reforms, the Punjab disorders, and the Khilafat question, it is improper to accuse the extremists. To add to these causes, a number of other critical events cropped up. Under these circumstances where is the wonder if the call for co-operation has not been responded to? What can even the moderates ~~do~~ do? Between them and the nationalists, there are no two opinions on any important question, as evidenced from the resolutions which the moderates ~~(to? do?)~~ introduced in the Legislative Councils. The difference is only in the methods adopted by each. While the moderates still have faith in the submission of petitions and memorials and while they depend on others for the fulfillment of their wishes, the nationalists have no faith in those methods and they depend mostly upon their own self-help. The Government can only pacify the people, not by finding fault with the moderates or the nationalists, but by fulfilling the wishes of the people. The Government spoke of the success which attended the boycott of elections. While only 23 per cent of the voters took part in the elections all over the Presidency, and in some places even empty boxes were returned, we do not know how the Government was satisfied with them. It is noteworthy that even the Government recognised the spread of the non-co-operation movement in the ANDHRA country. Even though the Government has failed to note the success of the boycott of elections, prominent English like Colonel Wedgwood, Mr. Ben Spoor, and Sir Valentine Chirol have recognised it. Even though what the Government said is to a little extent true in regard to the Boycott of Schools and courts, the movement has made some progress even in that respect. It is the highly-educated people that have

~~that have~~ to carry out these items of the programme of non-co-operation and the present conditions clearly show that they possess neither the enthusiasm, nor the firm confidence and capacity of the masses. The reasons for the greater percentage of voters who took part in the elections in the Madras Presidency is to be found in the Brahman, non-Brahman differences existing here. These differences are not noticeable elsewhere. It is well for the Government to understand that such feelings do not ~~exist~~ except amongst those who thirst for appointments and honorary posts. The Government also dealt with the labour movements and said that it is guided by political workers. We don't see what impropriety there is in it. It is stated in the report that the rise in prices has not affected the agriculturists and the labourers. It is regrettable that though the cultivators and the labourers are lamenting that their indigent condition is intolerable, their wailings are not heard by the Government. The report speaks of a new medical school at Guntur. This is apparently an error.

308 A

58. Writing in connexion with the remark made by the

The ethics of the movement.

Viceroy 'that the non-co-operation is spread by

propaganda it should be opposed by propaganda alone,' the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 26th Febraury, writes in its leader under this heading:- The Viceroy has been able to understand the nature of the new movement. The non-co-operation movement is one of DHARMA and therefore it cannot be opposed with physical force. If it is so opposed, it becomes all the more strong. Some authorities are trying to repress the movement by adopting the old repressive methods. The result of their actions is contrary to their expectations. The Viceroy appears to have seen the futility of the adoption of such methods. Why should a movement spread by propaganda? The reason for it is that that movement is one of truth and DHARMA. To

meet such a movement, the opponents must also depend upon truth and DHARMA. Untruth cannot subjugate truth, ~~not~~^{not} violence, non-violence. That is why the rulers must meet the non-co-operation movement with a spirit of devotion to righteousness. The Viceroy said that the non-co-operation movement has not met with success. He is entirely mistaken. It is impossible for it to fail. His Excellency's speech itself proves the success of that movement. Lord Chelmsford said some time back that the Government depends upon physical force. That he should now say that a movement that is spread by propaganda must be met with propaganda ~~alone~~^{alone}, indicates the success of the new movement. His expression of regret for the staying away of some of the best men from the Council, is another evidence of its success. The Viceroy has no doubt understood the real nature of the movement. If he had put into practice the principles underlying the movement, there would have been no necessity for the adoption of the movement. He said that he had discharged his duty by acquainting the British Government with the wishes of the Muhammadans in regard to the Khilafat question. His duty did not end there. The Government of India must have identified themselves with the people and felt the difficulties ~~of India must have identified themselves with the people and felt the difficulties~~ of the people as their own. Did they feel so? If they had felt so, did they press for the fulfilment of the people's wishes? Did they say that they would not send the Indian armies abroad? Did they press the colonial authorities to relieve the difficulties of the Indians there? As all these steps have not been taken by the Government of India, Indians are craving for SWARAJ. That the Viceroy has not yet given up his old ideas is quite clear from his present speech. He is asking for co-operation, in a case anarchy should prevail. When the wishes of the people are fulfilled, where is the

room for anarchy? Non-co-operation is only working for ~~X~~/ giving room for the adoption of violent methods, and it is bound to fail if once violence sets in. The people will be the greater losers than the Government in that case. They are therefore more anxious to maintain peace than the rulers themselves. As Lord Willingdon has not understood this fact aright, he spoke about ~~Mr.~~ Mr. Gandhi in the way in which he did in the Engineering College. Till now, the rulers have not well understood the rule. So long as they take a selfish view of this problem, they cannot discern the truth. The angle of vision of the rulers, is, however, slowly changing and they are realizing how important it is to obtain the co-operation of the people. Mr. Gandhi does not hate the rulers. His chief aim is to make both the Government and the people adopt the path of righteousness. The rules of conduct dictated ~~by~~ by him, both to the Government and the people, are very trying. Both of them are, however, now recognising the truth of the whole matter. Both have now understood that the administration can go on only with each other's co-operation and good-will.

360 A

60. Criticising the remarks of ~~xxx~~ Dr.C.Johnson, made in the essay on Indian medicine. The prestige of Englishmen. read by him before a meeting of the East Indian Association in London, the BALABHARATI, of the 4th Febraury, observes:- He says that as 'Medicine' has now been constituted 'a transferred subject' in India, the Englishmen will not agree to work under the Indians, and that much discontent is prevalent among ~~them~~ ^{them}. He congratulated Doctor Johnson for his frank expression of opinion. It is certain that every Englishman shares the same opinion. What has become of the equal treatment that is said to be meted out to the Englishmen and the Indian according to the promises of Queen Victoria and the equal rights of citizenship promised by

His Majesties King Edward and King George? What else are these but mere farces? Their chief wish is that Indians should be slaves. O! Indian! Unfortunate slave of a foreigner! Will you ~~not~~ ^{not} even now wake up and grieve for your miserable condition and think of a remedy? Colonel Elliot said in the same meeting that India contained six lakhs of blind persons in the villages, and that there is nobody to take due care of them. We think he is entirely mistaken. It would have been well if he had said that all the 33 crores of Indians are blind inasmuch as they have not understood their (the Englishmen's) chief mischievous tricks. The British administration for the last two centuries has made the Indian nationality blind. Even though the Englishmen think that they are angels come from heaven to protect India, the Indians do not think so. Even though the Indians have been saying "We feel thankful to you for having protected us in the past. Please don't trouble yourselves any more about us. We offer you a thousand salams if you leave us and go away. Why should they be still with us? Who is to say whether it is out of love or of self-interest that they do so?

Februaury 311 A

67. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 26th ~~January~~, in the course of an English article under this head-line,

The Indian Councils. writes:- "... The permission given to appoint the committee to call for its reports and to show a desire to meet the members of the Legislative council half-way is a condescension for which India is indebted, not to His Excellency the Viceroy not to the patriotic members of the Council, not to British ~~szbzaz~~ justice and fair-play but to the non-co-operation propaganda of the Indian National Congress and the resolution of the Majority of Indians to stand up by Mahatma Gandhi in following his propaganda of non-violent non-co-operation with determination to earn SWARAJ or die in the attempt. . . .

The population of India is more than 315 millions, while those who keep India under their iron heels are only one hundred thousand. Non-co-operation among 315 millions is bound to be an irresistible force, though the fear of machine-guns, bombs and aeroplanes is sufficient to make the blood of a successfully disarmed people curdle. But Western education, Western Self-sacrifice, Western patriotism, Western Bolshevism, Western nihilism and Western anarchism have had a chance of becoming deep-rooted in India. The repressive policy of the West has called into existence a non-violent passive resistance which, if not pacified, will gather superhuman strength and carry everything before it by sheer numbers. The arbitrary conduct of un-British Anglo-Indians has raised Mr. Gandhi to the dignity of an incarnation of God. He is a veritable God. Whatever he dreams becomes a gospel. Anglo-Indians have become powerless. Moderates have become powerless. The great British Empire itself has become powerless. Non-co-operation Non-violent non-co-operation with its silent boycott not only of un-British Anglo-Indians but of Indians in sympathy with them is slowly, yet steadily, gaining strength. Now that the new Viceroy arrives in India shortly, he must be empowered to adopt the British policy of justice and fair-play without the least regard to the interested cries of men who have brought the greatest disgrace on British name and fame. They should be sent back to their countries making room for their betters. Unless drastic and fearless steps are taken to amend or end the arbitrary Anglo-Indians, unless the Anglo-Indian newspapers and journals are made to adopt a policy of unmixd British justice and fair-play, the gulf that yawns between the arbitrary Anglo-Indians and the Indians will become wider and wider, and the yawning gulf, if unbridged at once, may become unbridgeable. We sincerely hope that wiser counsels will prevail in the councils of the Empire, that real philosophers and statesmen will be deputed to India

to consolidate the foundations of the Empire and unite the Indians and the English people for ever and ever."

70. The SWADESABHIMANI, in its issues of the 11th and the 18th and the 25th instants, adversely criticises the action taken by the District Magistrate of Malabar against Repression in Malabar. Mr. Yakub Hasan and others and proceeds to observe thus:- Officers possessing such autocratic powers are apt to use them to prohibit anything and everything they please. What earthly use is it then to say that the Indians have acquired liberty in this reformed Government? Mr. Montagu or even the Duke himself may go on proclaiming that it is unbecoming the Prestitige of the British Empire to carry on the administration of this country with the help of terror-inspiring and autocratic laws, but these precepts will not gain the credence of the people at large as long as the men on the spot do not understand the sympathy underlying this principle and put an end to repressive methods. Looking at the repression resorted to by the authorities in the different provinces of India, it will be clear what value the authorities attach to the benevolent wishes of the Duke and of Mr. Montagu. Really speaking, it is the authorities that are committing violence and none else. The Momagatamaru affair, the Punjab disturbances, the Ceylon disturbances and a host of other incidents are a few of the illustrations which go to prove our point. Consequently, Government would be well advised if they instruct their civilian officers to follow the principle of non-violence.

The accusation often levelled against the British bureaucracy that repression invariably follows in the wake of their reforms has been proved to be true in the present case as well. Otherwise why have they smelt prospective disturbances and taken out the weapon of prohibition of

meetings from the armoury of war law at a time when the people are carrying on an agitation strictly based on non-violence? It does not behove the authorities to resort to all sorts of illegal practices and bring disgrace to the fair name and civilisation of the British race.

The repression started in Malabar is quite in consonance with the warning given by Sir William Vincent in the Indian Legislative Assembly. When District Collectors are entrusted with autocratic executive powers such as these, we are really at a loss to know what real benefit there will accrue from their reforms. When the repeal of all the repressive legislation is out of the question, and when it is left to the discretion of the Government to carry out effect the recommendations of the committee, the formation which has just been sanctioned by Government, it is for our moderates to say whether all this procedure belongs to the new era or is a survival of the previous age.

The KANTHIRAVA, of the 1st March, in a short note, observes:- The repression resorted to in Malabar by the District Magistrate has added fuel to the fire of the non-co-operation movement and has enabled even those who were ignorant of the principles of non-co-operation to practise it.

74. The VRITTANTA RATNAKARA, of the 28th Februaury, in the course of a leading ~~Futile~~ Futile non-co-operation. article under this heading, observes:- Sowing the poisonous seed of sedition in the immature minds of students and diverting them from the path of their education is, we regret, suicidal to a high degree. It is not proper on our part to raise a hue and cry for any thing and everything simply with a view to be lauded as patriots. Nothing can be more stupid than this. Our first duty should be to try to avoid all our evil advice.

77. In an article on 'the great political agitation

The great political agitation
In India and non-co-operation.

in India and non-co-operation', A. Ahmad Kanju,

writing in the MUSLIM, of the 19th February, points out the supreme claim of the Khilafat on Muslim loyalty and how their loyalty to the British Government and faith in their promises have now led to the British Government and faith in their promises have now led to the destruction of the Khilafat, and says:- The terrible sword of his enemies is now hanging by a hair over the head of the Khalifa. If His Majesty the Sultan should stir ever so slightly against the wishes of the Allies or even take a deep breath, the sword will immediately fall on him! The history of the world has shown time again that the acceptance by the rulers of a wicked policy that runs counter to the hopes and wishes of millions of subjects of the State, manifests ingratitude, interferes even with the religious faith of the people, destroys for even the possibility of the people ever more believing the promises of the Government, and manifests as their own administration admission that they are blood thirsty RAKSHASA hounds, will cause an upheaval of a kind that will immerse the country in blood. It is a specific proof of this, that preliminary signs are already visible of a great warfare between the rulers and the ruled in India.

78. A correspondent in the SATHIANADAM, of the 26th

Unrest in Malabar.

February, remarks with

reference to the imprisonment

of Mr. Yakub Hasan and others and the getting ready of cannon etc., by the authorities, that there are indications of the unrest becoming serious.

Referring to the same subject, the MALABAR ISLAM, of the 25th February, points out that the District Magistrate's order under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was

based on the mistaken notion that by the preaching, etc, of Messrs. Madhavan Nayan, Gopala Menon, and Moideen Koya the people were up against the Government and were ready to create disturbance. There was no reason, however, to fear that there ~~was~~ any likelihood of a breach of the peace. Even if there was any such likelihood, it was to prevent it that the incarcerated gentlemen were trying. If the authorities were really lovers of peace, they should have respected these gentlemen who intended to allay public discontent and disappointment aroused by the unreasonable repression of the elementary rights of citizens to hold meetings. The article further observes that it may be because the cry has gone begun to be heard in the Imperial Legislative Assembly that the new Defence of India Act should be removed from the statute book, that the authorities in the Madras /Presidency, and in Behar and Orissa seem to be anxious to apply as a test measure, for this purpose, the old law in the Criminal Procedure Code. In this matter the heretic District Magistrate need not be blamed as he has enacted this drama with the approval and consent of the Madras Government.

Writing on the same subject, the Muslim, of the 26th Febraury, expresses surprise that the District Magistrate should have acted so foolishly not even thinking that this Act would, without producing the desired result, add to the strength of the movement, and remarks that the arrest of such an important leader as Mr. Yakub Hasan will not soon be forgotten. Besides giving a translation of Moulana Shaukat Ali's telegram regarding the situation, it adds its own counsel to the people of Malabar that a day should be fixed in which to honour the incarcerated leaders and that on that day should be gathered together people from as many different places as possible for consultation and decision regarding the means to effect a shaking off of all connexions with Government, and that necessary pledges should be taken from those that are ready

to carry out and to make others carry out themeasured decided uoon and that what is to be done should then be done peacefully, and completed successfully in a specified time.

Writing on the same subject the MALAYALI, of the 23rd Febraury, says:- We did not fia l to guess that the motive of the Government for the manifestation of this evil policy might have been to repeat the Punjab tragedy once more and to ~~pe~~ suppress the people of India by the display of machine guns and brute force. The discussion of the Madras Legislative Council has supplied evidence in profusion of the folly of the Government. While admitting the cogency of the argument of Moplah inflammability in the interior of the district, the paper observes that the prohibition of speeches and meetings in Calicut can be attributed only to an absolute disregard of the rights of citizens. Had not the non-co-operationists adopted the doctrine of AHIMSA (non-violence advocated by Mahatma Gandhi), Malabar would long ago have been turned into a field of blood. The wisdom of those who imagine that reasonable aggitation for SWARAJ could be defeated~~X~~ by a policy of repression is indeed admirable! The object of non-co-operation is to put a stop to such a policy of the Government. The Government that called in the aid of the military and artillery out of fear of public meetings, has forfeited the confidence of the people. We firmly believe that the policy of the Government is most uncertain and uncalled for.

The article expressed confidence that the people of Kerala will do all in their power to protest against this policy adopted by the Government, and observes that only very few will wish for British civilization and alliance if the liberties of the subjects are thus brutally smashed for the sake of mere prestige.

The KERALA SANCHARI, of the 23rd Febraury, thinks that this event has helped and brought reputation to the Malabar District Congress Committee, and deplores its occurrence in

in Malabar at a time when the question of repealing or amending repressive laws has been referred to a committee, and expresses regret that it synchronizes with the inauguration of the reforms. The paper points out that subsequent events in Malabar have proved that there would have been no trouble if the Khilafat meeting was held under the presidency of Mr. Yakub Hasan and rejoices that no breach of peace occurred after the arrest of Mr. Yakub Hasan and party.

The KERALA CHANDRIKA, of the 28th February, points out that the arrest and imprisonment of these gentlemen have caused an unprecedented awakening amongst the people and that the policy of repression or rather of maintaining the peace followed by Mr. Thomas has engendered (a yearning for) liberty amongst the people at large and offers thanks to that "Rakshasa officer" whose action has done more for the unification of the people than a month's preaching by the four leaders could have accomplished.

A correspondent in the BHAIKERALAM, of the 26th February, writes in a raving style condemning the action of the District Magistrate of Malabar (cf. "the brutal action of the District Magistrate of Malabar, who in one stroke has besmeared with dirt the fair fact of Kerala's glory and the fair name of the British throne, has for the time being helped uprightness to defeat righteousness" etc.), and calls upon the people of KERALA to wake up and retrieve the honour of their mother India.

79. In the course of an article under the heading 'The

great political unrest

The great political unrest in India and non-co-operation.

in India and non-co-operation,

published in the MUSLIM of the 12th February, one

A. Ahmed Kunju makes the following among other remarks:- So

intense and so awe-inspiring a discontent has never before

arisen amongst the ruled against the rulers, in India. It is

not confined to a nook or corner, but has spread throughout the land. And the people make no secret of it, but demonstrate it publicly and boldly. This is not the first time that the Indians have had to suffer from the evil policy of the English. But this time the manifestation of the evil policy was ill-timed and so it helped to spread the discontent throughout the land. Referring to Upper India, the article mentions the brutal murder of Habibullah by a British Military officer "and it was in that part of the country that Dyer and O'Dwyer plunged their sword down to the hilt in the heart of the Punjabis, nay of (all) Indians, and it was there that the aforesaid Dyer and O'Dwyer publicly, heartlessly and cruelly insulted and injured several respectable Indian ladies." "The modern history of administration of India is written in blood. The man slaughter in the Punjab will tend rather to the crushing of the British suzerainty in India than to establish it firmly. The foundations of the English Supremacy may easily suffer shock and shaking in the soil of India which has been saturated with the hot blood of the people."

80. In an article under the heading 'the people of KERALA and non-co-operation' published The people of Kerala and non-co-operation. in the YOGAKSHEMAN, of the 11th Febraury, one a Kunnantodath Velayudha Menon (Sub-Editor of the BHAIJERKALAM), expresses regret at the insufficient headway which the non-co-operation movement has made in India, particularly in Malabar which is far behind Tamil and Telugu Districts in the Madras Presidency, dwells upon the necessity of non-co-operation as advocated by Mr. Gandhi being resorted to by the people of Kerala, especially those of Travancore and Cochin, whose duty it is to help the people of British India to obtain self-government and observes that they should

try to shake off the British suzerainty over the Native States. He calls upon the people of Kerala to wake up and begin non-co-operation work immediately, a work in which Mahatma Gandhi and God Almighty will bless them.

82. The MALABAR ISLAM, of the 25th Februaury, refers to the publication of a 'Mufhakkal Kalafa Alaismil Khilafa.' pamphlet 'Mufhakkal Kalafa Alaismil Khilafa' in the name of one Mummad Kutti Masaliar, in which the author's address is not given nor the names of the printers and publishers and points out that a pamphlet, that tries to establish that the duty of Muslim is to obey the Government that is in authority does not do well to flout the Press Act in this way. It further observes that this pamphlet is likely to cause irritation to the peaceful Moplahs of Malabar and reminds the authorities, who are running about sceptre in hand to maintain peace, that their first duty is to find out such impudent fellows and cage them.

88. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 17th Februaury, has, in black borders under the marginally Mr. Yakub Husan in the Clutches of the Collector. noted heading, the news of the arrest and incarceration of Mr. Yakub Hasan whom it congratulates on his being sent to jail.

The QAUMI report, in a supplement dated 18th Februaury, gives the details of the arrest of Mr. Yakub Hasan and has a report of the meeting held at the Beach under the Presidency of Mr. Parangusam, Barrister-at-Law, in which it says the people were advised to be patient. It also gives a summary of the speech delivered by the editor in which it is stated that Mr. Yakub Hasan has undoubtedly been treated unjustly.

89. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 19th February, in a

Mr. Yakub Hasan's real misfortune.

leader on this subject

says:- It is a matter of

regret and amazement that the false friends of non-co-operation have done this to degrade him.

The HIMAYAT, of the 19th February, has a letter from Azad in which the writer compliments Mr. Yakub Hasan on his submission to arrest and imprisonment.

91. The HILAL, of the 13th February, referring to the

~~wanton~~ ~~attack~~ attack made by

The non-co-operation movement at Boycott. The QAUMI REPORT's defence of the boycott of national criminals.

the QAUMI REPORT on the Muslims of Bangalore in defence of the boycott

of national criminals observes that it is at a loss to understand the fickle policy of its contemporary in writing at times vigorously in support of the boycott of national criminals and at others making mischievous statements in defence of the boycott of those who think participation of national criminals to be lawful.

93. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 19th February, referring

Madras is Alive.

Mr. Yakub Hasan's committal to jail observes that those

who sit in the councils pretending to be the representatives of the people are still unashamed and do not understand that the real representatives of the people are ~~repressive~~ ^{representing} them in prisons.

The writer then refers to the insolent behaviour of the Collector of Malabar towards Mr. Yakub Hasan, and remarks that Mussalmans are indignant not at the leader's incarceration but at the Collector's insolence and that their indignation is righteous. He advises, Mussalmans to consider their leader's imprisonment as ~~a~~ ^{an} honour done to them and a mark of the

the triumph of their just cause and also to be prepared to take part in that triumph.

The writer then advises the community to observe complete ~~and~~ suspension of all work (hartals) in all districts, towns and villages and to hold meetings in the afternoon in honour of the prisoner, but without disobeying any official orders prohibiting meetings and to prevent any disturbance taking place on the occasion.

95. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 14th Febraury, publishes

Muhammadans. a letter from a gosha lady who advises Muhammadans

to act with foresight in the present state of unrest, not to be induced by what nominal leaders of the community say to enter upon a path which leads to red ruin or make any Mahatma or Pandit their leader and spoil the existing system of education.

96. The HIMAYAT, of the 9th September, referring to the

The Problem of non-co-operation. activities of non-co-operators and their opponents, remarks that the real object of both parties is to support the cause of Islam.

The wirtter then discusses the problem of non-co-operation in two aspects, firstly from religious standpoint, the Indian Ulema have not yet arrived at a unanimous decision with reference to this; and secondly from a social point of view, it is beautiful flower consisting of a snake, and thinks that better than non-co-operation movement would be for Mussalmans to discontinue imitating the west in their customs, manners, and dress and act according to the laws of their religion.

99. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 25th Febraury, has a letter from Mr. M.K.Kh~~u~~rshid The JARIDAH is also servant of the Khilafat, but is prepared to pluck of Perambu who, criticising the beam from the eyes of the envious. the non-co-operators in defence of the JARIDAH, remarks that the latter is also true to the cause of the Khilafat which may be evidenced from the way in which it suggested that the British Government should be friendly with Turkey.

100. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 26th Febraury, discussing the decision of Muslims Indignity to the summons to Prayers and the reverence for the cow. to refrain from sacrificing cow pertinently asks Hindus why they should not in turn forego the interest which they receive in their dealings with Muslims which is unlawful in Islam.

For the week ending 12th March 1921.

No.11 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

2. NEW INDIA, of the 8th March, has the following: Sir William Vincent, the Firearms in riots. Home Member, made a most amazing speech in opposing the resolution moved by the Hon^{ble} Mr. Sastri the other day in the Council of State, regarding the reforms to be introduced in respect of the law and practice in force in the suppression of riots before the Reforms: but delivered as it was in the Reformed Council, it has created the most painful impression on the public. We do not know what authority he ~~ah~~ had for advaincing the startling proposition that much of what Mr. Sastri wanted was not in force in any country in the world. The only argument that he had advanced

was that the adoption of the suggestions would tie down the hands of the executive. But that is precisely what the mover wanted, because the Executives in India have shown such ~~xxxxxxx~~ criminal negligence of elementary principles of ~~display~~ ^{fair play} and justice in dealing with Indian crowds, that they can no longer be safely entrusted with the wide, uncontrolled powers that they happen to possess at present. The Home Member further said that the fullest warning is always given before firing is resorted to. We are aware of the fact that the Police Manual insists upon this being done. But that is not always done was proved by the recent case of the Perambore Barracks, where no warning was admittedly given before shooting. Stout opposition was shown to the recommendation that the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, demanded as a condition precedent to the institution of a criminal prosecution against the officer or other person who is connected illegally in the suppression of riots, should be dispensed with. This is the crux of the whole question, and it is no wonder that Sir William Vincent resisted this suggestion. The civilians and the military in India consider themselves to be the chosen of the Lord. They want all sorts of powers and they are resentful of interference with the exercise of the discretion vested in them. It is this spirit that evokes indignation among the people, and unless and until that spirit changes, there can be no hope of ~~good~~ cordial relations ~~xxxx~~ between the rulers and the ruled. So far as we are aware, no decent argument was put forward in opposition to this demand. Sir William Vincent simply said in effect that India was not England. The result of the voting on this resolution should make one furiously to think. The clauses relating to warning and the use of the immediate force necessary were adopted, while the rest were rejected. It shows that the Government still want to be above the rule of the law, and are unwilling to adopt in India those fundamental principles which are in force in England.

3. Writing under this heading the HINDU, of the 10th

Philosophy of Reforms.

March, observes:- In times

of national crisis like

the present, when the fight has begun in deadly earnestness, between the forces of Liberty and Autocracy and the alternatives are reduced, on the one hand, to perpetuation of slavery under the disguise of spurious and self-deceptive reforms and on the other, to progress towards a revolution of no small magnitude and consequences, it is the supreme duty of all interested parties in the conflict who are really desirous of avoiding calamitous consummations to adopt the saner, because truer -- though more idealistic -- out look of these poets and philosophers, rise to the purer atmosphere of a high politics and concentrate upon the inexorable justice and importance of the fundamental issues involved. A reputed lover of the 'eternal verities' among the Bombay Moderates recently referred to a political work of P.B. Shelley, which saw the light of publication only last year -- 'A philosophical view of Reform' -- and exploited certain isolated passages in the same in support of his mistaken moderation and misplaced, and miscalled co-operation. The book lays constant emphasis on the Key-note of the English constitution and political history -- the Sovereign right of the people to change their government according to their will and gives as the solemn maxim of English constitutional law the dictum that no man has any right to being power over the people except so long as it is for the benefit of the people and so long as the people themselves judge that it is for their benefit that he should impersonate that character. In one place, speaking about the urgency of reform, Shelly observes that right government being an institution for the purpose of securing popular happiness, the sure character of misgovernment is misery and first discontent, and if that be despised, then insurrection as the legitimate expression of that misery. The book was

written in a critical period of English history, not very dissimilar to ours at the present juncture, when the country was full of distress and unrest and popular agitation for radical reforms was attempted to be answered by a regime of terrorist repression as displayed in the notorious 'Peterloo Massacre', when a large reform meeting assembled, no doubt in defiance of Government's prohibitory orders but entirely peaceful and well behaved, was charged without notice by the cavalry causing death to many persons. The key note to the whole situation is provided by the following illuminating observation of the Poet. 'So dear is power that the tyrants themselves, neither then, nor now, nor ever, left or leave a path to freedom but through their own blood.' And, we are told, it is also another noteworthy feature and dastardly trick of tyranny to entrench itself behind and within the existing interests of the best, peaceful and most innocent citizens of a nation and say to those who fight to overthrow it in a tone of affected virtuousness. 'If you dare trample upon these innocents, be free.' This naturally raises the bogey of revolution and a blind opposition in panicky hearts against the forces of freedom. While admitting the existence and injustice of grave abuses and oppression these persons remain not only passive in their attitude towards the struggle, but gradually range themselves actively on the side of the oppressors under the specious plea that popular revolutions would be more injurious than the continuance of these abuses. The author is not ~~he~~ ~~xxxxx~~ also unaware of the dangers of popular violence, but, with his true insight into ~~man~~ human nature, is decidedly of the opinion that the savage brutality of the ~~p~~opulace is caused by, and directly proportional to, the arbitrary character of their Government. The one lesson to be learnt from the history of all bloody revolutions according to the poet is this, that the popular desire to wreak vengeance, admittedly a mistake, a crime and a calamity,

arises from the same source as their other miseries and only affords additional proof of the urgent necessity for that long-delayed change, which it accompanies and disgraces. Speaking about the dangers of quietism and the spectre of anarchy which unnerves shallow and selfish minds and drives them blindly into a suicidal support of tyranny, Shelly utters the following memorable words of warning which must awaken the eyes of all right-minded citizens and convince them of the immediate necessity for whole-heartedly joining in the fight for the overthrow of oppression and misery; 'Infinite and inestimable calamities belong to oppression, but the most fatal of them all is that mine of unexploded mischief which it has planted beneath of the foundations of society and with which, pernicious to one's touch, it threatens to involve the ruin of the ~~entire~~ ^{entire} building, together with its own. But delay merely renders this mischief more tremendous, not the less inevitable."

VERNACULAR PAPERS

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

16. Remarking that the labour movement has become shattered

The future of the non-co-operation movement. on account of the breaking up of the Tramwaymen's Union and the submission of the labourers in the Buckingham Mills, the DESABHARTAN, of the 1st March, says:- The sons of the land of Bharata, that are carrying on the non-co-operation campaign, should take a lesson at once from the failure of these labour unions. Once a struggle is begun, there should be a determination not to give in, without achieving victory, whatever may be the consequences. The movement we have started is certain to secure the desired result. The only thing needed is that we should not render ourselves unfit to attain success. There will be successes and reverses

in carrying on this campaign of non-co-operation. Such successes should be utilised as stepping stones for further successes and the reverses deemed to be victories and used as means for reaching the goal. It gives us great joy to see that the people of Calicut, Cannanore and Tellicherry have not lost their courage and zeal on account of their leaders being imprisoned. People elsewhere should also behave in the same manner. We should well bear in mind that the highhanded acts of the petty officials are but touch stones to gauge whether we are fit for swaraj or not. Every one should realise that on himself lies the sole responsibility of acquiring SWARAJ and make a bold stand cheerfully, undergoing all the hardships that may ensue.

17. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 1st March, publishes a cartoon, in which Englaand is depicted as sitting at the thinner end of the branch of India in the tree of the Empire and

the DAILY TELEGRAPH of London and Sir Michael O'Dwyer as advising England to cut off the branch by means of the saw of repression at the point of non-co-operation, so as to get rid of the thorns.

The same paper refers to four more persons having been sentenced to imprisonment at Tiruvangadi by the District Magistrate of Malabar, and says:- We send out blessings to the Patriots undergoing imprisonment. The bureaucrats and those who seek their favour have been saying that the Moplahs in Malabar have a highly provocative temper. But it is not known whether Sir Lionel Davidson has realised that, in spite of the many provocative acts on the part of the Government, the Moplahs have been peaceful till now. But all such repressive acts will only ^{tend} to strengthen the non-co-operation movement.

Remarking elsewhere that, contrary to the expectation that repressive measures will be started in India only after the departure of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, arrows of repression are being aimed all over the country even while the Duke is staying in Bombay, so as to falsify his own statements, the same paper observes:- The bureaucratic deity is dancing throughout India. Heads of Provinces and the moderates are pleading that the past should be forgotten and that the new era should be started with a new spirit. But, whenever they say that the new era has dawned, acts of repression are begun, so much so that the dawning of a new era may hereafter come to mean the beginning of repression. What will this new era lead to? We believe there will be an end even to this.

18. The DESABHAYATAN, of the 4th March, has the following

Stray notes. stray comments:- Our readers are aware that the Hon^{ble}

Mr. V.S. Srinivasa Sastriyar moved a resolution in the Council of State for the appointment of a committee to consider the repeal of the repressive laws. Why has not such a committee been appointed Yet? When will it start its work?

unnatural I appears that British troops went to quell the recent disturbance in Trichur between the local Mussalmans and Christians. If this is true, we fail to see why British troops should be sent to restore peace in a Native State. We wish to know further particulars in regard to this matter.

21. Quoting the provisions of this section, the SWADESA-

Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. MITRAN of the 2nd March, remarks that authorities

did not refer to any indication of an imminent breach of peace in Malabar and observes:- The officials only put forth the plea that the Moplahs are a fanatic set of people and that the very preaching about the Khilafat in their presence is

likely to excite them and lead to a riot. So, beyond the nature of the Moplahs, there was no cause for apprehension. If the Moplahs are a fanatics by nature, what steps have been taken by the Government during the past 150 years to civilise them? That these Moplahs, who had such a religious frenzy 150 years ago as not to put up even with a lecture, continue still in the same condition, speaks well indeed of the benefits of the British Rule! It is the duty of the Government to bring round obstinate people and reform them. It cannot be a civilised administration which instead of doing this, always treats these persons as fanatics and keeps them under control by threats and special laws. How they lost their right as Mussalmans to mediate upon the Khilafat and to hear lectures thereon? It is stated that the Government of India have urged on the British Government that the terms of the Treaty of Sevres have to be altered in order to pacify the Mussalmans, while even the Christian officials take such an interest in the matter of the Khilafat, can the Mussalmans avoid evencing an interest? While every Mussalman is entitled to ponder over, speak about and cry over the present condition of the Khilafat, and sacrifice his all in it cause, it is not manifest what justice there is denying such a right to the Moplahs, who form a section of the Muslims? The speeches of the non-co-operators would have helped to make the Moplahs give up their mischievous tendency and turn into peaceful folk. Such lectures the authorities have prohibited. Even though they do not do their duty, they will not allow others too to do it. We cannot discern the cause which made the Magistrate think that the lectures of Mr. Yakuba Hasan and others would lead imminently to a breach of the peace. There is ~~sti~~ little doubt that the only object of the authorities is to prevent the spread of the non-co-operation movement. If so, it is unlawful to apply section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, for this purpose. Will the High court come forward to prevent such a ^{misuse of the Provisions of law?}

22. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th March, remarks:- This
 The Imperial Budget for 1921-22. Excess expenditure is due
 to an unnecessary increase
 in the salaries and allowances of the higher officials and
 in the military forces and equipments beyond limit. There
 were two reasons for the increase of salaries. Mr. Montagu
 increased the salaries and allowances of the European officials,
 so as to prevail on them to approve of the reforms introduced
 by ~~himself~~ him for the purpose of deceiving India, which wanted
 SWARAJ, and created many new appointments, so as to gain over
 a section of the Indians to his side. He allowed the surplus
 revenue that was being derived by the Government from an un-
 expected source to be distributed freely among the higher
 officials. The Government have therefore come to the unfortunate
 position that they have to compel the people to pay new taxes
 to meet the excessive permanent expenditure, which they provided
 for without forethought at a time when there was a surplus,
 even when there is no saving. Besides this, the Government
 tried to benefit the European merchants in India to gain them
 over, just as they did in the case of the Europeans officials
 and some Indians, and incurred a heavy loss thereby. When
 the salaries of the high officials were increased, the explanation
 offered was that prices had increased, that the rate of exchange
 had changed, reducing the value of the money sent home by
 the officials, and that it was the duty of the Government
 to ~~am~~ make good this loss. But the remarks of Mr. Hailey
 about the prices make it clear that there is no longer any
 necessity to continue the higher salaries given to the high
 officials on account of increased cost of living. Even the
 rate of exchange has now altered favourably to the European
 officials, ~~so~~ so as to make ~~agood~~ good the loss suffered by them
 in sending home their savings, after enjoying life well here,
 is still throwing obstacles in the way of affording adequate
 relief to ~~them~~ non-gazetted officers, who are unable to keep

body and soul together. The number of the high officials is small while that of the subordinate officials is large. Ignoring the plight of many, who are unable to have bare sustenance, the Government offered to see that not a pie was reduced in the savings effected by a few. If the expenditure on the white elephant of the army maintained by India is reduced, there will be no necessity for these new taxes. Why should as much be spent on the army now as was done during the period of the war? Lord Hardinge said that, as soon as the war broke out, he sent away for the help of France almost the whole army in India. If a smaller number of troops than is available now was sufficient to guard India during the period of the war? ~~(Lord Hardinge said that, as soon as the war broke out, he sent away for the help of France almost the whole army in India.)~~ If a smaller number of troops than is available now was sufficient to guard India during the period of the war, why should the old strength of the army be restored now? They have begun to organise a volunteer ^{Corps} ~~group~~ of Europeans so as to guard against any danger that may arise to the Europeans in India, but have not attempted to form an Indian volunteer corps to defend India. As a matter of fact, the Indian Military expenditure is practically a ~~tax~~ tribute collected from India for protecting the interests of Englishmen.

23. [The DESABHAKTAN, of the 2nd March, contains a number

The drum of SWARAJ.

of verses under this

heading from the pen of

a correspondent, in which the following observations find place among others:- O Mother India! Sri Rama of Ayodhya, who destroyed the Rakshasas, and Vijaya of the famous bow were born of you in the days of yore. Why do none like them appear now?

Have we been created only to grow emaciated in body and suffer daily an irremediable misery as the slaves of the Englishmen?

We do not want this worthless education. We will no longer render service to Englishmen. We have begun the flawless war of liberty and we will not hesitate further.

We will not deem this transient body to be permanent and we will not waver in mind even in the face of insuperable hardship.

Can undaunted men who have started with such a determination lag behind, whatever may be the misery they have to suffer in the world?

We will not need the training given by Englishmen, which enslaves us to them.

O' Lord! Though we may be clothed in rags, ~~we~~ though we have to suffer rigorous imprisonment, though our life is endangered much, we will strive only for the liberation of our motherland and seek no other goal.

25. In a meeting held at Vaniyambadi to condemn the
Repression in Malabar. action of the authorities
in Malabar, in regard to
Mr. Yakub Hasan and others and to congratulate the latter
for their bold stand and referred to by the DESABHAKTAN, of
the 2nd March, Mr. V.V.S. Ayyar, the President, is reported
to have made the following observations among others:- To
speak the truth, it is Mr. Yakub Hasan and his comrades that
are enjoying real liberty; for, in a subject country, it is
those that are in prison that are really enjoying such liberty.
Now, you are enraged at the Government that have deprived
four of us of their ordinary liberty of speech and imprisoned
them for having insisted upon the right. You should not in
your rage resort to violence. When the Government continue
to discard your wishes, you have every right to withhold all

co-operation from them. Withdraw your children from schools which are instrumental only in fostering slavery and manufacturing clerks to serve Government. Otherwise, they will become so bad as to become ready even to act as spies against the country.

Referring to all the alleged repressive measures resorted to by the authorities in Malabar, the SHADESABHIMANI, of the 4th March, in a short note, writes:- It was quite improper on the part of the authorities to have ~~s~~ sacrificed the non-co-operators to the fire of their resentment. Even though their conscience did not prick them, they should at least have feared public censure. If the authorities do not care for public censure and work as if there is none to question them, even the really peace-loving people become helpless. Their actions themselves indicate that the authorities have no longer any scope to proclaim that they are lovers of independence, that they are discreet and that they do not attack others without strong reasons.

27. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 4th March, Observes:- The Indian Legislative Assembly. Local Legislative Council acted irresponsibly in connexion with the affair of Mr. Yakub Hasan at a time when its capacity was put to the test. Let us see how business is conducted in the Legislative Assembly. At a time when Action is being taken in many places in the country under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, those who profess to be representatives of Indians, instead of obstructing the Government by means of frequent resolutions and preventing their doing any other business until the repressive measures are put an end to, are busy with resolutions which can well afford to wait and which are calculated to render only a personal benefit.

Of course, the factories Bill of Sir Thomas Holland and the resolution of Mr. Joshi on the labour question are not like this. But for the present repression, these will certainly demand foremost attention. Sir Thomas Holland says that labourers in factories should not be worked for more than sixty hours a week. When the labourers in western countries are contending that they should not be asked to work for more than 36 or 42 hours in a week. It will not be the act of those interested in the well-being of the labourers here if, in a host country like ours, permission is granted to the employer to take work for sixty hours in a week, extending it up to noon every day. But we have forgotten that the labourers here are only Indians and that they have been created by God only to toil for the western capitalists, till their bodies waste away. The fate of Mr. Joshi's resolution also demonstrates the sympathy of the members for the labourers! Having witnessed all these things, can any Indian entertain the hope of deriving any benefit from these Councils?

32. Referring to the several cases in which action has

been taken against the
The non-co-operation movement. workers in the cause of
non-co-operation, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 3rd March, observes:-
It is not possible to detail all the high-handed acts of the
authorities in different places. But readers can easily
understand the situation when we say that the Government of
India and the Provincial Governments seem to be now inclined
to follow the same policy that they followed for two or
three years after 1905-06. During that period a political
spirit was found only in a few leaders and some students who
had understood the condition of the westerners by reading
English works. When the Government resorted to a despotic
sway in order to crush this spirit when it began to exhibit
itself, it spread among the other classes and also led the

students to take to violent ways, the direct method being blocked to them. The result was disturbances throughout the country, for nearly seven or eight years and schemes were hatched in different places, during the period of the war, even to rise against the Indian Government and establish SWARAJ. If the Government of India had learnt a lesson from all these incidents, they would not adopt the policy which they seem to be adopting now. At the present day, political spirit is not only more active than before but is also spreading among the masses, without being confined to the educated classes as of old. If this spirit is directed in such a manner as to be useful to India and England, it may help Englishmen and Indians to settle easily the mighty questions now on the anvil and restore peace in the world. But the Government of India, without realising the force extent or trend of this movement, are acting apparently under the impression that they can suppress the political aspirations of the Indians by an overdose of repression. It does not require any knowledge^{of} astrology to predict that a continuance of this policy will only lead to serious danger. As it is the spirit that prevailed fifteen years ago that became Violent on account of repression and resulted in rebellion, we are afraid that the present agitation will result in a more serious disturbance unless repressive measures are stopped immediately. As the non-co-operation movement is based on truth, equity and love, it will of its own accord do away with the causes of misunderstanding between Indians and Englishmen in this country and securing a permanent friendship between them, obtain real SWARAJ soon, if it is left to itself. But if it is blocked by the Government, riots and anarchic acts may appear in the country, as there is no other force which can direct the strong forces in the country in a proper course. Who can say what will happen thereafter,? We ask in all seriousness whether the authorities will realise hereafter

at least that repression is not the policy to be adopted in the case of this movement. We will assert that the peace wished for by all of us can be secured only by reining in the horse of repression immediately, consulting the true ~~pe~~-popular leaders about the situation in the country and granting the SWARAJ that they want.

33. The TAMIL NADU, of the 6th March, contains sentiments Lord Sinha's action. similar to those contained in article nO.25 on page 280 of Report No.10 of 1921.

34. Remarking that, even during the most stressful period of the war, countries India's military expenditure. unconnected with war would not have incurred such a heavy military expenditure for their defence as India is incurring now and that the army in India swallows one half of the revenues, the DESA-BHAKTAN, of the 3rd March, observes:- Is any great war anticipated in India next year or is India at present in the situation of Ireland? Even maintaining an army at such a huge cost, it appears that, in case there is ~~any~~ ^{no} internal trouble in India, troops should be expected only from the British Empire. So, India is unable to defend herself even after spending about 62 crores of rupees every year and we have repeatedly pointed out that the Government of India are responsible for such a situation. His tory bears testimony to the fact that, ever since the British set foot in India, they have been trying to stifle the manliness of the Indians in all possible ways. We have now been reduced to such a plight as to depend on foreign troops even for a petty disturbance. Our question is how far it is beneficial to the Indian taxpayer to spend three crores of rupees every year for the British occupation of Waziristan on the north-western frontier of India. It appears the cost of sending back to England at a

the cost of sending back to England at a short notice the British forces brought into India for some purpose will have to be borne by India. Thus it is plain that some troops now in England are paid from Indian revenues, though definite particulars are not available. We wish to know if this arrangement holds good if Indian troops are sent similarly to England and subsequently recalled to India. Will the charges be then met from the English revenues? Another reason advanced for the increased military expenditure is the creation of aerial forces in India. But if such forces are formed newly, it is the duty of the Government of India to effect a corresponding decrease in the military forces. But such a decreased does not appear to be under contemplation. In spite of this heavy expenditure, the condition of the Indian sepoy is as low as ever. We wish to urge in this connexion that the less the military expenditure in India the more advantageous will it be to her.

~~35.~~

35. . The DESABHAKTAN, of the 3rd March, publishes the proceedings of a public Congress propaganda work. meeting held at Namakkal on the 17th Febraury, in which Doctor Varadarajulu Naidu is reported to have delivered a speech condemning, in strong language, the justice of the British and their system of education; complaining of their ingratitude in having rewarded the sacrifices of the Indians in the war by the Rowlatt Act, remarking that they are negotiating with Kamal Pasha and others, since they see that they cannot succeed in their devices and exhorting the people not to co-operate with the Government unless they realise their mistakes and fall at the feet of the Congress.' He advocated the boycott of schools and foreign goods and accused the Government of acting on the policy of 'divide and rule.'

37. Remarking that an irresponsible administration and

The committee to consider repre-
ssive laws.

the liberty of the press
cannot stand together, the

SWADESAMITRAN, of the 5th March, writes:- It is not difficult to find out the reasons for the Government having accepted the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. V.S.Srinivasa Sastriyar in the Council of State regarding the repressive laws. Our leaders should not forget that the new policy of the English Officials is to try to decieve the people into believing that a responsible government has been granted to them, while it is not the case. Though the Government have made a pretension of accepting the lukewarm resolution of Mr. Sastriyar for the purpose of creating a wrong impression in the minds of the people about the reforms, we cannot confidently assent that they will ~~not~~ ^{never} give up their unjust powers, unless they are compelled to do so. There are many indications in the speech of Sir William himself to warrant this conclusion. He expects that the evidence to be given before the committee by the officials who applied the repressive laws will by itself make it clear that they did not apply them wrongly. So it is patent that the Government are appointing this committee more to strengthen their own position with reference to those laws than with an anxiety to get rid of them. Thus this committee cannot benefit the country. There is only one way of making the Government act as we like and that incessant agitation. An irresponsible foreign authority will be naturally afraid of public discontent. Autocrats will lose their courage at sight of a large massacre of people standing united and begin to tremble. They will, similarly, dance as they please irrespective of consequences until there is unity of opinion among a ruled race. Ever since the Press Act was passed, papers which expressed an independent view have died by hundreds and yet Sir William says th at it is this Act that has been applied very considerably by the authorities and that it is yielded very good results.

We would definitely want the Government that the land of Bharata will not put up with such 'considerate' acts for even a moment longer and that the condition of the authorities, which is already very irksome, will become more difficult unless the Press Act and other similar laws are repealed immediately. It is a great mistake to make enemies of the wise men in the country. The SHASTRAS have prescribed a very short life for a Government which has become bitter to the wise in a country.

39. Writing about the indirect help that is being rendered to the cause of 'non-co-operation' by the authorities The help rendered by the authorities. all over India, more especially in the district of Kerala, the ANDHRAPATRIKA of the 1st March, observes in its leader under this heading:- ... The Congress and Khilafat propaganda is progressing on an extensive scale in Kerala. ... The authorities deserved the gratitude of the people as they dispelled the fear of the people for prisons. We do not know how many more will be imprisoned, but the greater the number of persons thus imprisoned the more rapid will be the progress made by the movement. ... The District Magistrate of Malabar has not only awakened Kerala, but also the whole of the Madras Presidency and the new force ~~has~~ that has arisen among masses as a result of it are all the effects of the action of the authorities. They have also conferred one other benefit. As the present movement is only one of non-co-operation, the breaking of laws does not form a part of its programme. ~~The~~ *The* people cannot but be grateful to the authorities in Malabar for gradually training them to disobey repressive orders. If the same repressive policy is continued for some time more, and vow of non-violence is strictly observed by the people they may also be ready to disobey the repressive laws which Mr. Gandhi attempted some time ago. If the people, therefore,

wish to take advantage of the help that is being rendered by the authorities of Kerala, they must clearly note the importance of ~~the~~ adoption of the vow of non-violence. People are now growing bold, and they are also overcoming infatuation. What they have now to observe is non-violence. The more strictly it is observed the greater will be the enthusiasm created amongst the people; SWARAJ will be close by. The authorities cannot but be disgusted to find the movement unchecked in spite of all their repressive measures. They will surely find out that there is no other way to remove the unrest in the country, than by fulfilling the wishes of the people. The Viceroy agreed to this in theory. But the subordinate officers have not yet understood the new conditions. The O'Dwyer principles alone are their standard. They may soon discern the truth. When that time comes, SWARAJ will surely be attained and Khilafat problem solved before the end of October. The wish of "r. Gandhi cannot but be fulfilled.

40. Under this heading the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 1st

March, writes in a note:-

The way in which the Tramway strike came to an end.

The Tramwaymen's strike

began because of the dismissal of twelve of their men without cause and now it has ended in hundred men losing their appointments. That such should be the result of it, proves to be a great stain on the life of the citizens of Madras. The Calcutta Corporation took some interest in the matter of the Tramway men's strike there, and brought it to an end respectably. Neither the President nor the members of the Madras Corporation ~~xxxx~~ x interfered with the strike here. When the Tramway Company inconvenienced the people for a period of 45 days, the Corporation could have brought pressure to bear upon the company ~~cea~~ by asking them to renew work at an early date. If they had done so, the Company could have at least acted justly towards their employees. Otherwise some other company

~~xxxxxxxx~~ would have at least acted justly towards their employees. Otherwise some other company would have been vested with the control of this business. The Acts of the Labour Commissioner show great partiality to the employers and are not helpful to the labourers.} If the educated people had shown one-tenth of the spirit of determination shown by the Tramwayment, SWARAJ would have been attained by this time. .} Even though the employers have succeeded for the time being, the discontent of the labourers would be rankling in their minds. If their demands are not granted, a critical situation cannot but arise again some day. Whatever happened in the past, it is necessary that the employees should understand that, of all remedies available to them, the 'strike' should be the last to be resorted to.

48. The BALABHARATI, of the 25th February, says, under this heading, in its leader:-
SWARAJ.

The Indian National Congress had hitherto the support only of the educated classes and not that of the people at large. And so the endeavours of the Congress have not met with success. The Nagpur Congress has ceased to rely on the Parliament or the British public or the authorities for the attainment of SWARAJ and has resolved that the help of the thirty-three crores of the Indian population is necessary for it. SWARAJ cannot be given by others. The emancipation of any nation depends on its own efforts. If SWARAJ is the goal of the Indians, they must cease to look up to the Government for it and set to work in a spiritual of self-help. The educated classes, who are selfish and dishonest and are enamoured of the west, will not help the masses. The masses will have to lead them and remind them of their duty. The agriculturists, the artizans who suffer without food and clothing in consequence of their handicrafts having been ruined, and the traders who having

made over the prosperity of their country to foreigners, are now suffering poverty, have to open their eyes and take part in the new movement. Complete SWARAJ will be attained on the day on which the villagers will be able to administer their affairs through their associations. The attainment of SWARAJ will be made easy if Village, Taluk, District and Provincial Associations are regularly organised, with the National Congress at their head. Villagers! awake. ~~At~~ All this has to be done in two months. You will attain SWARAJ in eight months. If you remain indifferent, your country will go to ruins. O, Patriots! Turn your attention to the innocent villagers, and uplift them. You will then certainly gain SWARAJ.

53. Publishing in Telugu the article contributed by
Colonel Wedgwood to the
Transportation. DAILY HERALD regarding
the treatment of the transported prisoners in the Andamans,
the GODAVARIPATRIKA, of the 1st Febraury, remarks:- . . .
We shudder to believe that the cruel deeds enumerated therein
can take place at the present time in any part of the world.
Any person whosoever cannot but doubt whether such untoward
acts could have been perpetrated in a British province and
under the British rule. But we also ask why this may not be
true since we have seen with our own eyes a General Like
Dyer and a provincial head like Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The
Government of India can surely expel these doubts by publishing
the evidence and report of the committee appointed for the
purpose and if the above facts are true, remedy them im-
mediately.

58. [Writing in connexion with the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri's

Freedom or authority?

resolution in the Council
of State about the amendment

of the Criminal Procedure Code and other enactments, the ANDHRA-PATRIKA, of the 5th March, observes:- What the people chiefly require at the present time is the protection of their birthrights. They want freedom of speech. They want freedom of writing. They want freedom of the body as well as of the soul. So long as they do not possess them, the Reforms will look like ornaments adorning a corpse. The various repressive laws now in force in the country have arrested the freedom of the people on all directions. The Indian cannot go wherever he likes. He cannot speak out what he has in his mind. He cannot freely write about the popular wishes. When the freedom of men like Mr. C.R.Das is being obstructed, what can be said of other people. How can Indian nationality develop amid such impediments? All the obstructions in the way of a healthy growth of freedom in the country must disappear. Can the new Reform Act remove them all? That it cannot do so, is clear from the repression that is made use of ~~use of~~ freely even under the new state of affairs. India must therefore use all its strength to attain that freedom. Unless she does so, she cannot successfully discharge her own DHARMA. Mr. Sastri introduced a resolution to amend the Criminal Procedure Code so as to protect the innocent people from falling victims to gunshots. . . . The Commander-in-chief said that the determination of the moment when muskets should be used must be left to the discretion of the military authorities. Finally his resolution was defeated, except Parts V and VI (about taking precaution in using firearms) which are already found in the Police rules. Even though these rules are there, the police and the military have not been properly observing them till now. There is no use therefore in these rules being again introduced.

The most important motions have been thrown out. It has become clear that the attainment of freedom through the Legislative Councils is an impossible thing. The Indians must leave off such useless ways, and concentrate all their energy on the attainment of SWARAJ.

62. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 10th March, in the course of an English article under this head-line, writes:-
The Maharaja of Kolhapur.

... We do not see the relation between the rabid speeches of Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, etc., and the religious bureaucracy of the Brahmans. Neither Gandhi nor his party are Brahmans. They constitute an Indian party with no distinction whatever between Brahmans and non-Brahmans. The Maharaja of Kolhapur wants the non-Brahman party to put down even the non-violent non-co-operation of Gandhi. We do not know whether the Government of India will listen to the anti-Brahman siren songs of this Maharaja to subsidise influential and loyal newspapers. We are not sure that the influential and loyal newspapers would allow themselves to be purchased. Neither do we believe that the Government of India would think it worth while to constitute a non-Brahman party pledged to fight the religious bureaucracy of the Brahmans, seeing that such a non-Brahman party would be of little or no use whatever to stem the tide of non-violent non-co-operation, in the success of which the whole of India, moderate as well as extremist, is sincerely interested. The moderates are extremists at heart. It has been well said that if a moderate is scratched, he would turn out a downright extremist.

"The Maharaja of Kolhapur has, however, suggested a plan to smash non-violent non-co-operation. It is one beset with danger. If it succeeds, if the Government of India and the Rulers of the Indian States earnestly use all their military and Police force to put down Gandhi and his fellow non-

co-operators, if the military and the police do not, at the twelfth hour, become themselves non-co-operators, laying down their arms and thinking it better to die than to kill their fellow-creatures, then it is possible to put down ~~even~~ non-violent non-co-operation. If even the military and the police become non-co-operators, then the Government of India and the Governments of Indian States will have to face a situation which cannot but shake even the steel nerves of Anglo-Indian autocrats and the autocrat of Kolhapur. It is, however, a suggestion which has come from the decendent of Sivaji. We leave the adoption of the suggestion to the Government of India. If Lord Reading approves of this suggestion, if his experienced Ministers of the Government of India see nothing wrong in the adoption of this suggestion, let them appoint the Maharaja of Kolhapur to carry out his suggestions and give him all material and moral support. Let him be given a CARTE BLANCHE to create non-Brahman party pledged to fight the religious bureaucracy of the Brahmins. Let him be permitted to give a bad name to the Brahmins, call them the authors of non-co operation and hang them.

"If the Government of India is of opinion that the world is godless, that there is no unseen power which shapes the destinies of individuals as well as of empires, let the suggestion of the Maharaja of Kolhapur be given a trial and let the military and the police be set on motion to make short work of Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Muhammad Ali and hosts of non-co-operators associated with them. The experiment will surely prove whether unsober men can stem the irresistible tide of justice, fair-play and righteousness.

63. Criticising the speech delivered by the Viceroy at the Calcutta Club as but supporting the policy of taking strong action that has all along marked his speeches delivered in this country, the SWADESHABHIMANI, of the 4th March, in a leading article under this heading, observes:--The Viceroy is no doubt very angry for the appellation 'satanic form of Government' given to his Govern

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ment given to his Government. But who will willingly accept the principle underlying the one-sided policy of expecting loyalty and reverence from the people without at the same time fulfilling their cherished wishes in this age of self-determination? Lord Chelmsford expects all powers to be vested in the hands of the Viceroy. But is he justified in asking for it when it is admitted that the administration is to be carried on by granting SWARAJ to the people? Styling the Indian Government 'satanit', applies, in the opinion of the Viceroy, to the Indians also, carried on as the Government is jointly with the Indians. To a superficial observer, this remark of the Viceroy might look look specious; but deeper consideration will enable him to realize that the diarchy effected in the Provincial Governments or the entry of Indians in the Viceregal Cabinet is only a myth. Recent events clearly indicate that the autocracy of the authorities has not abated even a jot. . . It is impossible to learn swimming without getting into water--says the Viceroy. This, no doubt, is a nice argument; but we say that it is quite impossible to swim where there is no water at all. . . The Viceroy said that the non-co-operation movement had been waning day by day. But does he expect the whole of India to accept non-co-operation in the course of a day or two? To a man who has got some love for independence and a sense of dignity and who always keeps the welfare of the country at heart, it will suffice if even a handful of people accept non-co-operation.

65. The KANTHIRAVA, of the 8th March, in a short note under

this heading, observes:--The

The breach of the peace in Kerala

Government which had all along

not taken any steps to reform the Muhammadans of Malabar by imparting them education and such other facilities of the expensiveness thereof but were only teaching them to be of good behaviour by the use of fire-arms on some pretext or other, have at last thought fit to establish peace in that district by imprisoning

Mr. Yakub Hasan and some te others. But what is the outcome? There has been no real peace. When peace was being established in one part of the land, there has ensued a terrible breach of the peace in some other part, viz., Trichur, There is not knowing what terrible punishments would have been meted out to the non-co-operators and the Khilafat people if only they had taken part in it. Fortunately for them, the so-called co-operating and loyal Christians too have been incriminated in this affair and have committed innumerable atrocities. We wait to see how the Cochin Darbar will act in this matter.

66. One Kannanthodath Velayudha Menon, writing in the

BHAJEEKERALAM OF the 19th

Non-co-operation -- appeal to
KERALA STUDENTS.

Febrary, appeals to students of

Kerala to join the non-co-operation movement. He says that " 'a complete national strike' with the present Government will take place, the last stage of which will be the refusal to pay taxes. Unless the British Government pacifies us by discharging their duty conscientiously and justly we for our part shall have to do certain things for the maintenance of truth, justice and peace and for the safeguarding of (our) freedom, self-respect and manliness. We are now beginning to make the necessary preparations for that time. If that time comes, policemen should lay down their batons, soldiers should return their arms and uniforms, Government officials -- clerks -- should put down ~~xxx xax~~ their pen, vakils should make up their minds to stop practice and landlords should pay taxes. When it comes to this, the strike will be complete. If the Government drives us to this last stage, even then, we should try to preserve peace in the land." "Ere long we shall succeed and our slavery and the westerners' contempt will both abate."

67. Writing about the unrest in Malabar, the MITAVADI,
of the 21st February, says:-
Unrest in Malabar.

"The question now is -- were
the authorities justified in dispersing mobs, prohibiting meetings
and making military and police demonstrations? We unhesitatingly
say, Yes.

* * * * *

"The Impartial observer must admit that but for the
courageous, tactful and clever handling of the situation by
the Magisterial and Police authorities, the roads would have
been painted red."

Referring to the unrest in Malabar, the KERALA CHANDRIKA,
of the 7th March, Says:- There
Unrest in Malabar.

are indications to show that
the policy of repression adopted by the Government with a view
to prevent the Khilafat and non-co-operation propaganda and
to compel the people to yield to the commands of the Government,
will lead non-violent non-co-operation into anarchism. Four
more Muslim leaders have been imprisoned while still the news
of this illegal imprisonment of Yakub Hasan and party has been
causing intense grief to the people. Such repressive
measures will never uproot the non-co-operation movement.

The atrocities committed by the Government will only make the
Muslims more valiant and reduce their respect for the Government.
The Muslims and Hindus will never yield to an autocratic Govern-
ment however long they themselves may be detained in Jail.

Writing on the same subject, the LOKAPRAKASAM, of the
7th March, condemns the action of the district Magistrate of
Malabar, because the leaders gave no room for the provocation
and the Magistrate's highhandedness is likely to run counter
to the chance there was of a Hindu-Muslim unity preventing even
the occasional Moplah riots in Ernad and Walluvanad. If the
Magistrate pretends that it was done for the good of the people

and the Government supports the action, it will after all turn out for evil.

69. Referring to the insistence by the authorities in many places on leaders of Repression by authorities. people giving security for good conduct even in the total absence, of any ~~provocation~~ ^{provocation} from the leaders or the people, and to the readiness of the leaders to go to goal, the KERALA SANCHARI, of the 2nd March points out that this state of affairs has led to an unusual increase of restlessness among the people. It also refers to the speeches recently delivered by several legal experts at public meeting in Madras denouncing as unjust such action taken by the authorities, and asks:- If, in these circumstances, those that have already gone or or have decided to go, to gaol, do not even prefer an appeal who is there to establish that the arrangements adopted by the authorities for stopping Khilafat and non-co-operation agitation and the punishments inflicted by them are illegal? If they are illegal, ~~who~~ ^{is} it that should release those that ~~have~~ been imprisoned? What will be the consequences if the illegality of these steps is not established and those punished are not released for gaols? It is absolutely necessary that the Government should lose no time to consider the questions and to do the needful.

70. In an article under the heading 'non-co-operation and Government' published in Non-co-operation and Government. the KERALA SANCHARI, of the 2nd March, and in the SAMADARSI, of the 4th March, a correspondent points out that the Government have ~~begin~~ ^{begun} to take repressive measures against the movement because the moderates did not ~~succeed~~ ^{succeed} to check its ~~xxx~~ progress, and that the application of repressive measures towards leaders of the people will lead

to increased agitation and to all the consequent troubles as in the Punjab, and suggests:- What the Government should do is not to increase the unrest in the country by allowing the officials to persecute the leaders of the people as they like. They should inquire into the root cause of the present unrest in the country, immediately redress the grievances of the people agreeably to their wishes, and restore the confidence of the people in British justice. Then there will be peace and tranquility.

71. In a further article under the heading "the real great

political agitation in India

The great political agitation in India and non-co-operation.

and non-co-operation" published

in the MUSLIM, of the 5th March, one Mr. A. Ahmed Kunju points out that the object of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement is to secure to India such self-government as will prevent for ever the recurrence of the present hardships which India suffers on account of British Misgovernment, and observes that the life of the movement lies in the peacefulness with which it compels the rulers to lay down their arms. He then tries to refute the contention of the propagandists of co-operation that it is impossible to gain the object of non-co-operation, and that even if the movement should meet with success the Government thus established will not be free from evils, and observes that if the Indians should carry on the non-co-operation movement peacefully and unanimously, the present administration will come to a standstill and its machinery will fall to pieces thus affording Indians an opportunity to readjust it according to their own will.

76. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 18th February has a

letter from "Moulavi Ahmad

Moulana Hafiz Khan Ahmad Raza Khan Sahib's final statement.

Mukhtar Sahib Siddiqui of

Bombay refuting the false reports that are afloat against the marginally-noted gentleman with regard to the Khilafat

question, ~~repl~~- opines:- In the present circumstances I consider that Indian Muhammadans are strictly prohibited from waging a jihad (a religious war) and that agitators are the ill-wishers of Muhammadans. They must, however, understand what is best in its kind for them, but I for one cannot draw the sword. However, I am doing all that I can, i.e., I pray for Islam and Muslims.

77. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 1st March, referring to the Imprisonment of four Moplahs
Another paw. Four Moplahs in Jail. by the Collector of Malabar,
remarks:- It seems that the fearful gate of terror and awe has been opened and the servants of the Khilafat are being arrested on some pretext or other. If the intention of the authorities in making arrests is to terrorise the people with the word prison, and to crush their independent spirit, we warn the Government that prisons will become our homes and vice versa.

The HIMAYET, of the 26th Febraury, publishes a cartoon entitled the non-co-operation boat rowed by the Ali-Brothers in the sea of strife, and prays that God may guard and guide it to the shore of union.

AN APPEAL TO THE NATION.

The writer appeals to the nation to unite and explain to the British Cabinet that they do not want the lost kingdom of Spain or Swaraj for India, but rather desire the independence of the Holy places and the Khalifa and urge Muslims high officials to vigorously support the cause of the Holy Places by assisting the national leaders.

A PRECAUTIONARY MEASURE.

The writer questioning the wisdom of the collector of Malabar in imprisoning Mr. Yakub Hasan says that this instead of diminishing the number of non-co-operators will increase it.

GOD IS THE GREATEST.

THE PATRIOT YAKUB HASAN.

The writer in bold letters deploras at length the ~~inexamination~~ incarceration of Mr. Yakub Hasan and refers to the Muslim deputation recently sent to appear before the Peace Conference in London, and says that it is not the desire of Mussalmans that the Allies should by partitioning the neighbouring kingdoms enrich Turkey. They do not desire that Greece should be weakened, and Turkey strengthened. They only wish and request that Turkish territories may not be handed over to Greece, that France and Britain may with draw from Syria and Mesopotamis, respectively, and the suzeriannty and the mandate of the Khalifa over the Holy Places may not be taken away. Like France and Italy the British Government also will find some means to satisfy the Mussalmans.

We are quite sure that if the British Government will not be evasive or make excuses, but will take advantage of this last opportunity and have regard for Muslim hopes, then we, Mussalmans, in return for the justice done to us, will heart and soul co-operate in supporting the Government ~~wilk~~ of India for ever.

78. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 26th Febraury, in a leader on this subject writes:- It is exceedingly regrettable The situation in Malabar. to find that the Collector of Malabar, has, up to the present, expressed neither regret nor remorse at his action and that the Government of India have failed to realise the selfish and high-handed aim of the Collector. We assure the Government that we feel no grief whatever be the cause of the imprisonment of four of our friends. We think that each and every city and town is prepared to contribute its quota in men from our community if the Government wish to increase the bulk of the jail population. The Community does not desire that flattery and supplication should

be the means of releasing its leaders. The reason which Mr. Thomas has assigned for arresting and imprisoning our national leaders, is that the Moplahs are possessed with the Jinna of fanaticism and it is feared that they will cause a riot. But we consider that the latter have convinced Mr. Thomas that they are endowed with religious fanaticism but ~~not~~ with political mania. Mr. Thomas, with his political ~~h~~ mania collected arms, ammunitions and police, whereas the Moplahs supposed religious fanaticism is better, purer, and grander than Mr. Thomas's actual political mania.

We consider that if the Government of Madras ~~desire~~ a casual opportunity for giving proof of their bona fides they can find no better. But the Government are still silent, and are delaying the release of the prisoners. The Government of Madras can understand that the Collector's Whims and fancies have been futile and his suspicions and apprehensions have proved to be baseless and unreasonable. We now ask if this ~~is~~ not imperial obstinacy to decline to the proof of the national innocence and good intentions, on the part of the leaders. If the object of the Government in sending Mr. Yakub Hasan to Jail, is really to prevent him from proceeding to London with the Khilafat Deputation, it is a different matter otherwise the nation cannot ignore the action of such a Government that sacrifices the interest of all India in safeguarding the interest of a district.

The writer referring to the resignation of the Municipal Chairman and to the dissatisfaction expressed by the municipal Council at the incarceration of national leaders and to their fixing of a day for a general strike by the people of the South, asks whether the Government cannot understand that it is increasing the nation's indignation and anger by keeping the leaders in prison, and moreover interfering with the work of the Khilafat deputation.

82. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 22nd February, appre-

ciating the view of the British

SWARAJ has nothing to do with the demands of Indian Mussalmans. Government in sending non-official Muhammadan members, viz., the Agha Khan, Doctor Ansari and Mr. Saiyed Hasan Imam to the near East conference to be held in Europe, to represent Muslim demands regarding the Turkish treaty and, criticising Mr. Muhammad Ali's suggestion to Muhammadans on his return from England that they should make wholehearted endeavour to gain SWARAJ and leave the Khilafat question entirely to God, observes that if the Turkish peace treaty is modified at the Near East Conference and the non-Muslim mandate removed from the Holy places, Indian Muhammadans will have no complaint against Britain.

85. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 5th March referring to the

deficite of Rs.18½ crores

Where will the money come from?

shown in the recent budget,

blames the members of the Council for permitting the Government to fill the exchequer with public money, the Government for framing laws with the approval of the Council, increasing the income-tax, post cards and stamps, and asks where will this money go to. It goes to the Government exchequer to pay the high salaries of Governors, Collectors, Magistrates, the expenses of maintaining a white army and artillery, and for the Nilgiris and Simla exoduses, the balance meeting the salaries of other Government servants.

The writer, concurring in the ~~xx~~ Late Mr. Gokhale's views on the Budget of 1906, expressed in the Imperial Council, remarks that in fact the budget has enslaved India, and unless we get control of the purse we cannot attain freedom. Further he says the reason for the deficit in the present budget is the maintenance of a large army which is not intended either to conquer or annex any fresh territory to India, and to the creation of the new ministries, the appointment of additional

members of Councils, and to their travelling expenses, etc, and remarks that it was due to this alone that non-co-operators protested against voting.

III. LEGISLATION.

88. The KERALA SANCHARI, of the 2nd March, points out

The Press Act.

that it is extremely regrettable if the Government do not

realise as yet that if the Press Act is allowed to remain in its present form, it will not only be a great check on the freedom which the people should enjoy under British administration but that it will also be a stain on pure British justice and British administration, particularly if the Government do not consider about the matter at least at this ~~me~~ time of the introduction of the reforms. It further observes that the people will not be satisfied with anything less than a complete repeal of this Act, which during the last 11 years has worked havoc on the freedom of the Press and the liberties of the people.

The MODERATE ADVOCATE, of the 14th ~~xxxx~~ February, makes similar remarks.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 5th March, makes similar remarks.

IV. NATIVE STATES:³

89. In a leader under this heading, the DESABHAKTAN, of

Faudatory States.

the 2nd March, writes:- In fact all the States including

Napal are subordinate to the small English race and it is impossible for these faudator chiefs to cross the wishes of the English Ministers even in trivial matters. The majority of them prefer to lead a life of inglorious ease coveting the insincere praises which the British Public, and occasionally even British Press and Ministers, are pleased to bestow on them. This Makes them incur the displeasure of their subjects and

How and engross all their attention on humouring their British Residents. Some of the subjects of these States, losing their attachment for their chiefs, are anxious to become British subjects. How can they know that it will only be a move for the frying pan into the fire? We are ashamed to see that the misery suffered by them under Native chiefs is such as to make them wish to court even British citizenship. The subjects of the Nizam have a long tale of woe to narrate about the cruelties perpetrated therein. One of such atrocities is that Mr. Raja, a resident of that State, has been imprisoned without an open trial for having contributed an article to the HINDU entitle 'Dyerism in Hyderabad.' If a Government instead of taking steps to find out the truth/ of any criticism levelled at it and remove the defects pointed out, imprisons the person who lays bare such defects, when is it to improve? Further, Mr. Raja is a British subject. There is no indication whatever of the British Government having till now raised any manner of objection to a subject of theirs being kept in prison in a Native State. Let us see what the Government and the Legislative Council are going to do at least after the news has been published in our paper. In the South, the Raja of Pudukkottai has passed an order of externment on Mr. Satyamurti. What are we to say about the sagacity and statesmanship of the Raja, who, without being pleased with Mr. Satyamurti for having acquainted him with a matter which has been in the minds of the residents of Pudukkottai and others and which they have been speaking about in secret, has banished him from his State? We ask what the Government of India have done in respect of Mr. Satyamurti. Neither Mr. Satyamurti nor ourselves will ever seek any remedy for this at their hands. But what is their duty? If they keep quiet when a feudatory State passes an order of externment on one of their subjects, they will surely lose their self-respect. When the members of a race that waged a war sacrificing twenty crores of pounds and twenty thousand lives, because certain political privileges were denied to their countrymen by the Boers, fail to

to take steps to prevent the hardships inflicted on Messrs. Satyamurti and Raja by certain feudatory States, it is clear what value they attach to Indians. Let those who oppose non-co-operation realize their duty at least from this.

90. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 8th March, in an English

The disorder in Trichur.

article under this heading,

writes:-"As soon as the

Duke of Connaught turned his back on India, an era of repression has commenced. Efforts are being made to make it impossible for non-co-operationists to stick to their policy of non-violent non-co-operation. The Trichur disorders illustrate this point.

"We see ~~at~~ Trichur that Christians, Thiyas and others are arrayed against Hindus and Muslims. There are people who go to the extent of stating that Hindus and Muslims set fire to their own houses, reduced their property to ashes in order to show to the public that it is the Christians and their friends that set fire to them.

"This is manifestly opposed to the laws of human nature, and it is a pity that those who created these fables and those who inspire them do not see that manifest absurdity of such fabrications. The most infernal instincts of human nature are roused and they are made to serve the purpose of 'Divide and rule'. It is international and inter-racial jealousies that converted the blessed countries of Europe, countries which used to flow with milk and honey, into so many dreadful cemeteries. If coming events cast their shadows before, we see in the fanatical lava that has begun to flow in different parts of India the indications of ~~the~~ a coming storm which will convert the whole of India into the theatre of civil war. What a pity that the land of SANTI where Buddha taught AHIMSA, where Christ learnt the philosophy of returning good for evil, should be converted into a land where the philosophy of a kick for a kiss is to predominate? It is now time for Gandhi and his

and his friends of non-violent non-co-operation to discover a specific for this most infernal political disease. We hope that Lord Reading who will shortly be in India will prove a good representative of Christ and that he will leave no stone unturned to see that the non-violent gospel of Jesus Christ will reign supreme all over India.

For the week ending 19th March 1921.

No.12 of 1921.

English Papers.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. The HINDU, of the 18th March, writes:- With the meagre~~d~~ summary we have received of the recommendations of the South African Commission, it is not possible to examine the position in all its bearings. But the information available leads to only one conclusion -- that the Commission's report is disappointing from the Indian point of view. The proposals do not make the Indian position any the ^{more} comfortable or free from the prospect of fresh attack. The commission is said to have found that the so-called menace of Asiatic inundation is much exaggerated and that the whites have little reason to fear being swamped. This amounts to an admission that all the fierce agitation of the Europeans has not even the justification of a defensive safeguard. The howl against the Asiatic is due, as we have always seen, to nothing else than hatred and jealousy raising from a perception of the value of gold and of the white skin. The commission, however, does not on this account order the howlers right about turn, but pacifies them by suggesting a method of strangling the Indian with a soft gloved, grip. Repatriation and segregation are, in the eyes of the Commission, sound remedies for which the law of self-interest supplies the

sanctity of principles; but the Commission is anxious that the word compulsion be deleted from all proceedings to be taken. A system of guarded voluntarism should be worked through the municipalities, which will be given the right to lay out residential areas for Asiatics and to devise means of gradually wheedling the coloured traders into specially selected localities.

... The slobbering sermon on voluntarism does not provide a new ~~association~~ ^{action}, but disguises ^{an} insidious method; and this being the general aspect, it were idle to complain that the Commission had made an exception to its own proposals by advocating plain segregation in Natal. It were as useless, again, to regret that the Commission does not recommend the abolition of the Gold Law and the Union Act or any of the laws that hit the Indian."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

5. The JAGAPATI, of the 18th Febraury, refers to the disabilities of the Indians in Fiji; in Fiji, which have necessitated them to leave that Island and come back to India, and regrets that neither the Government of India nor the Government of England have sympathised with them or take any steps to remedy the evil. One of the reasons why the Indians in Fiji have determined to leave it is, the paper says, that attempts were made to send some of them to British Guiana. The paper asks:—"What can be said of civilised Governments who send men from one country to another like beasts for coolie? What answer will the British Government, who boast of having abolished slave trade, give to this? Should the Indians keep idle like slaves when such dishonour is done (to Indians in other countries)?" It exclaims "Oh! What a fall, mother India!"

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(d) Education.

17. The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 17thth March, in a communicated English article under the heading, writes:- " ...

The Boycott of schools.

If students set their faces against badges of mental and moral slavery, if they wish to become martyrs and Simon De Montforts for the future constitutional Government of India, why should Paranjpe or any body grudge ^{them} the honour of self-sacrifice and martyrdom? Mr. Paranjpe knows full well that the students of the present day, students who have given up schools and colleges are no longer students, they are patriots, they are Jesus Christs, they are Muhammads; they are ACHARYAPURUSHAS; they are resolved upon trampling under foot all worldly comforts. They have broken asunder all worldly bonds. They do not care ^{for} their self interested parents and elders. They do not care for their self interested Government. They are prepared to wear fetters and manacles. They are prepared to live in gaols and in the Andamans. They are prepared to be crucified, if necessary; they are prepared to do all these things not only to force an honourable settlement of the Khilafat, not only to attain SWARAJ but also to teach the British and other "emperors of the world that there is some unseen power that guides the destinies not only of subjects but also of those who are called upon to bear rule over them and that all sovereigns and subjects are alike accountable for their evil thoughts, words and deeds. ...

... Paranjpe may be older than the students in age and in a craving for material advancement. But where is he when compared with them in lofty self-denial, ^{self-denial} self-denial which bears a happy comparison with those of DADHICHI, ^{willforce} ~~willforce~~ and the hosts of martyrs who have made the world what it is, a heaven on earth though surrounded by hell. It is a pity that a great and good teacher like Mr. Paranjpe, a great and good

patriot who spurned power and pelf in the heyday of his success in the ~~examination~~, has shown all the signs of senility when ~~still~~ in the meridian of his physique and intellectuality."

(k) General.

22. The TAMIL NADU, of the 6th March, reiterates its cry

Signs of repression.

against the Punjab atrocities and
the Khilafat injustice
and its warning that repression

will lead to serious consequences and, taking exception to the conduct of the District Magistrate of Malabar, in having sentenced Mr. Yakub Hasan and others to imprisonment, remarks:- We would warn His Excellency Lord Willingdon that, if he resorts to repression in this Province, acting on the words of the JUSTICE party led by Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar, he will share the fate of one who got into a river relying upon a mud horse. Leaving this alone, the sound of the Bell is heard and the elephant is sure to come. Many true patriots will have to go to jail. They should be prepared for it.

23. Remarking that though publicity Bureaus have been

Propaganda work on behalf of the Government. established with the object of publishing impartially

all matter useful for the people of the country and include Indians also, the Indian members of these Bureaus are, with very few exceptions only such as will blindly accept the views of the Government without any contradiction and these Bureaus have been only carrying on propaganda work on behalf of the bureaucracy under its control, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 8th March, observes:- The Madras Publicity Bureau carried on propaganda work against the Congress and Khilafat propaganda. It evinced great enthusiasm in ~~inducing~~ inducing people to exercise their franchise in the elections and in fact their interest in this work was so great that they even committed certain errors in publishing the results. We are also aware of the 'interest' they evinced in the matter of

persuading the public to enjoy the procession of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and we wonder whether such an interest would have been evinded by any Government in the world. It is manifest that the official propagandists are giving disorted and exaggerated accounts of matters concerning the situation in the country and the nature of the administration. There is a vast difference among the bureaucrats, the moderates and the nationalists in their interpretation of laws like the Reforms Act and the Rowlatt Act and of many important matters now engaging the attantion of the public and the uneducated public get dec~~l~~ived by these different interpretations. So the Congress men should carry on their ^fpropaganda work with increased vigour. They have now no time to lose as the authori~~x~~ties have started an anti-propagandist campaign and can use their influence to strengthen their cause.

24. Referring to the communication published in the A

Fear of Mr. Gandhi.

AMRITA BAZAAR PATRIKA that,
in Jubbulpore, a band of

youths, who were going along the public street loudly proclaiming MAHATMA GANDHI KI JAI, were stopped by a European passer-by and whipped, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 8th March, says:- It is really high-handed to whip Indian Youths for uttering the name of Mr~~r~~ Gandhi, the emboddiment of goodness. We cannot pull on even for a moment hereafter without SWARAJ. The attempt of Europeans that are terrified by the name of Mr. Gandhi, to wreak their vengeance by whipping youths only betrays their cowardice.

The BHAJEKERALAM, of the 12th March, contains similar sentiments and advises Government to punish such people.

26. Remarking that the expectation of those who had a

The effect of the new reforms. real insight into the spirit of
the reforms, the~~y~~ they will

lead to the increase of taxation, has after all come to pass,

the NAVASAKTI, of the 4th March, refers to the disinclination of the authorities to reduce either the military expenditure or the salaries of the higher services so as to avoid fresh taxation and to the directions in which the prices of post cards and envelopes and the duties of certain articles are proposed to be increased now and observes:- Of all the proposals it is the doubling of the existing price of post cards and envelopes that will affect the public and the Press most and it can be compared to daylight robbery. There is no doubt that the new taxation will create ~~a~~ discontent in the country which will, in its turn, promote the desire for SWARAJ. Let our friends realise that the greater the hardships the country is put to the greater the success for the non-co-operation movement. It is certain that the public will not be benefited by the new reforms. The evils expected from them were pointed out clearly by the nationalists and they are sure to occur one by one and convert the people to nationalism.

27. Referring to the speech delivered by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught on the Duke's speech at Bombay; the eve of his departure to England, the NAVASAKTI, of the 4th March, writes:- The Duke has in a way stated that he was not a tool in the hands of the bureaucracy during his stay in India and that he has made a personal study of all questions. If so, he would have carefully noted the repressive policy of the bureaucrats and the force of the non-co-operation movement. Will his noting them result in any benefit? Will he acquaint the British Ministers with the real state of affairs in India and do the needful? The Duke spoke very appreciatively of the reformed Councils and remarked that on them depended the future prosperity of India. When repressive laws and bureaucratic system of administration have not yet come to an end, how can the future be bright? India has been feeling miserable ever since the advent

of the reforms. We appreciate the stress laid by the Duke on the importance of union and love between England and India. The fate of India is in the hands of England. India gets reforms in accordance with the wishes of the Parliament and the administration is not conducted in India as the Indians like. When there is no liberty of speech and writing in India, how can there be an intertwining of love? India has conscientiously discharged her duty. She will shape her future only on the policy now adopted by England. The duty of retaining India within the Empire rests only on England, and not on India.

29. Referring to the news published in the BENGALÉE THAT

The Imperial Conference. Hon'ble Mr. V.S.Srinivasa Sastriyar is to be appointed

by Lord Chelmsford as India's representative in the ensuing Imperial Conference at London, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 9th March, observes:- We presume that Lord Chelmsford's object in making this appointment is only to create an impression among the Indians that he has sent the true representative of India to the Imperial Conference. We do not know how far this rumour is true. But should it be true, we wish to urge on the Government strongly that the Hon'ble Mr. Sastriyar is the least fitted to be called India's representative. To call one who was publicly defied the Congress India's representative is tantamount to calling Von Simons a representative of England.

The HINDU NESAN, of the 10th March, approves, of the appointment, and, remarking that it is but natural that the nationalists should find fault with this choice, adds that every one knows about the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri's deep experience and calm judgment in political matters and his ability to understand the situation correctly and explain the same to the authorities.

30. Remarking that the officials are preaching one thing and acting differently and Repression and how to end it. ~~xx~~ and referring to the 'repressive policy' adopted by the Heads of different Provinces, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 10th March, observes:- Even this Presidency does not lag behind in this respect and Lord Willingdon evidently wishes to win the prize in the race of repression. The JUSTICE party headed by Sir P. Theagaraya Chettiyar, who are influential in the Legislative Council, offer a strong support to him and the speeches of Mr. Chettiyar and his party during the discussion in the Council about the imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hasan and others bear ample testimony to this. Even the moderates in the country will render great service to the Government in putting down the non-co-operation movement. A new party, which has now come up to oppose the non-co-operation movement, included the Rajas of Kolhapur and Pudukkottai and others. Under these circumstances, those that have started a legitimate and passive struggle for the acquisition of SWARAJ should realize their duty clearly. As long as their war is one of non-violence, they need fear nothing. A righteous war will surely win even if the whole world should be the opponent. A huge amount ~~z~~ should be collected for the SWARAJ fund so as to stagger the authorities, who are intent on repression. This is the only way to terminate the repressive policy.

31. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 10th March, writes:- It may be remarked that the rage Non-co-operation and the {whites' of the whites in India is increasing in proportion to the progress of non-co-operation movement. We are surprised to see the order of the District Magistrate of Lucknow in regard to Srimati Satyavati Devi, Prohibiting her from speaking even on female education. If ~~z~~ twentieth century, we cannot convince the authorities use their power even against women in this ~~x~~ ~~x~~conceive of anything worse than that.

32. Referring to the material advantages derived by many

The Moderates. moderates from the reforms
and remarking that several

retired officials among them have been appointed Presidents and Deputy Presidents of Legislative Councils, that some of them have been made Ministers and that these have practically sacrificed the country's interests by selfishly siding with the Bureaucrats, the LOKOPAKARI, of the 10th February, points to the hope of these moderates that the repressive laws would be repealed during the inauguration of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi having become frustrated and observes:- Though the Royal Message communicated by the Duke of Connaught is couched in sweet language, it is devoid of features that will confer liberty on India. This is again a great blow to the moderates. Public opinion is that the Duke visited India only to waste India's money for inaugurating a system of administration, devoid of any power of influence.

33. Remarking that the ~~XXXXXXX~~ provocation of the Sikhs

The Nankahana Massacre. against the Government officials
has grown high on account

of Nankhana Massacre, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 10th March, says:- It appears many Sikhs, forming themselves into bands, are roaming about with axes in hand .. We hope that, in view to prevent disturbances among them the authorities will inquire into their grievances and mete out complete justice to them. The best way for the Government to remove the discontent likely to have been caused by the actions of their own servants, is to visit them with proper punishment.

39. The TAMIL NADU, of the 6th March, publishes the

The present situation. substance of a lecture said to have been delivered by

Mr. C. Rajagopala Achariyar in Telligherry, in which he has demned the action of the District Magistrate of Malabar in regard of Mr. Yakub Hasan and others and, exhorting the people to boycott courts and Government schools, remarked:- We had SWARAJ for ten thousand years before the British came to India. Hereafter you should consider only the Congress to be the Government and give your men and money to it; for the Government of the Congress has been established not by force but by your consent.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 8th and 9th March, publish the proceedings of a public meeting held on the 27th Febraury, at Coimbatore, in which several speakers are said to have taken part. Mr. Bhupati Palaniappa Nayakar in appreciating the sacrifice of Mr. Yakub Hasan and others is reported to have remarked that it was cruel on the part of one race to keep another under subjection and that the liberty and self-respect of this country and its affluence which have been lost as a result of the undesirable administration of the foreign rulers, would be restored only if SWARAJ was obtained and that it could be obtained if the people not to help in the unjust enforcement of laws against those who serve the country in accordance with the mandate of the Congress.

The DESABHAKTAN, of the 9th March, also publishes a lecture delivered by Mr. V.V.S. Ayyar at Kumbakonam on the 5th idem in which he has made the following observations among others:- Repression has now begun and will grow stronger. Whenever the Government like , they can arrest and imprison in individual. This makes it clear that we have no liberty. If we had liberty, could Mr. Yakub Hasan and others have been sent to prison, and could prohibitory orders have been passed against Mr. Das and others? Does not this show that we like like slaves and ~~any~~ any one like such a life? We should give up altogether

co-operating with a Government that afflicts us in several ways. If, this does not avail us, we can achieve our object by refusing to pay taxes ~~xxxx~~ which is the last step according to the mandate of the Congress. They are trying to deceive us by levying taxes on such things as tobacco, match boxes and cloths. In a country enshrouded in darkness, there is a tax on a match box which gives light! This is perhaps a sign of the times. Every one should therefore render as much sacrifice as possible and, relieving the misery of our Mother, have the pleasure of crowning her.

43. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 11th and 14th March, publishes

The non-co-operation movement and
the authorities. a communication from one
Mr. T.V. Vasudevan regarding

the non-co-operation movement, in which the following observations find place among others:- Lord Reading may be a good man having a faith in justice and truth. But so long as the Government of India do not change their policy, and it is impossible to effect a change in it, he can continue in office only if he makes up his mind to be a tool in the hands of Sir William Vincent. Otherwise, he will have to resign and go back to his country immediately. So we can take it that it is only the policy indicated by Lord Chelmsford in his Calcutta speech that will be followed in the time of Lord Reading also. We are aware that many of the moderates and title-holders and many caught in the bureaucratic net are against non-cooperation. But the question is whether these will join the Government and fight against our movement. If they do so, they are the worst traitors to the country. The Viceroy Chuckles within himself that the non-cooperation movement is getting weak and adds that no title-holder has relinquished his title. This is because very few among the title-holders set any value on self-respect and the honour of their country and most of the title-holders think that their titles are the means of their

liveligood. The Viceroy regrets that non-co-operation has kept back many patriots from the Legislative Councils and says that their entry into the Council would have improved the status of these Councils. This is enough to show that we have achieved success in the boycott of Legislative Councils. Had the Viceroy learnt to speak consistently, he would not have blabbed like this. If, as the Viceroy stated, the non-co-operation movement has become weak, what need is there for His Excellency to court the help of the moderates and for the Provincial authorities to resort to repression? The C.I.D. and other officials have leisure enough to introduce repressive measures in different places but no time to trace the causes of the Nankana massacre. There is room for us even to suspect whether these abettors Mahant Nayaran Doss. Much need not be said about the officials in this Presidency. The Collector of Malabar has earned a name within a short time. We have to infer that the bureaucrats will go on provoking the Moplahs until there is repetition of the Punjab massacre in the Kerala country. If the people of Malabar resort to any act of violence, the responsibility for it would therefore rest on Mr. Thomas, the Madras Government and Mr. Thygaraya Chettiyar and others who support them. When will our bureaucrats realise the truth of President Wilson's statement that repression breeds revolution?

44. In its signed leader on this subject, the DESABHAKTAN,

The Provincial Budget.

of the 12th March, writes:-

The expenditure on administration

which is a prominent feature everywhere, is more than double what it was in previous years. In which country has so much money been set apart for the police? What is the necessity again for the Criminal Investigation Department here? Has it investigated any offence till now? Does it exist only to shadow the patriots who have vowed to serve the country? Apart from its consuming a large portion of the Tax-payer's money under

the pretence of investigating crime, what advantage does the taxpayer derive from it? Is it of any use at least to the Government, which has brought it into existence? Why should such a secret department exist in these days when both political and national discussions are made openly? Is it proper to maintain a white elephant like this, which serves no purpose? How did this department acquit itself in the Coimbatore motor murder case and in many other important cases? While such a department exists in other countries to detect big crimes, it exists here only to bring our patriots to grief. We hope the officials of this Department will turn their attention hereafter at least to the detection of big crimes.

46. The JAGAPATI, of the 4th Febraury, says:- The object

SWARAJ.

of non-co-operation is the attainment of SWARAJ. The

object of SWARAJ is to put an end to bureaucratic rule, to stop the drainage of crores of India's money into foreign countries, to show that the Indians are men and not slaves, to free them from servitude and abject poverty^{ya} and avert the danger of Bolshevism overtaking this country. The chief cause of India's poverty is the present administrative policy of the Government. Why is there no such abject poverty in the Native States? As the Chiefs of those Native States are also Indians, they could not bear the miserable plight of their brethren, and so they do the needful to avert famines. Not so in British India.

~~We cannot believe that our poverty~~ We cannot believe that our rulers^u do so. How can the English, who are foreigners and who profess a foreign creed, sympathise^u with us? They are therefore mostly the cause of our poverty. Soon after the advent of the British into India, our industries and arts have declined.

We will attain SWARAJ as soon as we boycott foreign cloth and manufacture our own cloth. If we adopt such boycott, the workmen in England will have no means to earn a livelihood, and ~~he~~

~~and~~ the capitalists will become bankrupts. Pressure will then be brought upon the Parliament with the result that the Government in India will give up their arbitrary and unjust rule and submissively grant SWARAJ to the Indians. The British are a commercial race and we can conquer them with the weapon of SWADESHI. They will rather agree to part with kingdoms than bear to see their trade being put to an end. In the programme of co-operation, SWADESHI by itself will bring us SWARAJ. The development of agriculture and other industries is by itself SWARAJ. When we have sufficient food to eat and cloth to cover our body, what more do we want? This alone is SWARAJ.

47. Under this heading, the JAGAPATI, of the 4th February says:- It may be declared
Sacrifice.

that since the young men

of India, the day when India will be freed from servitude are approaching. The principle of non-co-operation has been taught to us by the bureaucratic Government themselves. The present is a war between justice and injustice, between the people's will desire and arbitrary conduct. If the students are ready to make sacrifices, SWARAJ will be had even to-morrow. Mr. Gandhi states that the principle of non-co-operation teaches us to have nothing to do with the misdeeds of the Government.

54. Referring to the resolution of Sirdar Jagindar Singh in the Council of State
Martial Law Prisoners.

recommending the release

of Martial Law prisoners, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 9th March says:- Influential men among the prisoners were released, but poor men are still suffering in the jails. The mover of the resolution is not an extremist and so it was the duty of the Government to take his advice and enable the people to know how far the regret already expressed by Sir William Vincent was heartfelt. But from what he said, it is plain that his regret

did not proceed from the bottom of his heart. Only when the word and action co-ordinate with each other can regret have any value. Big questions cannot be solved by temporary makeshifts.

57. A correspondent to the DESABHIMANI, of the 20th

Non-co-operation.

Febrary, writes (in verse)

to the following effect:-

Think of the English Government(~~to attach more imo~~) that has not prevented the Punjab Murders, think of the unjust acts relating to the Khilafat question, think of the imprisonment to which men were committed when they questioned about the injustice done, and grieve for throats being cut when again it was asked whether mere questioning was an offence.

60. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 14th March, refers to the

The India Emergency Committee.

formation of the India Emergency

Committee composed of Sir

Michael O'Dwyer, Lord Sydenham and others to conduct a campaign for the purpose of drawing attention to the political situation in India, and says:- Sir Michael O'Dwyer moves about freely, instils unnecessary fear into the hearts of the British and intends to do greater harm to India than what he had already done. The Punjab question will not be solved so long as Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer enjoy the pensions given by India.

61. The JAGAPATI, of the 18th Febrary, says:- It may

"What should be done now?"

rather be said that Govern-

ments like that of India

do not exist at all in the present world than that they are scarcely to be found. The rulers of India do not consult public opinion and are not responsible to the people for their conduct. They insist on maintaining their prestige. It has become their practice to curb every new movement in India. They have not

taken immediate steps to put down the present non-co-operation movement, because this movement, unlike others, has confused them and made them helpless, since it is embraced not by a few educated men but by the thirty-three crores of India's population. But their prestige will not make them stay. They fear that if they do not take any measures, they will be considered incapable. So they are now running into the field of battle. There are already indications of their arbitrary conduct in every province. Mr. Gandhi is stirring our soul force. We have not been mindful of it, being under foreign servitude for 150 years. In those days when India was under the power of the worshippers of SAKTI and was full of human sacrificers, Buddha was born to uplift her. So also Mahatma Gandhi was born to-day. This movement started by him is bound to succeed. But the Government cannot tolerate to see their prestige suffer. But their arbitrary conduct will only confirm the conviction of the people that this movement is the right one. When they find the Futility of such conduct, they will try to pacify the people with some changes in the reforms, but these changes will not remove the unrest so long as the Punjab and the Khilafat questions remain unsolved. So, O! Countrymen! Do not be discouraged at the arbitrary conduct of the authorities. Without transgressing law do as you are bidden by your conscience, keeping the message of Mr. Gandhi in mind.

62. The JAGAPATI, of the 18th Febraury, says under this

heading: ~~Under~~ Under the present policy of the Government,

What does SWARAJ mean?

from the village vetti to the Governor-general all look upward. The object of SWARAJ is to turn that upward look into a downward one. The officers do not care for the indignation of the people. This unnatural attitude has to be changed. The Public Servants who are paid from the revenues collected from the people are not responsible to the people. ~~This unnatural attitude has to be~~

changed. The public servants who are paid from the revenues collected ~~by~~ from the people are not responsible to the people. This is against justice and why should such be the lot of only India? Looking up for favours from higher officers without feeling any responsibility to the people, is a great defect in the present administrative policy. The tax-payers should have control over the expenditure by Government of their money. In no other country is there in existence a policy of administration like the one obtaining in India. What is the reason of this arbitrary conduct -- the weakness of the Indians or the political dexterity of the British?

66. Regarding the request that is being made by some highly-placed gentlemen to Forget and forgive. to the Indians to forget and forgive the excesses committed in connexion with the Punjab riots, the KANTHIRAVA, of the 15th March, in a short note, observes:- Is such a request needed? Why such request to an unarmed people who have no power to bring the offenders to book? Is it at all possible for the people to forget these terrible murders and excesses in Punjab? Can any human being ever forget them? Is man endowed with a real forgiving faculty when merely asked to forgive? Who is to be forgiven and who is it that pleads for forgiveness? It is not O'Dwyer, neither is it Dyer nor Frank Johnson. None of the culprits has come forward with such a prayer. Has even the Viceroy asked to be forgiven with some sense of repentance? The guilty parties are enjoying as unrepentant as ever, while people absolutely innocent are praying for forgiveness. What does this imply?

67. Anent the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri in the Imperial Legislative Council with regard to the power of the police in using fire-arms to disperse riotous

Hon'ble Mr. Sastri's resolution.

crowds, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 17th March, observes:- Anglo-Indian officials opposed even a resolution such as this, which shows how much fellow-feeling they are endowed with. Even Sir William Vincent is strongly opposed to the introduction of the provisions of the English Riots Act into India. It remains to be seen whether such officials will be permitted to remain in office after Lord Reading comes over to this country. If the British Government wish to keep their righteousness and Prestige intact, they should instruct Lord Reading to send away all those who do not act in a liberal spirit. Let the Press also unanimously impart this advice. If such advice is disregarded, the British Government will have to suffer for their neglect.

69. The MALABAR ISLAM, of the 11th March, publishes the following:- The efforts of the Russian Soviet for the liberation of India. Russian Soviet for the liberation of India - A Government communique.

The TIMES says that the Secretary of State for India published the following Communique in London on the 25th February 1921:- It is seen that on the 10th October last the Russian Chief Commissioner in the Turkistan field sent the following order to the to the Bolshevik army:- "A responsible task has been entrusted to you. You must guard the frontiers of the two friendly countries of Afghanistan and India. A small band of Englishmen have enslaved thirty crores of Indians. So you gallant people! go to the high lands between ourselves and India and plant our red flag, the giver of freedom. Indians should be induced to believe that they can expect the help of friends like ourselves.

"Maintain friendly relationship with the peoples of Northern India and favour unrest and agitation among them. Proclaim the real nature of the Russian Soviet to all. May the world enjoy liberty immediately?"

xxxxx

71. The LOKAPRAKASAM, of the 14th Febraury, points out

The Moderates. that the moderates are occupying several responsible

lucrative posts under the new Government, thinks that there is room to suspect whether the desire for the plums of office may not have ended so disastrously had the moderates also worked for the progress of their country which has now been prejudiced by them and observes that on the whole the Reforms have ~~ended~~ ended in a grand show without any comparative advantage to the country.

72. In the MALABAR ISLAM, of the 11th March, a correspondent

Martial Law in Malabar. writes in English as follows:-

"Precaution might have been

necessary, but where was the necessity to send motor lorries carrying armed soldiers, in pursuit of a crowd going in peaceful procession? What right had the police to deprive a Khilafat Volunteer of his uniforms and subject him to violence? A harmless crowd which had gathered in front of the house occupied by Mrs. Yakub Hasan was unnecessarily intimidated, humiliated and dispersed at the point of the bayonet by the police, with the intention of exciting the mob. The Calicut Town Hall riot case and the Tellicherry torture case are only typical instances of the excesses perpetrated by the Police officials of Malabar. If officials entrusted with the task of maintaining peace and order abuse their authority, they not only set a bad example but also render the efforts of those who pacify an angry mob quite futile. It is, however, really creditable that a huge gathering of illiterate Mappillas, though deprived of their ~~rulers~~ leaders and subjected to all sorts of provocations and humiliations should have maintained perfect peace and tranquility. That shows to what extent and spirit of non-violent non-co-operation is appreciated and practised by the Mappillas of Malabar, though to the utter amazement of the omnipotent but imprudent

authorities. Khilafat meetings were since held in Cannanore and Tellicherry on the 20th and 21st instants, and it is an undeniable fact that those meetings were largely attended by people from all parts of Malabar even from Walavanad, Ernad, etc., and if any body had any intention of creating any violence or breach of peace would it not have been possible for those people to do so from there, but everything went absolutely peacefully and calmly as non-violence is the motto of Khilafat.

77. The editor of the QAUMI REPORT of the 7th March, in giving reasons for his
The community and the Khilafat Prisoners. failure to participate in
the Khilafat meeting held on the Beach on the 6th idem, remarks that he disagrees with the views of some members of the Khilafat Committee; for they consider it their duty only to convene meetings, without obtaining any practical proof of genuine sympathy for the Khilafat prisoners or succeeding to instruct the public either to submit to imprisonment or to submissively obey official orders.

79. The MUKHBIR-i-DAKHAN, of the 9th March, reiterating its previous remarks on this
Oppressive non-co-operation ~~tyranny~~. subject and referring to the
Tyranny. oppressive and coercive measures that are being adopted in Benares to prevent students from appearing for examinations either by locking them up in their rooms or stealing their admission tickets and to the severe ill-treatment that is being extended to teachers and respectable leaders of the city, observes that this is the result of the non-violent non-co-operation movement set afoot by nominal leaders.

III. LEGISLATION.

The writer, referring to the evil and disastrous results brought about by Mr. Gandhi and his followers' activities, suggests that officials and non-officials should conjointly, as far as possible, adopt preventive measures in extinguishing fire and that an active non-co-operator should give a start to such a movement which will be supported by Anglo-Indians and all Imperial and Provincial Governments.

III. LEGISLATION.

81. The QUAMI REPORT, of the 10th March, commenting on the reply given by the Government in the Legislative Assembly to the inquiry about the number of persons who have renounced their titles, remarks that the idea of Government that the community is indifferent in the matter of titles is wrong. The non-co-operators have not touched on titles for a long time.

Referring to Government's refusal to appoint a committee to go into the cause and effect of the non-co-operation movement, the writer observes that the one reason for this is that the Government are well aware of the strength of non-co-operation, and do not desire to hear any further information on the subject.

The writer finally invites the attention of the members of the Assembly to this self-interested action of the Government, and proceeds:- "If the Government wish to destroy this movement with the help of the Indian Penal Code, the Defence of India Act or the Rowlatt Act, then they will egregiously blunder and fail. The Imprisonment of the leaders, instead of harming non-co-operation, has greatly helped it.

IV. NATIVE STATES.

82. Referring to the disallowance, by the President of the Madras Legislative Council, Mr. Satyamurti and the Raja of Pudukkottai, of the interpellations regarding

the order of externment passed on Mr. Satyamurti by the Raja of Pudukkottai, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 8th March, says:- The reason for this is stated to be that the British Government should not interfere with matters taking place in the Native States. But if the report that the Pudukkottai Darbar passed the order on Mr. Satyamurti only with the approval of the British Government is true, the President is bound to furnish information about this. We wish to have full details about this subject.

83. The QAUMI REPORT, of the 8th March, referring to the

The Trichur Riots.

serious injuries to life
and property caused by

Christians in the recent riots at Trichur to Hindus and Muhammadans deplores the silence on the subject observed by the Presidency Khilafat and Congress Committees.

The YOGAKSHEMAM, of the 11th March, publishes a very long and detailed report of the Trichur disturbance. According to the report the blame lies on the Christians of Trichur and the disturbances shows the incapacity of the officials and the partiality of the police for one of the contending parties.

A leading article in the same paper calls for a sifting inquiry on various points connected with the riot and for the due punishment of offenders.

A note in the same paper in- and the MUSLIMS, of the 12th March, assert that the non-co-operation movement had nothing to do with the disturbance.

March

The MALABAR ISLAM, of the 11th/May, thankshower that the disturbance is to be traced to the party that has arisen to suppose the Congress Committee and its operation.

The SUPRABHATAM, of the 9th March, in a leading article in English says that the real cause of the trouble was neither caste nor non-co-operation but lay in the "arrogance of certain

Christian upstarts who counting upon the support of high-placed officials though themselves the lords of the situation and that they could dictate to the Hindus who have nowadays come in/ for a large share of official/ displeasure. The fact of their being the co-religionists of His Majesty has also contributed not a little towards pandering to their self-importance."

The LOKAPRAKASAM, of the 7th March, thinks that the trouble was a premeditated deliberate attack by Christians against Hindus and Muslims and suggests that the work of 'secret Christian societies' which receives ~~up~~ support from officials, the support given to the Christians in the Governor's speech at Trivandrum and the "the unwarranted sympathy of the present administration for the elevation of the depressed classes" all contributed to the present position of affairs.

The BHAJEKERALAM, of the 12th March, demands an impartial inquiry. It also recommends the reorganisation and strengthening of the State Brigade so that it may really become useful for contingencies.

The MALAYALA MANORAMA, of the 15th March, and the NAZRANI DEEPIKA, of the 11th March, publish articles tending to show that it was not the Christians but the non-co-operators that were the originators of the trouble and they think that such a riot would not have occurred had the non-co-operation movement been nipped in the bud within~~the~~ the state.

For the week ending 26th March 1921.

No.13 of 1921.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. The JANMABHUMI, of the 10th March, has the following:-

"In this view, the orders
of restraint imposed upon

The Nankana Sahib tragedy.

C.R. Das against entering Mymensingh, Rajendra Prasad and Muzrul Haque against Arrah, Lajput Rai against Peshawar, Yakub Hasan against Calicut and a host of other orders passed against Thakur Ramananda Singh and Twenty others in Muzferpore, Manmohan Neogi in Mymensingh, and the Proclamation of certain areas such as Lahore under the seditious Meetings Act -- All these are but pin pricks compared to the suffering that is yet in store for the country in its march of emancipation. Many more Jallianwallah Baghs may fall to our lot and he who recoils from them is like unto the man who has put hand to the plough and looks backwards. One incident that makes the nearest approach to the plough and looks backwards. One incident that makes the nearest approach to the Amritsar tragedy is the tragedy that has recently occurred in Nankana Sahib. The parallel is not, however, on all fours. In loss of life it does not quite come up to the Punjab standard. But in the horror of the incident, it beats Amritsar out and out. The genesis is still a mystery. It was a butchery of unprecedented atrocity. The point was raised for discussion in the Central legislature on the 26th ultimo in a motion for adjournment and Government explained that it was a fight between two parties of Sikhs -- the Conservatives and the Liberals. Amongst them such fights have doubtless taken place at the Gandhi Sahib in Amritsar and at Tarān Tarān, but there are circumstances in the Nankana tragedy which require explanation. Popular rumours are wild in the matter

and it was Man Singh, while speaking on Bhakshi Sohan Lal's amendment, that hinted that the officials of the locality should have been, for some time previously acquainted with the projected crime of such magnitude. At this stage in the Council Sir William Vincent walked up to the seat of Mr. Hailey and bit his ear. Mr. Haily got up and in angry tones, vehemently condemned the speaker who attempted to assert an implication of the officials in the ghastly affair."

2. The HINDU, of the 24th March, writes:-"We understand that Lord Willingdon has been assiduous in his attendance for some time and in watching the way in which Mr. Kesava Pillai, the Deputy President, voted His Excellency Lord Willingdon. sometimes against Government and some times remained neutral. The Governor seems to have noticed this and asked Mr. Pillai, whether, he, as Deputy President, could vote against the Government. Mr. Pillai's reply was the only proper and commendable one. It is reported to have been that he, as a people's representative, must be left free to vote as he pleased and that, to retain his free vote he was, if necessary, prepared to resign the post of Deputy President. There is a general rumour in the Council lobby that the situation has so developed that Mr. Pillai might be forced to resign. The immediate cause that gave rise to the issue was, presumably, Mr. Pillai's giving notice of a motion to reduce a certain item of expenditure and remaining neutral instead of voting for Government in respect of the Russellkonda saw mills scheme. Whatever that, be, Lord Willingdon's action in calling upon the Deputy President, who, as non-officially bound to support the interests of his constituency, is entitled to freedom of voting, is absolutely unconstitutional and utterly indefensible. This is not the only act on His Lordship's part which has shocked students of constitutional propriety. It is said Lord Willingdon attends the Council almost as regularly

as when he was President, sends for members and holds such free and frequent converse with the President as well as with members as virtually to constitute, at in critical stages, an indirect direction of the proceedings from his gallery. This sort of exercising what is practically undue influence is, we need hardly say a gross constitutional impropriety. . . . It is true the Governor has been allowed the privilege of a seat in the distinguished visitor's' gallery, but that privilege is intended purely for ceremonial purposes and not to enable His Excellency perpetually to be present, embarrass the members and thus, unconsciously, hamper the course of proceedings which should properly go on 'unawed by influence and unbribed by gain' than was Octavianus Augustus after the fall of the Roman Triumvirate and, if he is allowed to pursue his own inclinations, might prove to be no better than Octavian's successors in the Principate. The fact is that events are fast proving what a farce of reform dyarchy is in both of its sides --- the legislature as well as the Executive. What we wanted was not the feeble echo of the state of things in the past with this modification--that the Governor is free to have his own way under the cover of an impotent popular machinery; but, barring heavy expenditure, that is all that has fallen to our lot under the new dispensation."

3 The HINDU, of the 25th March observes:—"If wishes were horses, beggars will ride. Administrative policy in India. And if words were actions, India will be blessed with the gift of SWARAJ even before the expiry of Mahatma Gandhi's time-limit. For Imperial Britain is sending the exalted representative of her reputed Justice as the representative of the Royal throne to administer to India 'Justice according to Equity'. And for a proud and ancient nation deeply conscious of the insults and injustice perpetrated on her by an alien bureaucracy what does Justice and Equity demand short of complete SWARAJ based on the principle of self-

~~the~~ determination? But the precedents to be found in the history of British administration in India about the potency of words to fructify themselves into actions do not leave much room for entertaining serious hopes of any proper fulfilment of this latest pledge. From the time of the Queen's Proclamation up to the eloquent messages of sympathy and brotherhood recently delivered by the Royal emissary, India has been receiving periodical assurances of Britain's exalted motives and righteous intentions as regard the Government of this country. But they have uniformly failed hitherto to bring peace to the country, not through any lack of sincerity in the immediate authors of these pronouncements, but by the absence of that necessary system and atmosphere really helpful to the fulfilment of these solemn words. Further by the ingenious interpretations of ~~x~~ important documents and the unscrupulous devices adopted by an officialdom unwilling to disgorge itself of all arbitrary power, words have also been cleverly exploited by the latter to serve in the armoury of diplomatic domination, by evoking easy jubilations and empty responses among a section of the people hypnotised by the spirit of slavery and self-interest. It is in the face of so much initial distrust of mere words naturally engendered by the distressing experience of the past, that Lord Reading has to work out his dictum of 'Justice according to Equity'... .. And judged by the beginnings all round of an era of repression and blind hostility against the demand for the adequate vindication of national honour and liberty, no one can claim that the ground is being properly prepared on the official side, for the inauguration of Lord Reading's task. Far from ~~making~~ a sincere attempt at repentance for their past wrongs ^{and} ~~and~~ affecting a reform in the spirit of their actions and outlook--that they are only the paid servants of the public, with no divine sanction behind them but the sufferance of the popular will-- the bureaucracy under the convenient pretence of preserving law and order ^{are} ~~and~~ obviously making their last efforts

at self-perpetuation, and this time, ^{thanks} ~~xxxx~~ to the Montagu Reforms, with the willing, though misguided, help of their brown brethren. The fact is that the alien bureaucracy here realise far more than the statesmen in England that the fight is against the old Imperialism which, saturated with feudal and militarist traditions, seeks to hold in servitude other peoples for the sake of self-gl^ori^fication and capitalist exploitation. And the gross misrepresentation of the righteous and necessary struggle of Nationalism ~~which~~, ~~xxxx~~ against the monⁿster as a dangerous rush towards revolution and anarchy is one of the mischievous games they deliberately play, in despair to create panic in vested interests and unthinking minds so as to enlist support and sympathy for their already lost cause. If Lord Reading means business, and that of the right sort without compromising high his high political idealism or allowing the ^{le} ~~sur~~ried bureau-
crats to interpret for him his nob^{le} ~~dictum~~, he can find no better ^{le} way of preparing the country for the enthronement of Justice than creating in the people at large an earnest and uncompromising desire for the same and a solemn determination to achieve it at all costs by entirely non-violent means. For Justice, like its twin-brother Liberty, depends for its ultimate permanence, on a sense of its necessity firmly rooted in the depths of the nation's soul and the inner strength and confidence of the people to secure it forms the only guarantee of its ^{le} sure and speedy advent."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I. FOREIGN POLITICS.

6. The DESABHAKTAN, of the 16th March, publishes, as its leader, a long article under this heading contributed by Mr. F.V.Rajagopala Achari, which contains the following ~~xxxxxx~~ observations:- ^{many others:-} Though we are in a way glad to see that British

statesmen have at least now realized that the terms of Sevres treaty are wounding the feelings of the Muslims of the world, we cannot think whether, in view to satisfy the Muslims, the Khalifat wrong will be completely righted. Is it not quite against human nature to expect that the Muslims will keep quiet without getting enraged when any injury is done to the Khalifa ordained by God Himself? What will be the feeling of the Muslims, if without taking into consideration all these, the Islamic faith and the Koran are insulted by ~~the~~ setting the King of Egypt as a pseudo-Sultan before the Muslims who regard only the ruler~~s~~ of Turkey as such? How is it proper for a Government professing an alien faith to appoint Sultans as it likes and interfere with religion? Those of the Indian Muslims who could not ~~rightly~~ bear to see such iniquities resorted to non-co-operation as their mainstay for righting the Khilafat wrong. An unprecedented unity has since been created between the Muhammadans and the Hindus in India as a ~~r~~esult of the fear that a Government which thus interferes with one religion and does things as it likes might interfere with other religions also, and these two communities are bent upon doing away with the Khilafat injustice completely and are striving hard to achieve that object. Now, our Premier, considering that renouncing all connexion with this matter at this juncture will ~~lead~~ to serious consequences, has ventured~~ed~~ to alter the terms of Sevres treaty concluded in the heat of the war and to seek ~~the~~ views of Turkey on the terms as altered. Seeing that their desire to have some right in Constantinople cannot be satisfied and that their stay in the town will be eyesore to the Turks, the Allies have at last decided to restore it to its owners. But why such a greed at the outset? Perhaps, at the time of the conclusion of the Sevres treaty, it did not strike them that depriving a country of its capital city will be sowing the first seed for unrest. Alas! England!! Where has the statesmanship of Gladstone, Pitt and others gone?

7. Referring to the statement made by Sir Benjamin Robertson before the Commission
Indians in South Africa.

of Inquiry into the condition

of Asiatics in the colonies, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 15th March, writes:- It is clear from the fact that, when the Government of India prohibited indentured emigration of Indians, the South African Government begged of this Government to permit them to recruit coolies in India, that the Indians did not step into South Africa as uninvited guests. If the keeping of a word give is an important principle according to western civilisation, it is but fair that the Indians there should have the same privileges as the whites. But, having converted the waste lands in the colony into a fertile tract with the help of the Indians, an attempt is now made to send them out, when their services are no longer needed. That the reasons assigned by the whites there for this action are entirely false is well described by Sir Benjamin Robertson. It is clear therefore that jealousy is the root cause of their action. Unable to learn the hard work, the sense of responsibility and the economy of Indians by their association, the whites are trying to oust the latter. No other illustration is needed for the fact that wicked people cannot stand the sight of an innocent lot. It is doubtful if Sir Benjamin laid stress on the responsibility of the Government as well as the Government of India as regards Indians as plainly as he pointed out the unacceptable nature of the objections ~~are~~ raised by the Europeans in South Africa. He does not seem to have urged that, if the South Africans afflict the Indians in the British Empire, the Indians may come to boycott South Africa. It is bound to secure all rights for the Indians and this cannot be done except by repealing the laws and habits that prove an obstacle to it.

14. The JARIDAH-i-ROZGAR, of the 16th March, has an article

by Moulana Gani who refutes

Non-co-operators' poetic ascendency.

the non-co-operators' claim

that the revision of the Treaty of Sevres is the result of their movement, and observes that in consequence of Britain's sympathy towards Muslims, Mr. Lloyd George had to change his policy, and hopes that England will not fail now to adopt further measures to soothe the hearts of the Muslim world in general and of Indian Muslims in particular.

15. The HILAL, of the 27th Febraury, publishes a poem by Muhammad Ismail Khan Sahib, May the garden of Khilafat flourish. who says that owing to the increasing number of the supporters of the Khilafat the Peace Treaty will not only be modified but also annulled and that though a whole world of enemies may endeavour till the ~~crack~~ crack of doom, they cannot destroy the prestige of Khilafat.

It has another poem by Muhammad Ibrahim Khan Sahib praying for the success of Turkey and hoping that the agitation of Indian Patriots will free India from the British yoke.

The HILAL, of the 6th March, has in continuation Janab Muhammad Ismail Sahib's poem on the marginally-noted subject in which the author reminds the community of the Divide command to sacrifice life and property for the Khilafat, but says that on account of their helplessness the Mussalmans should adopt non-co-operation and prove their si ncerity and sympathy by deed and not by word only.

II. HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(g) Jails.

17. In a leader describing the condition of the prisoners in the Andamans, the DESA-
The Andamans.

BHAKTAN, of the 15th March, says:- The object of providing places like these for prisoners is to wean those, who are guilty of heinous crimes like murder and dacoity, from their vices and teach them good lesson. It is question whether this object has been achieved in the case of those in the Andamans. Judging from the condition there,

no worse hell can be conceived. It is indeed a miserable tale that one hears about the condition of the prisoners numbering about 15,000 there till 1914. If a few female convicts are taken to distant island and left there with ten times the number of male convicts, is there any doubt that it will perpetuate evil habits. Are the taxes paid by the Indians being ^u used for the free growth of vicious habits, the like of which cannot be seen anywhere in the world, in a place provided for bringing round convicts? Even the hope entertained that the Jail Commission at least would remedy this miserable state of affairs has been shattered. They say that the immediate ~~xxxx~~ liberation of the prisoners in the Andamans will endanger India. Can they not secure any other station than the distant Andamans to place such prisoners in? That the Government of India have ^v evinced some sympathy in this matter and announced that they would soon put a stop to convicts ~~sent~~ ^{sentence} to transportation being sent to the Andamans, even though the Jail Commission did not suggest it, indicates indeed one important method of curtailing expenditure. The phrase 'as soon as possible' of course creates some apprehension as it has no definiteness about it. This ~~xxxx~~ phrase appears in the proclamation of Queen Victoria as also in that of His Majesty issued in 1917. But nothing has been done 'as soon as possible.' It will doubtless remove a longstanding grievance if, unlike the previous promises, the present one is carried out promptly and the expenditure of the tax-payers' money on the Andamans is stopped. But the question is whether they will do so.

(k) General.

22. Remarking that some authorities seem to be desirous

The authorities and non-co-operation. of crushing the new spirit spreading among the people

and make them dance to their tune like animals in a circus, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 12th March observes:- But the people

persistently refuse to be led like this. We have to presume that, as there is not the shadow of justification for adopting violent methods, these officials want to excite the people by petty teasing and create a confusion before Lord Reading arrives. It is only a similar situation that existed in the country, when Lord Curzon left and Lord Minto arrived and the latter if it is only a similar legacy Lord Chelmsford will leave for Lord Reading. All repressive measures have been tried through several laws like the Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act; but the agitation of the people has not abated. So the policy of pricking with the pin is now being followed. Section 144, Cr.P.C., is being applied freely everywhere and popular leaders are prevented from speaking or going to where they wish to proceed. The authorities, who want the people to act according to law, should demonstrate it by abiding by law themselves. A misapplication of law is practically a contempt of it. But the authorities do not hesitate to misapply section 144 Cr.P.C. It appears the Collector of Amritsar sent for some of the leaders one day and asked them to stop all work connected with political propaganda and when they refused to do so, he wanted them to furnish a security of Rs.10,000 per head. When they declined to do even this, he seems to have sentenced them to rigorous imprisonment for one year. Cattle-lifters are sentenced to simply imprisonment, if they cannot furnish security and it is therefore discreditable only to the British that leaders carrying on political propaganda should have been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. But our authorities have the capacity to prevent these things being known in other countries. When the correspondent of the DAILY HERALD in India collected all facts and wanted to send them by telegram to the paper, the telegraph officials seem to have declined to take them. Though these facts may come to light in England, when the Indian papers reached there by post, after a few days, many persons will read the matter if it appears in the telegraphic ~~xxxx~~ columns of a British paper. Thus

the happenings in India are shelved here alone, as the officials have power to blind the world. But the more the trouble taken by the authorities to crush non-co-operation, the faster does it spread. Whether news reaches England or not, the movement is sure to be strenthened by acts like these In India.

24. The TAMUL NADU, of the 13th March, writes:- If we

Our ideal. obtain SWARAJ and complete SWARAJ liberty, the Punjabees

will naturally have justice. Further, the whites who have hurt the feelings of all the Muslims in the world by the dismemberment of Turkey will feel a little nervous to cross the wishes of the 32 crores of free people. So long as we continue to be slaves under a foreign rule, we cannot command any respect at the hands of other races. So many number of conferences in London cannot alter the Khilafat wrongs to the satisfaction of the Islamic world. The Majority of the latter are now under control of the whites. Though some countries are not under complete subjection like India, they do not enjoy full liberty and are unable to go against the wishes of one white country or another in regard to some important matters. That is why, of all the powers connected with the war, Turkey alone has been treated very badly . Large extent of territory belonging to the Sultan has been partitioned among the allies. The Khilafat has been deprived of its prestige and status. Such severe and unjust terms were not imposed even on enemy countries like Germany. The cause for all this is that Muslims in general and the Indian Muslims in particular ^{are} devoid of liberty. The proceedings of the London Conference show that the Turkish treaty will not be altered to suit the wishes of the Indian Khilafat committee. Thus there is to be no salvation for the Khilafat. The doubt has arisen now for many Indians whether, if, fortunately for the MU Mussalmans, the Khilafat question is decided in accordance with the wishes of the Indian Muslims, we are to stop the non-co-operation movement or to continue it. While

the Congress resolution is so clear in the matter, it is surprising that such a doubt should have arisen at all. Mr. Muhammad Ali stated that, though the Khilafat question may be solved satisfactorily, the Hindus and Muslims should not co-operate with the Government until India attains complete SWARAJ. So SWARAJ should be our main goal; for it is the only complete remedy for our grievances. His Majesty has given the appellation of SWARAJ to the system of administration now granted to us by Mr. Montagu. The proceedings of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils show whether it is SWARAJ or a government of white officials that we have now. Until we attain the liberty and self-government enjoyed by England, France and America, we should besides being deprived of all our rights, suffer famine and pestilence and continue to be the slaves of the authorities and to be slighted by foreigners. So, SWARAJ should be our goal, irrespective of the Punjab wretches being punished and the Khilafat affair being settled favourably to us. Till SWARAJ is obtained, every Hindu and Muslim should consider it heinous ~~sin~~ to co-operate with the Government.

25. Remarking that, while every country is reducing its India's military expenditure. Military expenditure as much as possible after the war, this expenditure is increasing year after year in India alone, the TAMIL NADU, of the 13th March, writes:- If in this country, which is suffering the effects of abject poverty, such a large expenditure is incurred unnecessarily on the military, we can never progress. It looks as if in the course of another few years, the military will absorb the full revenue of the country, inasmuch as the British, we are now utilizing the Indian troops for subduing and enslaving the Arabs in Mesopotamia, may increase their number for bringing other countries also under subjection. Further, additional Indian troops may be required to protect the British Isles and France from the Huns, if later on Germany should in a spirit of revenge, begin another war. Therefore,

the British are increasing the Indian Military expenditure year after year only after mature consideration for carrying on their 'righteous' wars in the world incessantly and for putting down the blacks.

Writing under this heading, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 23rd March, in an article The Military expenditure in India. under this heading, makes the following remarks:- The condition of our country is such that the percentage of military expenditure here should be far less than in other countries, and the amount saved under this head should be utilized in ameliorating the condition of the people. The salaries of Government officers should be reduced by 60 per cent. Such a reduction should be effected at least in the case of officers drawing more than Rs.500 per mensem. What justification is there to waste some 60 ~~ex~~ to 70 per cent of the moeny earned by the poor ryots by the sweat of their brows in pampering to the military requirements? Let the military men fight in tiems of war, but at other times let them support themselves by engaging in such ~~works~~ works of public utility as agriculture, industries, etc. That country whose military and other departmental expenses do not yield a return proportionate to the amounts paid for their upkeep is sure to go to ruin. All men in the military line -- from the Commander-in-chief down to the humblest soldier -- should work eight hours a day at some productive work or other. If they do not do so, they should not be paid their salaries. Members of the new Councils should fearlessly place these matters before Government. If Government reject them, all the non-official members of the Councils should resign in a boyd.

28. Referring to the opposition raised by Mr. Sarma to the resolution in the Council of State for prohibiting Cow-killing in India. of the 13th March, remarks:- The ignorance of Mr. Sarma

of the existence of a strong feeling among the Indians, that cow-killing should be prohibited in their country, is due to the fact of his having forgotten the tenets of his own caste. Though we can concede that Mr. Sarma speaks as a hireling, it is surprising that Mr. Srinivasa Sastriyar also voted against this resolution. Had he a bit of Brahmanism in him, he would not have done so. Just, as , in the British Empire, people without kingdoms and lands are dubbed Rajas and Zamindars, Mr. Srinivasan having no Brahmanism in him calls himself a 'Sastri',

31. In an article ~~xxxx~~ contributed by one P.V. Rajagopala Achari to the DESABHAKTAN, of The ways of the moderates. the 14th March, the writer refers to a new suggestion made by Mr. Petit of Bombay for the restoration of peace in the country, and remarking that the country is now passing through a crisis, the like of which it could not have faced till now, observes:- Though it is only a few that sing the praise of the moderates ministry, which is groping in darkness, their support has increased the excessive arrogance and pertinacity of the Englishmen and the result is that repression prevails everywhere. Our moderates have created an unrest throughout the country by fanning the flame of that arrogance and pertinacity with the fan of repression of non-co-operation. Can it be believed that those, who showered money upon Dyer that gloated over an ocean of blood and patted him on the back, will be afraid of the capacity of these moderate servants encircling their legs and seek a remedy for the Punjab massacre? Mr. Petit's xpresent suggestion is only going to increase that arrogance further and lead to a more severe form of repression.

32. Adverting to the reply of Sir William Vincent to a question of Sir P.S.Sivaswami Indians in the political Department. Ayyar, that the Indians are not taken in the secret section of the Political Department of the Government of India, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 14th March, observes:- If an employer always suspects his employees, how can his business be carried on satisfactorily? The same is the case with the Government. Rulers can have peace only if they conduct the administration with out distrusting the ruled and ~~and~~ in such a manner as to satisfy them. But in India alone this policy is not followed and the rulers always suspect the ruled. What else can be the reason for excluding the Indians from the secret department of the Government of India than the suspicion against them? How can its efficiency go down if it is manned by Indians? When did the Government find out this new doctrine? This difference exists in almost all provinces. In the C.I.D. section of the police Department, the clerks are only Europeans or Anglo-Indians. We can only express our surprise at the British still suspecting the Indians, even though it is about 150 years since the British began to rule over India.

33. Remarking that repression has begun even in Burma, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 14th March, says that if the authorities had realised that repression it is that will end their rule, they will not resort to it and adds that it is only glad of their ignorance, for they are thereby only seeking the end of their administration.

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA of the 21st March, in a leading article remarks:- Government have begun to accept the advice of those who wish to put down non-co-operation by making all Government servants the opponents of the non-co-operationists..... A major part of the Anglo-Indian authorities are autocrats. Many of the Anglo-Indian editors of newspapers think it possible

to carry out by force and terrorism what has to be accomplished in a righteous manner. These people seem to forget the fate of those peoples and nations that resorted to such ways in the past and met with their due deserts. Force has begun to be used in putting down non-co-operation. This is a huge mistake. India will not lose anything thereby, rather it will only tend to keep the Indians more united than ever. All the righteous people in secret, and all those who disregard British righteousness will suffer perdition. The attempts that are being made by Government to put down non-co-operation will soon land them in disappointment.

34. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 14th March, reiterates the Responsibility of the Ministers. view, that, though the object of the framers of the rules under the Reforms Act in allotting a common fund for the branches of the Provincial Government is to make the Ministers guard against all unnecessary expenditure on the 'Reserved' subjects, the Ministers have not yet at all realised their responsibility and referring to the information conveyed by the LEADER that, in the United Provinces, the Ministers have allowed the Members of the Executive Council to act as they please, observes:-What is the use of wasting the tax-payers' money for paying the salaries of these Ministers? Our prophesy from the very beginning that the New Reforms are not going to profit the tax-payer and in any way and that the administration will continue to be conducted in the same manner as of old, has come true.

36. Referring to this subject, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 17th March, also expresses The Nankana massacre. it surprise at the authorities having failed to foresee the and prevent this massacre in spite of the expert aid of the Secret Police they commend and observes:- The Government were aware from the very beginning that the Mahant

was collecting swords and firearms before the tragedy and so they could have averted it had they been on the alert. It was admitted by the law member of that Province that the Mahant had intimated to the Government that he was collecting swords and firearms as he feared an attack and that the Government least expected that this was for perpetrating the massacre. In so far as the Mahant had intimated the fact to the Government their responsibility was still greater. Did they go into the question as to the nature of the danger the Mahant apprehended, its strength and who were connected with it? Further, could not the authorities have helped the Mahant with the Police and the Military, instead of his making preparations for defence himself, and why did they not do so? What precautions were taken to prevent Mahant from misusing the arms and ammunition he was collecting? It is highly reprehensible that the authorities should ~~be~~ have been inexcusably negligent in this matter.

398

38. Referring to the reply of the Hon'ble Mr. Ramarayananar to the representative of the Anti-non-co-operation Propaganda.

MADRAS MAIL regarding the

non-co-operation movement, a correspondent to the DESABHAKTAN, of the 16th March, observes:- The public can very well understand his attitude from his reply. If as he alleges, the arguments advanced by the non-co-operators are unjust, how do they enthruse the innocent masses? To the best of our knowledge, we are not aware of non-co-operators have ever said that an expression of anger at Government would bring about remission of taxes. The statement that non-co-operators say that they can make a heaven of this earth, has no meaning. It is our opinion that these words have been borrowed from Sir P. Thyagaraya Chettiyar. The Minister says that ordinary people without any status are working in this cause for getting a name. He seems to have made this statement under the impression that the non-co-operation propagandists are working without any patriotism. This clearly betrays that he himself is devoid of patriotism.

Observing that in the same interview, the Hon'ble Mr. Ramarayaningar remarked that the tone of the vernacular newspapers was venomous and that writing about untruths was their main work, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th March writes:- The vernacular papers get information from the same sources as the English papers. There may be difference of opinion among newspapers, ~~but this difference is due to the patriotic feeling of opinion among newspapers~~, but this difference is due to the patriotic feeling of the editors of these papers. We do not know what all vernacular papers are being read by Mr. Ramarayaningar. Being an Andhra Himself, he is ignorant of Tamil. He does not appear to be acquainted with any vernaculars except Telugu and Sanskrit. We are at a loss to know what qualifications he thinks, he has for passing such a sweeping remark about all vernacular papers. As the public, by means of vernacular papers, become aware of the benefits done to them by Ministers and other officials. Mr. Ramarayaningar may have cause for resentment against these papers that enable the public to gauge them rightly. We communicate our sympathies to him.

39. Referring to the telegraphic communication furnished to the DAILY NEWS of London Non-co-operation. by its correspondent at

Allahabad that extremists and non-co-operators blocked the way of His Excellency the Viceroy at the Allahabad Railway station during his tour and that consequently the latter had to go back to Delhi, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th March, observes:- This is the first time we hear of this news. As the Viceroy has returned after finishing his business in Calcutta, we treat this as downright lie. Perhaps this is one of the new methods devised for spreading in foreign countries true accounts concerning India ! Will the Government take proper action against this correspondent in the Minds of the British about the Indians and foment class hatred? Will the Government, which during

the disturbance in Delhi in 1919, subjected the editor of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE, to severe punishment for having published some wrong information furnished by a correspondent about the cartridges used on that occasion, take action in this case also?

The HITAKARINI, of the 14th March, quotes in Telugu a passage from a speech of Mr. Andhrews on the subject of non-co-operation and says:- It is the duty of the British that they should allow to others the same freedom that they themselves would like to have. Indians who scoff at non-co-operation should blush with shame at seeing Mr. Andhrews, an American devoting life to the service of India. Those who do not devote themselves to the emancipation of their country will be called bifooted brutes.

40. The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th March, observes:- The proceedings of the Legislative Assembly show that all the resolutions for the curtailment of unnecessary expenditure were lost. Many of those, who pose themselves in the Council, to be the representatives of the people, and the members of Government, seem to have forgotten the existence of the tax-payers altogether. Fresh taxation may be justifiable for meeting pressing expenditure, but it is a ruthless act to resort to such taxation for meeting luxurious expenditure. The new taxes may be reduced to the extent of the amount involved in this. But finally the resolution was lost as usual. The Government, without taking the burden on their shoulders, slowly shoved it on the Assembly. They should have clearly anticipated ^{what} ~~when~~ the latter would do. Has not Mr. Sarma changed his views? Many ~~and~~ moderates seeking the favour of Government members are ready to dance to their tune. So long as the Government have this power, they will be in a position to conduct the administration as they like, regardless of the fact that the majority of the members of the Council are the representatives of the people.



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