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பாதகாப்பு பாறு __ 1.

அசப்படுமுவர் பெயர் ரி. சூலரும் கலல்

சைப்பறிடுவதற்காக எடுத்ஐக் 08/207. கொள்ளப்பட்ட நாள்:

செப்படைக் மடித்த நாள் 09/2007.

சரிபாக்க்கும் சரிபார்க்கும் இதல் இ. இ. பா. எ. 20. இ. பா. எ. இகையொப்பம் அகையொப்பும்

தூர்கள் தேர்குள் உதவியாளர் கேகையாப்பம்

January 3 1921. LEADER.

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THE CONGRESS.

The 35th session of the Indian National Congress concluded its session on the last day of the year 1920. Nearly 20,000 delegates attended the session from all parts of the country. The subjects discussed were of far-raching national importance. The earnestness, animation, and spirit shown by the delegates in the subjects Committee and in the Congress session were unequalled in any previous session of the Congress. The proceedings will constitute a notable landmark in the annals of the congress movement in this country beside which party organisations such as the Moderate conference which met in this city under the grandiloquent name of the national Liberal Federation are like a rush light before the blazing sun. Mr. Ben spoor M.P. One of the prominent leaders of the Committee Broxkskour British Labour party and the Chairman of the British Congress Committee attended the kittings from start to finish and characterised the congress as an epoch making one in the history of Indian nationalism. The key-note of the remarkable success of the last congress and of the tremendous enthusiasm which has marked its proceedings is the union of heart which has been consummated among the Nationalists of all shades of opinion and their inflexible determination tox throw heart and sould into the national movement and to leave no stone unturned in striving by all legitimate and peaceful means to attain the national goal, viz., "Swaraj". A local contemporary gravely assures us that the congress is dead. Since however the penning of obituary notices of the Congress has latterly been the Moderates' curious con tribution to the advancment of India's cause the news w

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behindth It is rel ing das it not or are we.c. The fact Nagpur c it go ?a Congress eeding the rek servin wrough and th brings sentat the Pr tunate tolera the lil mention nister has be anchol rades paraly politi of ete the na

and of which the Non-co-operation movement is the expression. It is not without significance that while the congress demands, the Liberal federation wages, %requests", "recommends" and "considers". The latter indicates a mentality essentially servile and if to repudiate that mentality is a desservice then the country can easily put up with a few more such disservices. We have before pointed out that the change in the creed of the congress was actuated not by a desire to work against the British connection but to get rid of the cramping efffects of a blind reverence for it, upon national progress. Eternal tutelge postulates eternal sloth and no nation can grow great than has not learnt to depend upon itself. Moderatism is not a policy but disease. How else is one to explain the fact that men whose criticism of official short comings is as vigorous as that of anybody still cherish a pathetic belief in those same official promises and smooth words? Mr. Sastri denounces the officials but pins his faith upon the efficacy of annual resolutions in the Assembly and council of state calling for the redress of the Punjab crime. And this despite the fate of his own resolution in the defunct council! A perusal of the addresses delivered at the Moderate confabulation will serve to emphasise the differmnce bet the two points of view. It is necessary however to explain the psychology of the change since the Moderates have joined hands with the reactionaries in the discrediting of the congress and are trying to make out that the change implies a cleavage that it unbridgeable bet the friends and the enemies of the British Empire. It

is so easy to raise up the bosey of rebellion and sinn Feinism. A right understanding of the methods and objects of the congress will dispel any uneasiness to people in Britain whose consciences are easy and who are fair minded enough to recognise that even subject proples have rights and have above all the right to work out their salvation. The strict insistence on non-violence which has contributed largely to raise the ethical basis of non-co-operation. is a factor which its critics must always bear in mind as distinguishing from all other mass movements towards nationality. If as is suggested by the keepers of the British conscience, the anser to it is violence the Indian people will remember that the employment of immoral weapons will ever defeat itself and that every era of repression only happens the day of freedom. The challenge has gone forth and a programme has been adopted which is more comprehensive and which in our opinion is none the less effective because it is more diffuse. It has been suggested by the watchful guardian of non-co-operators' morals that the Gandhi programme has been emasculated. Since "New India's" enthusiasm for non-co-operation is in direct proportion to the amount of inconvenience; it causes to its own opponents mobody will take its opinions seriously. As a matter of fact few will deny that the programme has been made far more effective. The objection that was raised against the original programme that it was purely destructive that it was unequally balanced in the call for sacrifice has now been entirely removed. The sacred cause of education is not hampered while on the other hand the scheme provides for the promotion of facilities

for a better type of education than now available. Provision is also made for industrial expansion and ecoduclopment that the state alconants are nomic of national uplift. Self-renunciation self-sacrifice
and self reliance and unity in political effort are also to
be the watch words of those who labour in the cause of the
country.

January 14 1921. LEADER.

MEDICAL SERVICE.

The basic idea of reform and reorganisation of services in India is the gradual Indianisation of the Indian services and not the creation of some high posts for a favoured few. Perhaps nowhere in the bitter struggle for breaking the barrier of colour prejudice and racial superiority have the Indians met with greater opposition and more persistent hindrance than in the field of medical service in this country. The curtailment of monopolies \$50 long che rished as the special privilege of European officers will naturally provoke hostile feelings and such feelings ought not to be allowed to cramp the rising ambition of the Indian officers of accredite capacity that desire to have as large a share as possible in the administration of their we own country. The great war had proved beyond a shadow of doubt the hollowness of the pretensions of the ImM.S. for efficiency and superiority and even the Esher Committee was driven to the necessity of making the following remarks with regard to their work in the field: -- "Military opinion as represented to us by many witnesses of high authority and recent experience in the field was practically unanimous in holding that the officers of the latter (ImM.S.) serfice lacked the necessary training for work in the field though quite as efficient professionally as the R.A.M.C. in the words also as specialists and consultants

On the other hand the civil Assistant Surgeons who had received temporary commissions majority of whom were Indians, had been, it is said by competent judges, quite satisfactory and the decorations and distinctions earned by them compared favourably with those earned by the permanent commissioned officers. The Civil Medical officers who had volunteered for for field service at a time of special emergency had no military training and yet they rose quite equal to the occasion and discharged their duties under trying conditions with such efficiency and thoroughness that they gained the admiration of even hostile critics and in fact, it is said in some quarters, that they saved the I.M.S. from complete and ignominious break-down." It will be interesting to know how therse loyal servants of the Government had been rewarded. The Bright portion of the service rendered by the Indians was not presented before the Esher Committee and they were made to remark in their report "Out of 900 or more temporary Indian medical officers employed in the war we uderstand that bnly a small proportion have proved themselves so fit for active service as to justify selection for permanent appointments. An I.M.S. officer wrote in the "Servant of India" dt. 18th November 1920 that the treatment meted out to them (Indian Medical officers) was far from friendly considerate or sympathetic and in some cases it could hardly be imagined as possible anywhere else except in the I.M.S. The officers in the temporary commission are given a separate scale of pay promotion and grativities quite distinct from the permanent service. Leaving these distinctions apart these Indian officers represent that they should be permitted to participate in command and other charge allowances of the services to which for the time being

they belong. This must appear to be just and reasonable to all people who are not blinded by prejudice.

If the differential scale of pay is extended to the permanent service also, it will be nothing but a bare-faced attempt to perpetuate the race distinction in its most objectionable form. Such humiliating terms of service will keep out the very class of Indians whom it will be most desirable to enlist in the service. It is hoped that those interested in the smooth working of the service would do their best to remove all race distinctions and give equality of treatment to all officers of the service, efficiency being taken as the sole consideration for promotion and preferment.

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January 26 1921.

CONSERVANCY COOLIES STRIKE.

The strike still continues in the city and the state of affairs in the town has already become intolerable. The Health officer with the assistance of the Sanitary Inspector is trying his best to make some conservancy arrangements so far as important public institutions are concerned thro! motor lorries and temporary hired coolies. It would appear that these coolies are harassed and molested by labourers on strike. This morning at Krishnampet , the Health officer himself was attacked by some of the coolies, but he unfortunately escaped. Yesterday, we understand that when Dr. Subramania Aiyar Assistant Health Officer, was retunning in a lorry from Otteri after dumining the rubbish he was attacked by about 40 laboures pelted with stones and he received injuries on his face. His masal bone was broken and two of his teeth were knocked down. He is now an inpatient in the Rayapettah Hospital. The driver of the same lorry was also hurt.

Mr. Harisarvothama Row's Statement: --

Mr. G.Harisarvothama Row, President the Scavanger's union, sends us the following statement:--

When I wrote to the Pressyesterday I had no information that work had stopped again at certain centres. I learnt that there was stoppage at Budupet and Choolai about 2-30 p.m. I thought it rather stranger that while the health staff took my assistance on the previous day voluntarily going to me. I had no intimation of this subsequent situation. ever, I went to Pudupet by myself and after a while persuaded the men to go to work. I went from there to Choolai. As the story was going round against the mill employees I went to the Labour Union premises and took a large number of them to the Choolai scavengers so that I might communicate that the mill men had no connection with what was alleged to be happening. The men at Choolai brought forward a further argument last evening that because the mill men were our for nearly 4 months they had not paid their private scavenging fees and as such the scavengers who relied to some extent for food upon such fees found it impossible to live with the meagre wages given by the municipality: On further enquiry I find that there was a large number of scavengers involved in the mill affair and a goodly number in the strike of the water works and the pumbping station Municipal workers. With a Municipality that did not show any prompt consideration to representations made on behalf of its workmen with regard to wages, with past real wages cut off by the long drawn lockout of the mills involving thousands of constituents, with a large number of their own brethren concerned in strikes and lock-outs, with

to await what may yet take place.

a terrible scare of being actually attacked in the course of duty to find the cause of which no attempt seems to have been immediately made by the authorities concerned it is no wonder that men of the type of scavengers behave as they have done. The only solution seems to be that Government and the public should demand that large employees must submit when acute struggles arise, to a proper board of arbitration consisting of representatives of both sides in equal number with a co-opted member. Certainly no one man or two should have the right in the name of employment to control the destinies of thousands of his fellowmen against their will, simply because he or they can get together enough capital to establish satanic structures that make automators of men and degrade humanity to the level of drudging brute. The Municipality and public should make up their minds to pay their menial staff sufficiently to make them live human lives. As I am finishing this communication I understand a special meeting of the corporation has been called and 12 representatives from each depot have been called to a conference by the authorities concerned. We have

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January 26, 1921. LEADER.

Non-co-operation.

THE STUDENTEXS! MOVEMBNT.

The Students' Movement in Calcutta is rapidly spreading to the mofussil and it may be expected that in a few weeks the whole of Bengal will have adopted it. The facts must have come as a shock to the cynics in the Anglo-Indian A.I. Press and those of our country who, after the special Congress and till quite lately, congratulated Bengal and her youths on their sanity and tacit readiness to follow their counsels; for, it was not perceived by these that the youths of Bengal in delaying thei response to the call of the congress were far from jettironing the nation's appeal only ruminating in their minds as to how best they could respond to that call. Their answer is now made; it is writ in golden letters in the empty halls and lecture rooms of the colleges of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, in the enthusiastic gatherings at the College square eagerly listening to the patriots! advice, and though little evident as yet, in the villages of Bengal far and wide carrying into effect the sacred doctrine of national service. Grave as is the step taken by the youths of Bengal who among us can honestly and after deep deliberation say for certain that the great national wrongs inflicted on as might have been redressed by one less serious? The elders tried hard in the past to seek redress in other ways and on all occasions their efforts have proved futile and the shock of sheer despair has put most of them out of action and strick many of them dumb. The ranks of effectives among the leaders have thus been thinned, but the struggle for freedom refuses to cease and the vacant places are being filled by recruits

who, if they lack experience, possess all other requisites of success, - freshness, enthusiasm, vitality, earnestness, youth and unbounded faith in the high destiny of their country. The faith in the high destiny of their country. The soul of a nation if it is a living entity, cannot be suppressed by the secession of this indiviual or that or even this, that or the other group or parties. It finds expression in more methods than we know of and like the will of providence it seeks and finds fulfilment in many ways and circumventing all obstacles. That is the lesson of the students movement in Bengal. Its expansion is limited only by the amount of useful service that could be found for the withdrawing students. and if the village organisationsa and the development schemes connected with them fructify we publish elsewhere the Bengal programme they can find more than ample work for all the lakh and fifty thousand students in the Bengal colleges. The Punjab students do not lag behind. It will be noticed from a telegram published. exe elsewhere that the students of Lahore numbering hundreds, went all the way from Lahore to Gujranwalla to get the advice of Mr. Lajpat Rai on the question. That advice appears elsewhere; and the result thereof we need not pause to considers, . It is true that as yet the response to this movement in our Presidency has been slow; but it does not mean that the same thing will not happen here. The Madras! it is proverbial is less emotional and more reflective than his fellow-countrymen; and if he is slow, he will be sure. The echo of the Bengal movement is already heard in our Presidency and we note the beginnings of the movement in the

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Andhra country. The Nation when all other methods are closed to it, will and must express itself through its youths. We eannot say that such and such a thing is a serious smudge on the nation's escutcheon and yet expect its youths, spirited and noble if they be, not to feel the call for getting it wipked off. The utmost that the far-seeing amoung the leaders can do is to direct this noble vitality of its youth into useful and harmless channels. That we take it, is the part that leaders should play at xxxxx this time of national crisis. To seek to suppress this spirit would be futile and worse it would be suicidal; for there is a stage in the nation's history when politics, education and all other departments. of life insensibly shade off into one field of national service.

January 26, 1921.

Non-co-operation.

NON-CO-OPERATION IN SALEM.

The following six pleaders in Salem have suspended their practice except for pending cases, in pursuance of the Congress resolutions; -- Viz, messrs (1) V.S. Subramania Iyer, B.A. B.L., (2) M.G. Vasudevayya, B.A., B.L., (3) V.M. Ramaswami' Iyer B.A., B.L., '4) K.V.Subba Rao B.A.B.L., (5) N.Rama Rao, B.A. B.L., and (6) D.S.Gopalachariar, B.A., B.L., They have resolved to devote thier whole time for the present for the carrying out of the congress resolutions in salem dist. . t. Messors V.M. Ramaswami Iyer, K.V.Subba Rao and M.G.Vasudevayya have also withdrawn their children from the Government and aided schools. Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu and a few of the above will begin propaganda work on the 24th instant at Kelamangalam, in Dharmapuri taluk. As the old District Congress Committee for this district went out of existence long ago, the above have constituted themselves into a provisional committee for doing congress work in the district especially to bring the congress machinery into being in accordance with the new constitution. It is requested that other workers in the taluq and village centres, who are prepared to carry out the congress resolutions, may put themselves in communication with Mr. V.S.Subramania Iyer, Sivaswamipuram Salem.

It is a matter for congratulation that a number of ladies of Salem demand a National Girls' school and have spontaneously come out with offers of financial help for the same. They also demand that the school should provide for lessons demand that the school should provide for lessons in spinning for girls and ladies. They are busy collecting funds among themselves.

February 3, 1921.

Leader.

Native States.

REPRESSION IN INDIAN STATES.

Elsewhere we publish a telegram which speaks for itself regarding the order of externment issued upon Mr. Satyamurthi by the Pudukottah Darbar. When an absentee ruler delegates his irrespondibility upon a confirmed European bureaucrat one has generally not long to wait for the explosion and Mr. Burn, I.C.S., has lost no time in adding his modest foot more to the history of Indian repression. It is for the people of the state concerned to decide whether they are going to take their dragooning lying down but for the rest of India the incident serves once again to draw pointed attention to an important problem. Some time ago we drew attention to the peculiar problem presented by the existence of Indian states in the development of Indian polity. We suggested that Indian politicians will soon have to face the problem in real earnest That problem is simply stated if the solution is not of an equal simplicity. Is there any room in the self governing and selfcontained India that we envisage for arid patches where reaction and autocracy run life? We have before pointed out that the question is a delicate one, since it is complicated by the touch of sentiment involved in the fact that these States represent so many mouthfuls saved from the tentacles of the British octopus. The time has now come in our opinion to enquire whether for the sake of a sentiment that as we advance towards self-government is found to diminish in its appeal we should consent cheerfully to endure what we cannot but regard as clogs to our national unity. It would be as hypocritical as it would be useless to pretend that from the point of respect for civil rights the best ruled of Indian states

can stand comparison with British India. It can then be small consolation to argue that an Indian would rather be trodden upon by one of his own race than by a foreigner, which after all, is what the sentimental argument amounts to. The kmkmix toad under the harrow probably does not feel more resigned because the instrument of its torture is of indigenous manufacture. It is a matter capable of clear proof that the subject of an Indian ruler is no happier than his neighbour who faunts his "slave mentality" under a foreign yoke. In fact if the influse from the states into British territory in times of famine is any criterion, his capacity to withstand scarcity is far inferior. They are ruled by princes who except in rare instances have as much pretensions to a genealogical table as the grocers and financiers who buy peerages in these democratic days. Some of these states it is true are well administered but their very showiness serves to remind one how much depends upon the will of a single person and upon his qualities good or bad. A sudden kink in that personage's brain may bring down the whole elaborate edifice like a house of cards. It would be well for those who are tempted to enthuse about "progress" in Indian states to seriously ponder how far it is wise for the happiness of millions of our fellow countrymen to depend upon the whims of autocrats. The solicitor in "Pickwick" it will be remembered pointed out the importance of the jury having a good breakfast before the trial. Is it consistent with our new conception of political values to view unmoved the fact that the fate of a third of India depends upon the digestions,

physical mental and moral, of a few individuals?. . . The states are Indian - the sentimental argument. They are not as unhappy as represented. British rule is as bad or is growing to be as bad. With the enlightenment of the rulers their rule is bound to improve. No one with any knowledge of the states will pretend that the people in the majority of them are happier from the point of view of physical comfort than in British India. Sentiment might keep them more resigned but that is all and it is a steadily diminishing consideration Politically their level is a generation behind British India for the simple reason that political activity has been : steadily discouraged by these "public spirited Rulers" over whose virtues the Indian social Reformer is apt to sentimentalise. And their treatment of political movements is far more perverse and inspired to a far greater extend by personal pique and what is graphically known as "place intrigue" than during the worst periods of representation in British India. We have quoted instances enough of such mis-government. Who reading the cause of offence which set the defacto ruler of Padikkottah to launching his thunderbolts could say that the representation of British India is of the same degree of unreasoning truculence as in the Indian states? We are aware that itwas a European and one trained in the ways of buruacracy that is responsible but does not the fault liex with those that put the weapon in his hands? In British India we make at least a pretence of justice. We may be denied it as often as not but even pretences are valuable. They are post dated cheques on which if not ourselves at least posterity may draw. Which of these "public spirited rulers" we ask will consent even to make a show of surrendering his power, irrevocably in

favour of his subjects, to the extent that has been done in British India? That is a question which may be unplesant to face, particularly to the school which believes in lowering its voice to a reverntial whisper when speaking of the great ones of the earth but it is one nevertheless which will have to be answered and answered satisfactorily before progress is possible to that united self-governed and democratised India that is our goal.

Rebruary 4, 1921

Leader.

Prohibition.

THE DRINK PROBLEM.

Excise is a transferred subject under the Governmet of India Act and the ability with which the Ministers are able to tackle the drink problem may perhaps provide however partially a test as to the genuineness of the worth of the montford measure of reforms. That the problem is day by day growing more and more serious there is no doubt whatsoever. The latest Administration Report of the Madras Abkari Department the one for the year 1919-1920, affords striking evidence of this fact. There has been arise in the consumption of all kinds of intoxicant liquors as well as in Revenue. The consumption of country spirits for one thing, has been steadily increasing in the last 10 years.... And this increase it must be noted, is not due to any abnormal condition in any particular area but is distributed through out the Presidency. The revenue figures reflect this increased consumption. If, thus, in the case of country spirits the figures point to a distressing tale, they are no less painfully significant in regard to other kinds of liquors.

If anything the position in regard to these from one point of view at any rate is worse. For the last 3 years, inlike in thecase of country spirits there is no steady decline in the number of toody shops. as the report itself acknowledges, this must not be used as a basis for estimating consumption which certainly must have increased. The toody revenue in the year under report was Rs. 249 lakhs as against Rs. 215 lakhs in 1918-1919. The statement in the

report that the "increase in toddy revenue occurred in all the depots. and was generally due to a good agricultural season and to the high wages obtained by the labouring classes" speaks for itself on the question of consumption as well as on that of revenue. The figures for foreign liquors reveal a similar story an increase in consumption as indeed the whole revenue figures show. The revenue (collections) last year amounted to Rs. 531 lakhs as against Rs. 462 lakhs in the previous year: and this increase has occurred in spite of all the temperance measures that the Government have been able to adopt a Neither the reduction of shops nor their temporary closure, has had any tangible effect on consumption." During the year under report" we are told "there has been a further reduction in the number of shops for the sale of liquor the shops closed being in some cases those of less importance and those for which bids could not be obtained. In spite of this reduction in the number of shops, the consumption has not declined." Of the Salem measures of which we were told so much at the time of their inception the Board of Revenue writes: -- "In the Salem / Municipality the number of arrack and toddy shops has been much reduced and the shops have been on the recommendation of the local advisory committee, placed outside municipal limits. Both the consumption and rentals have notwithstanding increased and though there has been no matieral increase in number of offences reported against the abkari laws, it is difficult to believe that te whole consumption licitly occurs at the shops". "It is clear" continues the Board "That except in so far as those inhabitants of the town who do not drink are not affronted by the presence of liquor shops no tangible advantage has ensued. The experiment has thus certainly

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not been an unqualified success, but it has been allowed to continued for another year". That these half hearted measures are altogether insufficient are evident not only from the consumption figures, but also from the statistics of conviction for drunkenness. The number of these convictions increased from 7951 in the year previous to 9020 in the year under report. There is then, no need for more evidence as to the evergrowing spread of the evil. How is the Ministry going to tackle it?

February, 5, 1921:--

Non-co-operation

HINDU HIGH SCHOOL, TRIPLICANE.

Mr. P.A.Subramania Iyer, Head Master H.H. School Triplicane, writes:--

Two days ago the Secretary to the School Committee received a letter signed by about 200 boys of the school. It contained the resolutions passed at a meeting of the boys held on the Beach on Tuesday last under the presidency of one of the school boys and under the guidance of Mr. Harisarvottama Rao. The most important of the resolutions was the one calling on the management to convert the school into a national school and threatening a general strike in case the resolution was not given effect to within a week's time. Yesterday, the secretary came to the school, went from class to class and told the signatories one after another that if they wished to remain in the school they might do so, or withdraw from the school if they had conscientious objections to staying. Almost all the signatories including the chairman of the meeting expressed their wish to remain in the school and were permitted to remove their signatures contained in the letter to the Secretary. Only 12 boys wanted to leave school and the Secretary let them go. Five of them have since repented and on their undertaking to behave properly hereafter the Secretary has allowed them to rejoin the schoo 1. /

A meeting of the students of the Hindu High School,

Triplicane, and Harris High School was held yesterday
evening on the Triplicane Beach, with Mr. T.V.Venkatarama

Iyer in the chair. About 500 students were present.

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The Chairman in opening the meeting said that he was personally gratified to learn that the students felt the call of their country and had come to realise that the education they were now receiving was not conducive to their life, because of the slave mentality that it produced in them. He exhorted the young men to take to industrial training and propaganda work in the villages. He said what the country wanted was willing workers to carry on this great propaganda work. Therefore he asked the students to come out of colleges and schools for this work.

16th February 1921.

LEADER

Representation.

The Collector of Malabar is heaping honours on the Congress workers in the date slow in the beginning the political awakening of Malabar has latterly taken great strides, and a panickly civilian is just providing the ordeal of fire, which of all political reageants, ripens a popular movement with the utmost rapidity. The gagging of speakers and propagandists is a futile weapon for the bureaucratic purpose in times of general ferment; it will, on the other hand heighten the enthusiasm. The public men of Malabar har therefore, to thank Mr. Thomas for this much of help in disseminating the movement. The Ernad Taluk ought to be specially grateful for it is so savanced he seems to think, in political awakening that a few speeches there might bring the heavens round his neck.

February 23, 1921:-- Leader.

The Junkerist Game.

According 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 the Hindu-Moslem 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 communities of India symbolise a new unification of political forces which cannot help being in conveninet 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 deprove Britain of her brightest jewel. They therefore take care to feed the British reader with such a variety of misrepresentation as may be relied on to play on his instinctive feeling that India is a possession and not a trust. It is the old policy 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 intirigue and nothing is left unsaid which would strengthen the case for a policy of intensive representation. We have referred more than once to the kaxax howl against Mahatma Gandhi both in Parliament and in the British Press. The fact

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that under him India has goto 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. Thus the special correspondent to the "Daily Telegraph" writes: -- "Nothing will be understood of the existing situation here if the personality of Mr. Gandhi is not constantly borne in mind. In him extremex Indian nationalism has at last discovered a chief who is regarded by his followers as divine and those who have studied the Eastern character will grasp the vast importance to us of this change of leadership. koxxxxx his colleagues are helpless in the face of the overwhelming enthusiasm he evokes within the party of extremists. Such is the man who to-day has taken upon himself the supreme and unquestioned control of the obvious policy of trying to thrust the English out of India". It is evident that what troubles the writer is Mr. Gandhi's power, not the deep causes which have rallied round him the vast majority of Indians. The same mixture of prejudice and perversion that makes this writer characterise Mr. Gandhi as a seditionist, provides him with an interpetation of Moslem psychology, which in its brazen faced wickedness, surpasses anything of its kind. The growing solidarity of Hindues and Mohammadans is broad-based on other things beside the khilafat and has by now acquired a degree of strength which makes it idle to attempt to separate them by the old strategem. The national movement, which the

junkers prefer to call Gandhism, is too deep and pervasive to collapse at the trick of rellying the Moderates or the Muhammadans. It is within conjecture that motives akin to this are hidden behind the invitation of Indian Moslem representatives to the Near East Conference at London. That the Moslems are not as ready to be entrapped as is supposed is evident from the proceedings of the Bombay meeting published elsewhere not in regard to the Moslems alone, but about the fundamentals of the Indian situation, this correspondent Mr. Percival London, shows a surprising capacity for blunder. All the treamendous trouble that is evident in this medlee of calculated misrepresentation points to one conclusion, that the Britishers are getting uneasy at the spread of the Non-oo-operation movement and seek its representation. This sort of insidious propaganda, evidently meant to prepare for a strong regime, is the information which readers in Britain get in respect of the Indian situation.

26th February 1921: --

Repression.

THE NEW REPRESSION.

As 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 "ial". 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 refuses 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 openly advertised....... nothing could be more admirable than the post prandial lucubrations of the Viceroy at the Calcutta club Non-co-operation is spread by propaganda and it behoves us, . British and Indians to comunteract it by propaganda. If non-co-operation takes hold of grievances where they exist, it behaves 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 possible be any in this best governed of all countries

that in sheer despair of its impenetrable self- sufficiency the movement was started. Non-co-operation as we have always maintained is not an end in itslef; it is only the means to an end. But it suited the Viceroy as it suits the other opponents 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 percerted but it is idle to expect so recent a convert to sweet reasonableness to be any fairer. would be foolish of our readers to run away however with the impression that the speech marks the dawn of an era of 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, exercies of powers which are only intended to secure the preservation of peace. It requires much juggling with facts to prove that the presence of Mr. Yakub Hassan at Calicut was a direct h in centive 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 for prolonged periods without consideration of either their character or their profable 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 ao 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 Cannaught's word that autocracy is dead. If so, then we are witnessing a miracle in administration; a policy is being dictated from below instead of from above; But possible the miracle is not 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 eaged on in its prejudices by the can-did 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 is more easy than to placate them by repuditating repression and securing their tacit assent by exaggerating the bogery of disorder which is already a kind of chronic obsession with them? Vain however is the net set in sight of the bird ----except in the case of a certain type of bird. In Madras these friends failed to fall into the snare and displayed an inconvenient curiosity as to the extent and possibility of disorder. In other provinces the Councils are still so dazed by the mantle of responsibility that has fallen upon them that they have not got beyond the stage of passing fulsome addresses and costly votes for places of more profit than power. It is clear that on the whole the confidence of the bureaucracy has not been misplaced. The majority may not always be ready as in Madras to out-Herod Herod, but they are always susceptible to the arguments that what is happening is not repression but only a novel method

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of combating the movement. In the councils therefore the bureaucracy has found its most useful weapon and it is fully alive
to the fact. To the public, to the thousands who are
deprived of their liberty of speech and meeting it will
matter little whether the deprivation comes from a repressive law so-called or from a missuse of a local authority's
power. The bureaucracy has surrendered little and gained
much. It has got a partner in misgout. It is chear we
are witnessing a variation of the old game of divide and rule,
of playing off one opponent against another, that has made
the British Empire what it is and so much of what it ought
not to be.

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February 28 1921. leader.

non-co-operation.

YESTERDAY'S DEMONSTRATION.

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 misdemeanour of the exe officials, with the approval of the Madras Government in arresting and committing to jail Messrs. Yakub Hassan and his 3 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-Bombay, it was he who began the era of repressive administrative action by directing Mrs. Besant who was then in her Home Rule 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 board for keeping the peace for having delivered 2 speeches in support of H.R. for India. This was set aside by the Bombay High Court as unsustainable in law soon after his arrival in Madras Lord Willingdon signalised his accession to the office of Governor by calling upon several Indian Jouranals 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 2 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 Hassan Madhvan Nair, Gopala Menon, and Moideen Koya is an outrage whether regarded from the point of view of law, of justice or of political morality, No lawyer with a glimmering of common sense could have imagined that section 144 of the Cr. P.C. could be invoked to prohibt a public meeting of the nature which Mr. Yakub Hassan was going to address at Calicut nor would Mr. Yakub Hassan's intention to hold a meeting, as he declared in spite of an order which was itself provocative of violence and in order to counsel peaceful conduct, be held to justify the irrational direction of the Magistrate requiring Mr. Yakub Hassan to undergo the humiliating and unjust process of excuting a bond to keep the peace. Mr. Yakub Hassan is a responsible citizen. He is an emissary of th Indian National Congress. He went to calicut with the avowed objet of carrying out the resolution on Non-co-operation the key note of which is non-violence. The object indeed of the repressive regime which has been set on foot all over India seems to be to suppress the movement of Non-co-operation on the plea that it would lead to violence. Although Sir Michel O'Dwyer has left India, his politi cal theories inspire the actions of the bureaucracy in India as may be seen from an article which he has contributed to the February Number of the "Fortnightly Review" In urging a policy of rigorous repression, this infamous ex-administrator says: -- "Within the last few weeks there have been some faint signs that Government faced with the rapid spread of disorder is taridly and reluctantly awakening to its duties. But unless and until the evil is

tackled at its source and the authors of the mischief brought to justice and rendered powerless, India will go on drifting under the evil influence of Mr. Gandhi or of others whom his success may inspire into deeper chaos and anarchy The Government has only to enforce the law, maintain the splendid body of officers who stand for a clean and impartial administration, and abandon the weak policy of truckiling to those whose ultimate aim is the overthrow of our rule in India" It must be admitted that this policy has received considerable support from moderate Indian Coliticians of the stamp of that great apostate to India nationalism, Sir Surendranath Banerjee who spoke recently of the "monster" of non-co-operation of the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri who gave utterance to his belief that Non-co-operation would lead to bloddshed, and likewise from the acts and utterances of the first Indian Governor, Lord Sinha. If the sections of the Cr. P.C. Which are now made to do service for the acts of repression of the bureaucrats in the country are really suited for the object there is no need for the Rowlatt Act and the seditious Meetings Act in the Indian statute book....... The actions and proceedings of many of these District Magistrates are indeed farcical and ridiculous. In their ignorance of the conditions of the country and in their arrogance, they show a complete disregard of the elementary principles of justice, of freedom of person and of what is due to everyman's self-respect. It is a dad irony of the situation that even before H.R.H. the Duke of Cannaught who has inaugurated the so-called great constitutional reform has left the shores of Indian there is enough to show how illusory and futile it is. The commenest and most elementary civil rights, freedom of speech and right to meet in public whith ought to be the indefeasible right of every citizen in a civilised community, are at the

mercy of an alæen 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 Hassan and his co-workers by the local authorities has found warm support not only in the Executive Council, which thus stands self condemned in respect of its alleged representative character of the people of this presidency.

22 28th Feb. 1921:-

Non-co-operation.

REPRESSION IN KERALA COMPLETE HARTAL IN MADRAS. MONSTER MEETING.

The Citizens of Madras as a mark of their indignation against the action of the Government in having sent Messrs.

Yakub Hassan V.K.Madhavan Nair, N.Gopala Menon and Moideen Koya who were engaged in non-violent Non-co-operation propaganda in calicut to jail observed complete hattal offered prayers, and held a monster public meeting at the triplicane Beach yesterday.

The whole city presented a gloomy appearance in the day. Shops of every kind were dosed closed some of them were draped with black. Piece goods shops sweetmeat bazaars, coffee restaurants, vegetable and meat markets included. Business was suspended in Bunder St., Kotwal Bazzar Devaraja Mudali St., Godown St., Mint Sit., Guzeratti Bazzar China Bazzaar Paracheri market, Chulai market, Triplicane Chowk and other places too numerous to mention. In the afternoon procession started from different parts of the city and gathered together at the Triplicane chowk. They were from Mafushkhan's garden (under the leadership of Mohammad Abdus Salam) the Elephant Tank (Abid Hussain), Koddambakkam (Mohammad Ibrahim Sahib), Taje Jahan Road (Mohammad Sheriff) Washermanpet (Hussain Sherriff), Periamet (Md. H Husim Sahib) Pension Lane (Khazi Mohammed) Royapuram (Yusub Sheriff Sahbb) Chintadripet (Ghulam Muhiddin Sahib) Suparigunta (Ghulam Md. Sahib), Chetti's Garden (Baba Mean Saheb) Central Market (Safdar Hussain Saheb), Labour Union Office (Mr.V.Chakkarai) and Burma Oil Co., workemen's Union (Mr. Ramayya) and Aluminium Workers' Union. They

carried banners and crescent flags bearing inscriptions "Victory is near", "Swaraj and Khilafat peace is to be sent to you by God only " "Hindus and Mussalmans join together" "Fight Peacefully "Mictory for non-co-operation" "Glory be to our leaders Yakub Hassan, Madh van Nair, Gopalamenon and Moideen Koya" "We stand for justice, our cause is just" and "India and Islam are one". There were some inscriptions also from Quoran special poems composed in honour of Yakub Hassan and his three comrades were sung as the procession marched. Many Mohammedans wore black turbans and carried black flags to indicate their determination to see that their leaders were released. When the processions from various places gathered at chowk Triplicane, Mr. Abdul Majit Sharar spoke to them on the necessity of maintaining peace and order both during the time of the procession from Chowk to the Beach and also at the meeting to be held there.

When all assembled at the Beach at 5-30 p.m. the gatherin was immense. It extended over a furlong and a half in length and half a furlong in breadth. At a rough estimate between 50 and 70 thousand people (Hindus and Mussalmans) assembled at the Beach for the public demonstration. Five platforms were erected. They were presided over by Messrs. C.Vijaraghavachariar, S.Kasturiranga Aiyangar, C.Abdul Hakeem Sahib Moulvi Abdulla Shahi sahib and E.L.Aiyar. The same resolutions were were moved at all the platforms they were these:--

"The people of Madras in this meeting assembled give emphatic expression to the deep and universal conviction that the administration of the cr.P.C. relating to the prevention of apprehended breaches of the public peace to our esteemed brethren Messrs. Yakub Hassan K.Madhavan Nair,

V.Gopala Menon, and Moideen Koya as well as their arrest under colour of such proceedings is an unlawful and unscrupulous use of the law."

"This meeting expresses its high appreciation of the man manly conduct of our brethren when suddenly confronted with a situation calculated to overawe the people and tender their grateful thanks and congratulations to them and to their familieis for their cheerful and courageous submission to the umerited and continued suffering.".

"This meeting resolves to appeal on this occasion to the men and women of our country not to be alarmed by such proceedings of the authorities but on the other hand to redouble their efforts from speedy organisation of the country in order to carry out the resolutions of the National Congress.

February 28, 1921.

LEADER.

REPRESSION.

Since the above was in type we learn by wire that four public workers in Malabar have been incarcerated under similar circumstances. The men on the spot seem to be indulging in an orgy of represion in Malabar the effect of which will inevitably be to good the people into violent measures. As no desire to do justice has so far been forthcoming from either the Executive Government or the Legislative Council, it would naturally be expected that the High Court of Judicature which is a court not only to administer law but to look to the proper administration of justice will see that there is no abuse of power within its jurisdiction under cover of the forms of law. If the action of District authorities is illegal and is in violation of justice it seems to us to be the duty of the highest court in the land to vindicate the majesty of the law, whether the injuries parties apply to it for redress or not. The powers of revision possessed by the High Court seem to us sufficiently clear and comprehensive to necessitate and justify their interference in order to avert what with the latest information to hand we have reason to fear will develop into a grave national s scandal.

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25th March 1921:-

LEADER

England & India.

JUSTICE TO INDIA.

If wishes were horses beggars will ride. 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 analien bureaucracy what does Justice and equity demand short of complete Swaraj based on the principle of self-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 upto the eloquent messages of sympathy and brotherhood recently deliverd by the Royal emissary. India has been receiving periodical assurances of britain's exalted motives and righteous intentions as regards the Government of this country. But they have uniformaly failed hitherto to bring peace to the country, not throwany 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 important documents and the unscrupulous devices adopted by an officialdom unwilling to disgorge itself of all arbitrayy power, words have also been cleverely 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 it will not be entirely unprofitable, for the public as well as his Lordship, to discuss here how far the prevailing system is conducive to the establishment of National Justice in this country, Justice everywhere, whether bet. individuals or nations is based on the natural rights of men and the eternal laws of life, and wherever these are violated by the unrighteous aggression of power it demands the unqualified and immediate restoration of the same irrespective of the real owner's colour country or apacity. Any limitations on the nature or extent of restoration of rights is of doubtful validity as being manifestly against the reign of the Lex Acterna, and if imposed by the very aggressors and wrong doers themselves in the light of their selfinteresta and continued predominance they amount to an open outrage on this holy principle. Hence the continuance of a system of administration directly based upon the violateon of a nation's natural right for freedom and marked at every step by many outstanding limitations on popular liberties enforced against the expressed wishes of the people cannot on any account; be consistent with the dawn of equity and Justice much less conducive to the permanent establishment of the same. 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

effecting a reform in the spirit of their actions and outlook the bureaucracy ander the convenient pretence of preserving law and order are obviously making their last efforts at self perpetuation and this time thanks 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 Engnald that the fight is against the old Imperialism which, saturated with fendal and militarist traditions seeks to holiday in servitude other peoples for the sake of self-glorification and capitalist exploitation. And the gross misrepresentation of the righteous and necessary struggle of nationalism against the monster 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 We do not know what kind of help Lord Reading hopes to secure for his noble mission from such unrepentant, ill-reformed and power intoxicated officialdom according to whom judged by their present performances, Repression forms the fit herald of Justice and misrepresentation the best homage to Truth and Equity. In view of the fact that the avowed aim of the Non-o-coperators is to the securing of Justice to India according to the eternal laws of God and Man there can be no greater or more perverse libel.upon them than to fear that they may stand in the way of administering to the nation what they themselves strive after viz., Justice based upon equity. If Lord Reading means business and that of the right sort, without compromising his high political idealism or allowing the sun-dried bureaucrat to interpret for him his noble dictum, he can find no better or more willing helpers in his fondly cherished cause, then

the workers in this much maligned movement. And there can also be no better way of preparing the country for the enthronement of Justice than the creating in the people at large an earnest nd 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 twoin brother Laberty depends for its ultimate permanence, on a sense of its necessity firmly rooted in the depths of the nations soul and the inner strength and confidence of the people to secure it forms the only guarantee of its sure and speedy advent.

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April 1, 1921.

non-co-operation.

A.I.C.C. MEETING.

BESWADA DECISIONS:

C.D. POSTPONED.

At its meeting yesterday the A.I.C.C. decided that in spite of the increasing repressive measures, it was not time yet to call for civil disobedience.

The Committee resolved that the country should now concentrate on getting a crore for the Swarajya Fund and a crore in membership before June 30th.

The session was unprecedented in enthusiasm; the crowds of visitors almost trebled the population of Bezwada.

Text of resolutions: --

At the **x** A.I.C.C. meeting held yesterday four resolutions were adopted.

The first resolution is to the followig effect:-- "In
the opinion of the A.I.C.". all congress organisations
and workers should concentrate their attention chiefly upon
(a) bringing the All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund
to one crore of rupees and before 30th June next each
congress province to collect in the ratio of its population;
(b) putting in Congress re gisters one crore of members
in pursuance of the constitution, and before 30th June next a
each province to contribute the number of Members in
the ratio of its population; (c) introducing into villages
and houses 20 lakks of charkas (spinning wheels) in good
working order and before 30th June next each province
to introduce the number of charkes in the ratio of its
population."

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The Second resolution is to the following effect: -- (a) The A.I.C. is fxf of opinion that the orders of officials in various provinces against non-co-operators in pursuit of the policy of repression are totally unwarranted by the situation in the country and are in most cases pronoucned by the highest legal opinion to be illegal; (b) whilst the Committee believes that the country has responded in a wonderful manner and in the face of grave provocation by Government to the principle of non-violence enjoined by Congress in the Country's pursuit after swaraj and redress of Khilafat and Punjab wrongs: (c) This Committee is of opinion that apart from the fact that c.d. is not expressly comprised in the Congress resolution relating to non-co-operation, the country is not yet sufficiently disciplined, organised and ripe for the immediate taking up of c.d. (d) This committee, by way of preparation, therefore, advises all those upon whom orders may be served voluntarily to conform to them and trusts that new workers will take the place of those who may be disabled by the Government, and that the people at large, instead of becoming disheartened or frightened by such orders, will continued their work of wwitetxxxxx quiet organisation and construction sketched by the Congress resolutions.

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April 6 1921:-

LEADER.

Non-co-operation.

THE SATYAGRAHA DAY.

To-day is the 3rd Satyageaha Day. This day 1319 was the first satyagraha Day an we recorded its success with patriotic pride - the pride of having successfully laid the foundation of national solidarity on an unshakable basis. The great satyagraha Day was inaugurated with a particular, limited objective; but, like all great movements it bids fair to become a permanent feature of our national life. It is an annual reminder as to why we should maintain national solidarity unimpaired, and how we could best achive our object. The nation has been awakened to its real condition and its striking contrast to its possibilities, and the observance of the Satyagraha week is but on outward expression of the awakening of the national consciousness. We say an outward expression advisedly for there are other expressions of that awakening all around us. It is seen in the readiness with which national workers prefer prison to idle thraldom. The enthusiasm with which Municipal bodies braving the terrors of official frowns present addresses of welcome to Mahatma Gandhi is a manafestation of that awakening. It is only those who have intimate knowledge of Municipal administration the country that can appreciate the immense significance of this fact. Our Municipal bodies are ordinarily led easily this way or that by the local officials. with a mere expression of their countenance. It is such erstwhle tools in the hands of the civilian collector and his subordinates that are now receiving a man with regal honours and almost divine respect and reverence whom the bureaucrat considers his bitterest foe. The disappointment which the Mail has met with after a month's propaganda calculated to stir up ill-will and hatred against non-co-operators ought to recyide a standing lesson to all caluminators of honest, earnest and decent national movements. The fact

is that Indians, whether officials or non-goficials ryots ormerchants, who have not the wish to be a Non-co-operator, can b e counted on one's fingers; all have the wish and if they are not yet among the Non-co-operators, it is because they are yet in a stage of summoning upw the necessary will and determination. That is why non-co-operators are not afraid of Government repression, for repression they know, can only speed up the manufacture of those who have the will as well as the wish to be non-co-operators. That is again, why instead of pushing thro! all the items in the Non-co-operation programme, the A.I.C... has resolved to collect a crore of men and a crore of mexex money. It is not the fact that the Committee has given up any of the items in the Nagpur programme. The Committee wants now to concentrate on the necessary preliminary work of organising and training men on sound lines before attempting to carry out the full programme. Non-co-operation, let it not be forgotten has come to stay. It is an exercise in manliness and who can say he does not want it?.

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11th April, 1921:--

LEADER

Repression.

REPRESSION OR REPRISALS?

to precedent. The local satraps everywhere are indulging in a competition of zeal, each trying to go one better than his

The stream of repression boradens rapidly from precedent

neighbour. The administration of the first Indian Government in the history of British India till now easily led the field but it has now been passed by that of another Mantaguite enthusiast, Sir Harcourt Butler. While the air is ringing with profestations from the bureaucracy, severally in the mass, eschewing any idea of "repression"., the heads of the provinces have been racking their brains to invent ways of fighting the Non-co-operation movement that would do the trick without any unseemly exhibition of the cloven foot of repression. In Madras the sacred task has been entrusted to one of our contemporaries which religiously devote a certain number of columns to displaying its zeal in the cause, without anybody being apparently a penny the worse. In other provinces however the wisdom of a policy of masterly inactivity has as yet dawned upon their rulers and these appear wishful to march from blunder to blunder, from one set of pin-pricks to another, towards a general insurgence of popular indignation. In order to understand the full measure of the implications of the new policy, it is necessary to differentiate it clearly from the old. Repression at worst is but a negative policy. It indicates certain thingsw which it is forbidden to do and punishes the breach of the prohibition with more or less severity. It comfines itself to overt acts, which it punishes. That, in the eyesm of the exponents of the new theory, is the fatal defect. By

By its nature it can only treat symptoms or more accurately suppress them. Our empricists have discovered a way which shall not confine itself to a suppression of symptoms which affords no relief to the body politic but it will eradicate the disease itself. What we wish to point out here is the spirit behind the new policy. It is the spirit of reprisals, for that is what is carrying the war into the enemies country implies. It is the spirit that in Ireland answers murder with murder multiplied. In India it has not yet taken those grosser forms which have made Britainss Irish policy a byword thro'out the world, but once the state descends to what is called fighting the enemy with his own weapons and which generally means employing against him weapons far dirtier than those he uses, it is fairly launched on the road to discredit. If therefore the provasional satraps wished to preserve the threadbare remnants of prestige they would had been wiser to stick to repression which after all is a game they understand and can be played, if not with success, at least without much loss of dignity. But what amazes us is the singular in opportuneness of the moment chosen for launching this great counter-offensive. It may trul y be said that at the present moment there is a comparative hull in the sturggle. The advent of Lord Reading has engendered everywhere a desire that in view of his sympathetic utterances he should be given a chance to make good his words.

As Mr. Gandhi says in "Young India": -- "Non-co-operation must do nothing to add to his difficulties. We must give His Excellency the fullest credit for meaning to do well". While there is thus a kind of implied to do truce, Sir H.Butter has launched - of course with the approval of Ministers, whose gratitude for favours conferred will no doubt outlast many more such shocks to their principles a compaign, the fatuous

-51inopportuneness of which can only be rivalled by the purblind kerversity which insists on regarding a legitimate and peaceful movement as revolutionary. We may be excused if we dwell at some insistence on this last point. Non-co-operation has had many labels applied to it. It has been called unconstitutional disloyal illegal revolutionary and anarchical. The speeches of this or that man have been dragged into service to justify these various epithets but nobody has yet been able to explain wherein the programme indicated by the Congress has justified all the hard things that have been said of it. If wishing to change the form of Government is unconstitutional dislayal or revolutionary these are epithets which could be applied equally to Mr. Montagu's mission. If the implications were true that the movement is indended to bring about the end of the British connection then no doubt some of the criticism from the official point of view would be justified but it has been made perfectly clear time and again that it is not essentially anti-British. It is only contingently so. As Mr. Gandhi says in "Young India": -- "I should certainly be satisfied with full responsible Government on Dominion lines, if the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are redressed. India cannot remain within the Empire, if the latter cannot redress the two wmongs; for full responsible Government will have no meaning for India, if she cannot refuse to give pension to officers who have wronged her or if she cannot secure a settle ment of the khilafat terms. England then becomes an 'enemy country' for India". It is thus clear that the anti-British aspect of the movement waxes in direct and immediate response to the encouragement it receives. The remedy obviously lies in the hands of those who are incharge of the destinies of this country. as As we have pointed out so often before Non-co-operation is not an n end in itself; it is only a means to an end. And as that

end recedes or approaches so must its leaders direct en intensifying or a slackienin of the peoples' efforts, undismayed by the subtle form of persecution adumbrated by Sir H.Butler or by the merely ridiculous vapourings of self-elected protagonists nearer home.

April 14, 1921:..

Non-co-operation.

The effect of repression was to promote congress organisation work and the manly preference of imprisonement to giving undertakings not to do congress work. A Government with terr. orism as its settled policy cannot afford to destroy the terror value of the prison. The "Madras Mail" therefore wisely advised counter propaganda. And what has counter propaganda done in Madras? If we judge from Mahatma Gandhi's audience on the 8th at the Beach it has increased the enthusiasm and the faith of the people in Non-co-operation. The "Mail" and its illustrious supporters in the new Ministry, proposed that their propaganda should begin with a big demonstration in the city. · We can guess why this proposal was quietly given up. Not because it was found that Non-co-operation was dead! It seemed wuite alive on the 6th and 8th of April; and in the gathering that gave welcome to Mahatma Gandhi and ex-Judge and an ex-Advocate General took their place on the platform instead of finding their post in a counter demonstration.

The culmination of the results of counter propaganda in Mark Madras was however reached on Sunday last when what was deemed the impreganable fortness of Moderate Madras the old Mahajana Sabha fell before the attack of the "revolutionaries". By an overwhelming majority, the ancient Sabha presided over by Mr. L.A.Govinda Raghava Ayyar, and guided by Mrs. Besant Mr. Natesan and Mr. Ranga Chariar adopted the new creed of the Congress. The meeting was held in the Gokhale Hall and all the Moderate leaders of true blue Liberal League shade as well as of the Adyar Colour protested and fought desperately against the storm. But the battle was lost at 7 p.m. After 2 hours of brave argument the Congress was declared victoriesous amidst scenes of the wildest enthusiasm. It is not that the

resolution is of itself a thing of intrinsic value; but it shows that the tide of freedom is still rising.

The Majahana Sabha have adopted the congress creed after full notice, prolonged deliberation and by a large majority the minority has either to renounce executive control and stand out as private members of aminoxity minority or must accept the creed and like the Swarajya Sabha and other sister bodies. work for the attainment of the objects of the Indian National Congress by all legitimate and peaceful means. Much quibbling was attempted on the point that under the new constitution of the Congress public bodeis like the Mahajana Sabha have no right of affiliation; i.e., sending delegates: -- As if when every member becomes a congress member on payment of an annual subscription of 4 Annas it were necessary to have an additional electoral right to the body as a whole. District Boards and Municipalities once voted in Legislative Council elections; but no one raised the artful cry of confiscation of vested interests when the electorate was broadened and these local bodies lost their right to vote as bodies. Every member has a right to vote in the Congress elections, and it does not matter that the body as a whole has no separate franchise. Sending delegates does not exhaust the scope of the sabha's delegates does not exhaust the scope of the Sabha's usefulness. The Mahajana Sabha can do a great deal to help the Congress cause as an independent and flourishing association working for the attainment of Swaraj.

(sd) C.Rajagopalachari, Secretary,

Indiand National Congres.

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April 15, 1921:--

LEADER.

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KHILAFAT.

In the frenzied rush to scotch the baffling non-co-operation movement the Madras Publicity Bureau is doing its glorious bit. It has come out with a leaflet announcing that Khilafat notes., now circulating in the Presidency, have no analogy or equivalence to currency notes but are only receipts for subscriptions paid for the smyrna Releef Fund, for national education and other such services - a fact which on the Bureau's own admission is well known to the public. Useless repetition is not, however the Chief merit of the leaflet; it gives many absurder things. It has a sting at the Central Khilafat Committee for "acting as God's agents' and equates the Committee in this respect with the ex-kaiser. The leaflet further frames a questionairre for the intending purchasers of Khilafat notes "Who deluded Muhahirins into going into afghanistan and who are responsible for the sufferings and losses which they there underwent? What proportion of the sums subscribed actually reaches the oppressed of Smyrna? Have the central Committee's activities been calculated to. advance education in India 1? Have they not rather tended to ruin education in India? Is the Central Khilafat Committee's policy more likely to result in the attainment of national justice or in the injuries of social boycott"? This stupid mixture of deliberate prejudice and unworthy insinuation will not decive the public but might recoil on its authors, for it is utterly unworthy of any Government, that pretends to be impartial.

23rd April, 1921:-- LEADER.

We publish elsewhere copious extracts from the presidential address of Mr. T. Prakasam to the 1st Kerala Conference Mr. Prakasam whose election to the Presidentship of the Provincial Conference is a fitting tribute to his great self-sacrifice and patriotic labours in the cause of Non-co-operation has dealt with the leading topics of the day with his usual clarity and earnestness. The people of Kerala assemble to-day under the illumination of reawakened patriotism which an erring Collector helped to intensify. Many of their workers are still in jail, but grief has not dulled the enthusiasm of the sons of Kerala it only accelerated the progress of national work. There is evidence that the people of Kerala are enthused b by the opportunity which the Congress apart from Non-co-operation offers to a historic country to regain its unity at least in its cultural aspect. The conference that meets at Othapalam is fraught with far reaching implications to Malabar. Partly for lack of appreciation of this view point; but mostly for reasons which to-day signalise the submersion of the Moderate party among the Bureaucrats a handful of men have arranged ashow at calicut to take place sumultaneously with the Provisional conference. For aught we know Kerala will know how to treat the discordant notes struck at Calicut; we shall only associate ourselves with Mr. Prakasam in the deserved praise he bestows on the spirit and intelligence of the people of Kerala.

April 23, 1921: --

LEADER.

MR. YAKUB HASSAN'S HEALTH.

We understand that the conditions attendant upon imprisonment have told upon the health of Mr. Yakub Hassan. After a few days in one of the narrow, ill-ventilated cells in the Cannanore Central Jail, he developed symptoms of bronchial asthma. Ever and anon he is having acute attacks of it. And though he has been an in-patient in the Jail Hospital for more than one month now, his health is not showing any signs of improvement. We are surprised to hear that he was even denied the medicine prescribed by an eminent physician of Madras and compounded at W.E.Smith and Co., though the Max Medical Officer, -in-charge professed his belief in the efficacy of some of its ingredients which could not be had in the Jail Hospital. It is feared that with the onset of rainy weather the malady is likely to grow worse. We urge that unless it wants to be considered viadictive, the Madras Government may be moved at least by considerations of common humanity if not of justice, and release Mr. Yakub Hassan and his companions. "The offence" for which they were asked to furnish security to keep the peace is remarkable even in those days of lawless administration of law against non-co-operation. In the then conditions of public excitement over the newfangled arbitrary orders of prhibition of public meetings, Mr. Yakub Hassan though it his duty as a congress worker to remind the people of the necessity of adhering to non-voolence; while the District Magistrate thought that he should not. For this unpardonable diff nce of opinion he as well as his three comrades who of course were in no manner for what Mr. YXXX Yakub Hassan thought - are now mannerxforxemaxxXxx rotting in prison. It was said on behalf of the Government

that they would be released as soon as it was possible to do so without hazard to the community. Is it pretended that people in Malabar do not take to breaking each other's heads because these four are still in jail? During the last 2 months and more the people of Malabar have given a very good account of themselves. They, including the much maligned Moplah, have religiously observed peace and non-violence under the most trying conditions. If their detention was meant and is continued, to scotch the movement of Non-co-operation, Malabar has taken up the challenge and given an answer of solid work these 2 months, which is so splendid as to afford an object lesson to the rest of the country and the Government. Their detention is arbitrary and illegal. It does not even held the Government in its fight against Non-co-operation. To continue such a detention while it is telling upon the health of the person detained is nothing short of inhumanity.

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30th April 1921:--

LEADER.

ENGLAND AND INDIA

DEMOCRACY AND SWARAJ.

. . . . Democracy or Government of the people by the people, for the people, represents the resultant wisdom of human experience in political matters so far as the modern world is concerned. That this system is endowed with merits peculiar to itself and highly necessary in this age, when the spirit of individual liberty and equality has a powerful hold over the popular mind, is admitted on all hands as a matter of actual experience in contemporary history. The universal charm of Democracy consists in its direct appeal to the potent seeds of Divinity in Man as man, and its success for all the time consists in a well balanced exaltation of this sublime spirit in national and international affairs. The noble call for Justice and self-determination evokes an immediate and inspiring response even in the average untutored mass-mind only because of the intutive insight of humanity at large into the truth and permanence of these prime principles. Swaraj is the natural perfume of the human soul, the goal of its constant struggle for self-realisation,. When the perfume has been sufficiently spread all over the country and the spirit of Swaraj rightly enthroned in the hearts of the masses the system of Government which is tox truly emobdy and work out this spirit of freedom will naturally evolve, of itself as a fruit from its flower. Hence, the necessity at present for all lovers of Liberty, to concentrate on the cultivation of this spirit of Swaraj in the minds of the people without being distracted by any premature controversy over the system of Indian Self - Government.

And when the time really comes for us, as well hope it will at no distant date, for considering the latter question, we may with profit remind ourselves that we are a nation, which has preserved its unique culture and inner genius for synthesis thro' centuries of turmoil and alien invasion. Then the task of evolving a system of Democratic Government; at once suited to the peculiar needs and traditions of our people and based on the fundamental laws of human freedom can never be so difficult as some of us imagine; India has a lesson to the outside world alike in politics as in other aspects of life. But the mission cannot be fulfilled without her first recovering Swarajya for the sons and daughters of her own soil.

May 6 1921:--

Non-co-operation.

N.C.O. IN KERALA. SEQUEL TO POLICE EXCESSES.

Ottapalam, May 3:--

The following 3 vakils have suspended their practice as a protest against the action of Reserved Police at Ottapalam on the 24th ultimo: --

Messrs. V.V.Govindan Nair, M.Konchunni Nair, B.A., B.L., and P.S.Narayana Iyer, B.A., B.L.

The followning 3 gentlemen have submitted their resignation of the appointments of the Honorary First Class Bench Magistrates of the Ottapalam Bench Court:--

Messrs. A.S.Menon, PAbdul Khadder and C.S.Narayana Iyer. Of the 3 Bench Magistrates who have put in their resignation as a protest against the action of the Reserved Police on the 26th ultimo in handling a responsible gentleman in the name of Mr. P.Ramunni Menon, B.A., and some other local respectable merchants and residents, like dogs in the street. I have to speak a word or two about Mr. A.S.Menon who is a most respectable resident of the locality.

Mr. Menon is a co-operator and is really a loyal subject of the British crown. He is the President of the local Co-operative Society, Secretary of the Union and the Proprietor of M/s. Menon and Co-, Chemists and Druggists and as much he would not have certainly submitted his resignation of the appointment had it not been for the high handed action of the Reserved Police, who were sent here to preserve order.

Mr. Menon made thorough enquiries into the matter, as a result of which he put in his resignation. He, I hear is extremely dissatisfied with the action of the Police. I am sure Mr. Menon and others will withdraw their resignation if the Government are prepared to institute immediate and necessary enquiries into the subject matter of the complaint and inflict punishment upon those officials who are really to blame.

May 9, 1921:-

Repression.

TERRORISM IN MALABAR.

It is as well that the public knew exactly where they stood with reference to our Moderate friends. I am sure that Mr. Rangachariar will not seriously contend that we congressmen are not entitled to comment on the conduct of our moderate representatives in the Councils. They have gone into the councils, rejecting the advice of the National Congress, professedly on the assumption that they would thereby be better serving the public interests. We are only attempting to see if these friends are acting at least up to their professions. The limbs of the bureaucracy are setting up a reign of repression and sometimes of terrorism. They are not doing so under the special enactments but under the forms of ordinary law. Here, in Malabar, under cover of section 144 Cr. P.C., general prohibitions of public meetings have been decreed in the greater part of the district what does it matter that this was done without the help of the seditious Meetings Act being put into force? O"e would have thought that the executive highhandedness was all the more outrageous. Respected leaders of the people of unblemished reputation for character, were put under Section 107 Cr. P.C., for security to keep the peace and marched into jail within 3 hours of the institution of the proceedings. All except Mr. Yakub Hussain intended to obey the order of prohibition. They stated that they did not intend to attend the meeting. Mr. Yakub Hassan adone intended to address the meeting and that only on non-violence The District Magistrate forbade only Non-co-operation and k Khilafat meetings. The notice which convened the meeting was only to hear Mr. Yakub Hassan he stated that he meant to address the people only on non-violence. There was therefore

no disobedience of the prohibitory order and no legal edidence was tendered that there was such disobedience. If liberty of people can be so surely, swiftly and arbitrarily done away with and that in the case of such men, what does it matter in all conscience that Rowlatt Act is rusting in their armoury? If Khilafat Volunteers can be taken to police stations and there stripped of their uniform if the District Magistrate can go round and threaten that he will send all Non-co-operation men to jail af they can let loose the police force to assault ill treat insult and injure respectable men in broad day light and what does it matter that no martial Law has been proclaimed?. Some one might object that if the executive have over rided the letter or the spirit of the law or if its officers have conducted themselves criminally there are the King's Courts where redress ought to be sought. Moderates like Mr. Rangachariar with their long experience of British justice in political or quasi-political cases, will not recommend for the sufferers, for a further course of suffering and trouble which that process will involve. Last year this time in Calicut many Ind Indian laddes and gentlemen fett that they were most shamefully insulted by the police in connection with the breaking up of an amateur performance in the town hall. Memorials were submitted to His Excellency; the municipal council, the ladies association the district conference and other public bodies sent in resolutions of protest against police action and Mr. V. Gopala Menon as the Secretary of the Malabar Literary Society on whose behalf the play was staged laid a complaint against individual police men. He and his friends spent their time and money in seeking justice in British courts: the pack of Indian society in Calicut figured in the witness box to

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prove the complaint. They were all discredited, and compen_ sation awarded to the policemen accused and the High Court of Judicature confirmed that order. This is only one instance among many in which justice was miscarried. There are several other cases against police lawlessness which have gone unheaded . The people have ceased to have any faith in complaining to the authorities. The lesson of the town hall case has not been lost on them at Ottapalam. It is remarkable that with all what we have heard of lotting and beating by the police at Ottapalam not one of them has complained. Having KRARA ceased to have any faith in the justice of the courts or officials, as new men with self-respect they have not gone to them with their complaints. All honour to Ottapalam people who chose the path of discipline and non-violence and resolved to conserve their anger and transmit it into the energy of Non-co-operation which will break the back of this sytem of oppression. But what is the duty of those among us who still profess to retain their faith in British justice. If moderation has not degenerated into lukewarmness in pressing for justice it cannot subscribe to the policy of terrorism and lawlessness to combat the cult of Non-co-operation. The moderates must know that these timeold verities, truth, liberty justice etc., are a bit fastidious. They do not let you play fast and loose with them. You cannot ignore them just to combat Non-co-operation and then hope to retain them on the body politic. I cannot conceive of a m more important question in the Madras Presidency than the reign of lawlessness and police terrorism that has been set up in Malabar. Thank God: there is a fine set of intelligent people who can be made to submit to discipline. But who are the champions of liberty among the Moderates? Have they stood out against this system of terrorism?

What wonder that people have begun to think that what was once moderation is now merged in the bureaucracy.

(From a Correspondent)

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May 11 1921}--

THE OTTAPALAM INCIDENT. NON-OFFICIAL ENQUIRY. COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The following Report of the Emergency Committee appointed to investigate and report on the policy tyranny in Ottapalam on 26th April 1921 is published.:--

The Kerala provincial conference commenced its session at Ottapalam on the 23rd April 1921. Ottapalam is a small rising town situated near the Railway stateon about 60 miles to the east of Calicut and 20 miles to the west of Palghat. It was not a place of any political or historical importance till lately. It came into prominence only recently with the establishment of a sub-court. With it also came a number of vakils from other parts of Malabar to settle down in this place and thus the population of the town suddenly increased. still there was very little political or other activity in this town. Ofthose vakils who came to Ottapalam after the establishment of the new sub-court is a young and energetic lawyer Mr. Ramunni Menon, who till then was practising at Palghat. Quiet by nature and unassuming in mahners Mr. Ramunni Menon is one of the best national workers that Kerala possesses. While at Palghat he was the Secretary of the Home Rule League and contributed not a little to the political awakening there. Mr. Menon came to Ottapalam 2 years ago and that was the beginning of the political life in this place. He revived the old reading room and took up its secretary ship. He was elected the secretary of the local congress and Khilafat Committee. He was also one of the secretaries of the 1st Kerala Provincial conference. The brunt of the work of the

Conference was borne by Mr. Ramunni Memon. Mr. Ramuni Menon's love of truth and justice prompted him to write to the newspapers from time to time about the conduct of the officials or non-officials. Mr. Menon published in the "Hindu" of the 26th February 1921 an article under the title of "Vagaries of District authorities" dealing with the police high handedness in general and criticising in particular the conduct of Mr. Hitchock, the D.S.R. and Mr. Thomas, the District Magistrate Another contribution from him published in the "Hindu" of 21st February dealt with the same subject. This brief account of the work of this young gentleman explains the motive of the assault on him and throws a flood of light on the conduct of the Police on the 26th of April 1921.

Before we deal with the happenings of Ottapalam on the 26th April 1921, it is necessary to state briefly about the Congress work in Kerala. Since the constitution of Kerala into a separate province by the Congress, the Hindu Moslem unity was steadily growing and there was greater political awakening amongst the masses. The arrest and imprisonment R of Messrs. Yakub Hassan, Madhavan Nair, Gopala Menon and Moideen Koya on the 16th February 1921 gave a gery great impetus to the cause of non-co-operation mevement. New Congress and Khilafat Committes have been springing up every day. Thousands were being enlisted as members of both. National schools have been established. Meetings attended by thousands of people were being held in defferent parts of Kerala. People as a whole and Moplahs in particular imbibed spirit of nonviolence and could restrain themselves even when grave provocation was given to them.

THE CONFERENCE IN THE LAST WEEK OF APRIL 1921, .

The 1st Kerala Provincial Conference commended its sittings at Ottapalam under the circumstances stated above. A huge pandal mearly to accommodate 4,000 delegates and visitors was erected in the fields near the railway station and small sheds in front of the pandal were constructed where spinning wheels were exhibited. National literature and portraits of leaders were sold. Mmbers were enlisted volunteers, delegates and visitors came from different parts of kerala from the 20th April onwards. The Khilafat volunteers were wearing Khadi uniform and the congress volunteers had white caps and green caps, and they discharged their duties in a peaceful and most orderly manner. Even when they were conducting the two long and crowded processions from the railway station to the President's quarters on the arrival of the Presidents of the different conferences, the volunteers maintained perfect peace and order without showing discourtesy to anybody. Mr. Kunchappa Menon who assumed the duties of the captain of the volunteers at Ottapalam is a short strong man possessing the required grit and capacity to maintain a rigid discipline. Amongst the volunteers, there were several young Nambudiri gentlemen, of the landed aristocracy of Kerala. It is remarkable how these Nambudiri volunteers did every kind of work along with the others. The volunteers and their captain did the greatest service when they re-erected the pandal which had collapsed on account of stormy weather and rain just a few days before the commencement of the conference. They gave such a festive appearance to the conference pandal and surrounding buildings and made everything ready on the 22nd evening. Mr. A.R. Pillai of Travancore who had boycotted the University of Oxford in pursuance of of the Congress resolution and several others addressed

an open air meeting on Swaraj and on noneco-operation on the evening of 22nd April.

On the 23rd Morning, the President of the provincial Conference Mr. T.Prakasam, arrived by the mail train from Madras. Crowds began to assemble at the railways station long before the train arrived. Congress and Khilafat volunteers lined the platform and the President on arrival was conducted in procession to his residence. This processionas well as the procession conducted on the arrival of the Presidents - elect of the Khilafat and students' conference had to pass thro' the main road and just in front of the mission buildings in which the reserve police were quartered. It is rather strange that the reserve police who were specially brought to ottapalam should have been lodged in a building abutting the main road. The reserve police who had been witnessing these processions must have been struck at the way in which the volunteers were keeping peace and order.

The Ulemas of Malabar met in Conference on the morning of the 25th April 1921 and confirmed the congress resolution on the Khilafat question. This was followed by the Tenants' conference under the Presidentship of Mr. K.P.

Raman Menon and in that Conference a resolution was passed reference these grievances of tenants discussionwhether legislation should be asked for now and by a large majority it was resolved not to ask for any legislation from the present Government. Next came the Khilafat Conference at 30'clock under the Presidentshap of the Moulvi Syed Murtuza Sahir of Trichinopoly. There was record attendance for this conference also, many Hindus attending the same along with their

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Moslem brethren. The Khilafat Conference confirmed the resolution of the congress on Swaraj. At the end of the conference Mr. Paliath Achan made a stirring appeal of the Tilak Swaraj Fund which was liberally and immediately responded to by the audience. Cash and Jewels flowed in again and in spite of the latness of the hour most of the people still remained till the close of the Conference. The Conference dissolved at 12 o'Clock in the night. There was no trouble of any sort so far. Most of the delegates and visitors who came to attend the various conferences left Ottapalam on the night of the 25th or on the morning of the 26th.

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THE DISTURBANCES-EVIDENCE CONSIDERED.

The students' Conference under the presidency of George Joseph of the "Independent" met in the Conference pandal at about 8-45 in the morning of 26th ultimo. Everybody expected that with that day would close peacefully and succesofully the events of the national week. There was nothing in Ottapalam to anticipate trouble. Until then there was every reason to believe the reserve police headed by Mr. Hitch cock, the D.S.P., the A.S.P. and other officers contributed b good deal to the success of the conference by their noninterference. When Mr. Joseph was going on with his Presidential address at about 9.30 A.M., news came suddenly to the Pandal that one Abdul Khadder who was dealing in aerated waters near the conference pandal was assaulted by Mr. P.Govinda Menon, Sub-Inspector, Ottapalam, and Mr. P.Echu Menon, Reader to the D.S.P. This naturally caused some excitement but Abdul Khader was told to keep quiet and not to do anything in return whatever might be the provocation on the side of the police. A few minutes elaposed and there was another stir when some people came running and reported to the leaders that one Madhava Menon, a khilafat volunteer was being violently illtreated by the reserve police. Almost immediately came the report of general looting and ill-trea-ting of the bazaar people by the same police. Mr. Ramunni Menon and Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, Secretary of the Madras Khilafat Committee started to make enquiries. What happened on their way to the bazzaar may be better said in Mr. Ramunni Menon's own words. He says "I am a vakil who has suspended practice in pursuance of the congress resolution of the national congress and I am the Secretary of the 1st xxxx Keraala Provincial Conference. This morning at about 10 or 10-30

A.M. when I was in the conference pandal attending the Kerala Students' Conference word was brought to me that Mr. Chanchappa Madhava Menon of the Calicut Volunteer corps had been taken hold of and roughly handled by the men of the reserve police at the railway station. Information of further assaults on innocent shop-keepers and others soon afterwards reached me. Thereupon Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, Secretary of the Madras Presidency Khilafat Committee, Mr. T.V. Chathukkutty Nair of the Calicut Rraxixional Provincial Congress office the police station to find out what was happening and to ask the people to remain calm and quiet. With us was a student wearing Gandhi Cap. On our way we met Mr. Madhava Menon near the mailway station and heard from him an account of his exper iences at the hands of the police. Further on near the railway goods shed a khaki-clad European or Anglo-Indian rushed past us from behind on a cycle in the direction of the police station. We moved on and met a Moplah who told us that his sherbet bottles and tumblurs had been broken by the police and that he had himself been beaten severely. We sww marks., of blows on his breast and back and also the broken pieces of bottles and tumblers lying on the road. We consoled him and walked on when the cyclist who had only a minute or two ago rushed past us was seen returning in great haste. A few yards further on we met a European coming along whom Mr. Chathukkutty Nair recognised as Mr. Hitchcook, the D.S.P. We reached mear the gate of the court compound and stepped into the shop of Mr. K. Narayana Menon, who and whose brother Unnikrishna Menon, were among the sufferers. Wesaw the injuries on Mr. Narayana Menon's face and saw several blood marks on his clothes. There was also present in the shop one Mr. C.Govinda Menon, a Vakil's clerk, who showed us the injuries on his leg. A few yards away from

the shop a group of people had collected and in a tea shop near by were some police men. Inside the gate of the court compound we saw groups of policemen armed with sticks and moving about excitedly. I noticed that they were pointing to us. We requested the people to disperse quietly and attend to their work, when one amongst them resented our request and spoke as if wanting to pick up a quarrel. We then left him and turned back to return to the pandal. The student who was with us told him that it was only a request we were making for the common benefit and that he need not be offended. There upon this man whom we suspected to be a police agent showered abusive language on the student. Two or three reserve policemen then rushed towards us asking us who had dared to come to ask explanation of them. One of them ran in advance and struck two blows on the student who was walking before us and on his way back gave me a severe blow on my neck asking me whether I was the man who had dared to ask explanation of them. We then proceeded on our way without further adventure and reached near the railways ax goods shed when 2 or 3 police men again rushed up to us and asked who wakil Ramunni Menon was. On my telling them that I was the person, they said that the Saheb (meaning evidently the A.S.P. or D.S.P.) wanted me to go to him and dragged me away by both hands. Two or three more joined them on the way. Some of them were armed with sticks. They dragged me along and asked whether I was not the Vakil Ramunni Menon who was responsible for this conference and all that kind of thing and whether I was not a man who was making speeches in the pandal. They then taunted me and abused me and asked me to run along in the hot sun to the

police station instead of walking slowly. They then struck me half a dozen severe blows on the head neck and face and also kicked me below the hip. They had closed round me and were preparing to drag me on further and commit violence on me when another policeman came and separated me and asked his comrades not to molest me further.

With considerable reluctance they let me go out, and I returned to the pandal." Before we describe the scenes in the Conference pandal at the time when Ramunni Menon returned after his experience with the Police, we shall survey briefly the happenings in the Ottapalam bazaar on the morning of the 25th.

A careful perssal of the statements printed in the appendix would show that the Malappuram police are guilty of some of the heinous crimes under the Penal Code including house breaking, robbery, assault grievous hurt and mischief. It also shows that the local police and superior officers are accessories before the fact and after the fact. From various statements before us we are inclined to believe that the police began their work of destruction and terrorism in the town between 9 and 10-A-M. We will begin with the statement of Mr. C.Madhava Menon, a Khilafat volunteer. He purchased ticket for calicut and was waiting on the railway station to catch the mail train. Then a Moplah policeman approached him and said "Sahib Galls you" meaning the D.S.P. or A.S.P. wanted to see him. Mr. Menon said hat he was

Ommirgin.

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Then he was dragged by 8 or 10 policemen, five more joined wine their comrades on the way. Two sub-Inspectors were standing and witnessing the whole thing. Altogether there were 30 reserve police men when he was forcibly removed to the Court buildings, where the Asst. Superintendent of Police and the Deputy Superintendent of Police were having their office. One of them took away Mr. Menon's stick another removed his cap. He was abused, kicked and beaten on the way. Several passersby were witnessing the whole thing. Finally he was brought before the two shahebs (presumably the Asst. Superintendent of Police and Deputy Superintendent of Police) who asked him why he was at Ottapalam to which Mr. Menon replied that he was there as a Khil volunteers.

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there as a Khilafat volunteer. The Policemen were about to remove his volunteer badge when Mr. Menon himself removed it from his coat and gave it away to the police; this done one policeman took him to the road gave him another blow and sent him wax away.

SHOP - KEEPER'S EVIDENCE:

While Mr. Chenchappa Menon was being dragged to the police station, some of the police gang who were at him separated themselves from the rest when they came near the shop of Mr. Unnikrishna Menon and broke into it. They were about 25 in number. Mr. Unnikirhshna Menon was examined by us on the date of the offence (26-4-1921) says that about 25 reserve policemen entered his shop and questioned him "who said rotton cycle"? Mr. Unnikrishna Menon replied that he did not know. Three or four policemen were beating him saying that it was he who said so. When his brother Warayana Menon requested the police not to beat him, the police took hold of Narayana Menon, beat him severely and chased him while he was running and finally dealt very severe blows on his face so as to cause fracture on his masal bone. They again caught hold of Unnikitshna Menon and took him to the police station when he had no cloth on his lions. Mr. Unnikrishna Menon deposes that he was taken to Mr. Hitchcock, the D.S.P., and A.S.P., who were sitting in front of the subjail. The S.S.P. and A.S.P. questioned him who he was. When he replied that he was a merchant in the local bazzar, that he earned his livelihood by trade, and that he was not a Nonco-operation the two officers left the spot without giving any reply. He was allowed by the police to get away after sometime. Mr. Narayana Menon the 4th witness supports his brother unnikrishna Menon in all material particulars and says that Dr. Joseph treated him for the serous wounds caused to his nose. Dr. Joseph/was examined by us on the 27th April has stated in his statement that between 10 and 11 A.M. on 26-4-21 he saw from his house several

males, females and children running about. He thought that there might have been some calamity, but on questioning some of the men who were running away, he was told that the police were attacking every house beating the occupants and therefore they were running for safety. He saw 3 s.f. men with shirts and putties on getting into the shops and beating the occupants with sticks. An hour later he attended on Karayat Narayana Menon. He saw a severe contusted wound on the nose bleeding with fracture of the masal bone. He was told by the patient that the injury on the nose was caused by the blows given by the police. Mr. Narkyana Menon has been under the treatment of Dr. Joseph since he received the injury. Mr. C.Govindan Menon supports the story of Unnikrishna Menon and Narayana Menon. He further says that when he tried to conciliate the police, he was dragged kicked and beaten by the police until he fell down and that he receivedinjuries on his knee and arm. This witness also gave the statement on the date of the occurrence itself.

SHERBET VENDOR'S STATEMENT:

Munhi Koyal of Ponnani Taluk deposed that he came to Ottapalam to sell sherbet betel and arecanut during the period of conference. He sold these articles near the railway station gate. Between 8 and 9 A.M. on 26-4-1921 he waw 10 to 20 reserve police dragging and beating C.Madhava Menon and addressed them thus:-- "All of you together take away one short person and beat him. This is very hard." On his saying so one of the policemen went up to him and beat him on his cheeks. Then two or three policemen joined in beating him until he fell down. He was then kicked and sherbet bottles and cups were smashed to pieces. He was then takin to a Saheb in the Court buildings.



The Saheb asked him to which place he belonged and that why hec came. On his replying that he came from Tirur for selling his articles the Saheb asked the policemen why they arrested him. They said that when they were taking one person he told if that had been done the previous day all their heads would have been missing. When the Saheb again question him as to what he had said he told him that one of the policemen purchased betel from him and when he asked for the price he was beaten and taken to the Saheb. The Saheb permitted him to go. This witness says that there were two Sahebs when he was taken to the court building and that it was the stouter of the two that put questions to him and allowed him to go. The next witness kunhi Marakkar, aged 21 says that he was a beedi merchant at Ottapalam. When he was sitting in his shop at about 10 A.M. a man came to him and told him that his brother was not to be seen and that he should find him out. He at once entrusted the buxiness of his shop to another man and went along the main road towards the railway station in quest of his brother. When he went near the small Mosque he saw 10 or 20 reserve police running towards him with sticks in their hands. He got frightened and at once ran into the Mosque. When he came to his shop, he was overtaken by some of the policemen and questioned "are you not a Khilafat worker? So saying 2 or 3 policemen beat him and pursued him while he was running.

One of the police took his cap and threw it away saying that there was no Khilafat emplem on it. Two or three policemen beat him severely and when his father ran up to rescue him he the father also was beaten by the Police 5 or 6 times. He saw the police beating Achutan, a paddy merchant on the road.

Arakkal Kunhi Bava a merchant dealing in piecegoods was examined on the same date. He says that 5 or 6 policemen went to his shop and questioned him whether he belonged to the Khilafat party. When he said "yes" they again asked him under whose orders he joined it. He said he joined it out of his own free will. For, this, one Hindu Constable gave him a slap on his face, saying how he could have joined the Khilafat Committee. He at once closed his shop went to the Conference Pandal.

Ahmad Kutti, aged about 74 deposed that on the 27th April he accompanied Malappuram Thangal from Hydru's shop to the railway station. Thangal is Syed-descendant of the prophet's family. He is recognised as the priest of the people who hold him in very high esteem for his position and the dignity of his office. He is invariably accompanied by 2 attendants, who carry ceremonial silver rods, two belted peops and several other servants. This witness Akhad Kutty says that the Thankal was seated in a jutka at about 10 A.M. on 25th April 1921 on his way to the railway station. Five reserve policemen went to the jutka and dragged it to the kutcherry compound deprived Thangal's attendants of their turbans and silver rods and assaulted the jutka driver seriously. When some people from the Kutcherry called upon the police to leave Thangal alone he and his servants were allowed to go to the railway. station and take the train for balghat.

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Mayan kutty, a young rickshawalla deposed that when he was coming with his rickshawon the 26th April 1921 some reserve constables ordered him saying "stop there you son of a dog, you shall have enough for your Khilafat cap etc." The police told him "It was your reign yesterday; it is ours today". They took his cap from his head forcibly and tore it to pieces. Some other constables beat him on the face and elsewere on the body. To sale himself he left his ricksha there and ran away. One young man abdul Khadar aged about 18 was examined by us on the same day. He deposed that he was going -to the railway station at about 10-30 A.M. A reserve constable ran after him, took his cap with the Khilafat badge and tore it to pieces. Two reserve police constables ran up to him and gave him two severe blows on his ear. He was asked whether he was a khilafateer. Some more police ga e him more blows. He was robbed of his Khilafat badge. A Emuddin Kutty aged 40 cloth merchant Ottapalam, was examined on the 27th April 1921. He ways: -- "Yesterday morning at about 110'clock when I was sitting in my shop x 4 Reserve Police constables came to my shop and struck me twice on the back of my neck asking me, "are you not a Khilafat man"? It was Madhavan pair, the local head constable who pointed me out from the road saying "He is a Khilafat man". K. Moideen kutty another witness examined on the same date deposed that when he went to Kunhi Marakkar's shop in the bazaar at about 10 A.M. 5 of 6 Reserve policemen went there and gave him 2 or 3 slaps on his face and cheeks saying "your are a khilafat man? Are you not? K.Koya Kutty a local cloth merchant, has stated that at 11 A.M. when he was about to close his shop on account of the police riots, 2 or 3 Reserve

Constables entered his shop and threatened him saying why do you close your shop? You Khilafat people should be beaten till your bones are crushed." K.Abdul Rahman, aged 52 another witness says that one Reserve Policemen kicked him in his waist saying "are you a Khilafateer, you son of a dog" C.Hydru aged 45, local shopkeeper says that he interpreted when the police were beating kunhi Markar son of Yavu, and of for this he was beaten and robbed of the cash he had in his pocket and that he was in bed the whole day on account of the injuries. C. Kunhi Ramn Nair deposed "I saw the Reserve police tearing off the khilafat flags which was posted on its office building. Then they went to the quarterss of the volunteers but since they did not find and one there they came away."

M.A.Sankara Narayana Aigar, a paddy merchant was a member of the Reception Committee. He invented an improved type of the spinning wheel and exhibited the same in the conference pandal. He owns also a paddy shop in the bazaar. Having seen how the police were assaulting the other shopkeepers he was closing his shop on the morning of 26-4-21. The police then beat him with a stick saying "Don't close the shop". Some went to the west crying "Down with the Khilafat Flag". Some went the East and beat Achutan a paddy merchant.

Mr. P.V.Menon agent of the Nedungudi Bank, gave his statement on the date of the occurrence. This gentleman is the agent of a Bank the Managing Director of which is Rao Bahadur T.M.Appu Nedungudi who is Co-operator and has nothing to do with the conference at Ottapalam. We consider it better to quote his own words. He says" One Ezhuchuthan, a servant employed in E.P. Raman Nair's

shop came running to my office to-day at about 11 A.M. and told me that the policemen had beaten and caused hurt to shopkeeper Narayana Menon and that all shops are closed. He came to me for protection. Immediately iclosed my Bank and went upstairs. As I went up I saw 8 or 10 persons weating khadi shirts and drawers, beating and pushing the paddy merchant Achutan. When he ran away from them they came to the Bank buildings. They did not mind when they were told that it was bank building. When they persisted I took my gun into my hand. Then after a few seconds they went away one of them observing that it was the Bank building." Kunhirapalikal Akhad, aged 22 deposed that when he questioned the constable who caught hold of Ramunni Menon's hand as to "Why he was holding the vakil's hand"? he gave him 2 blows on his neak. He at once ran to the conference pandal and reported the incidnet. Abdul Khader aged 22 was the ownder of a cycle repair shop at Ottapalam. During the conference days he was selling aerated waters just outside the Pandal. On the night of the 24th some one went to him and asked him to send 4 bottles of soda with ice to the pandal. He replied that there was none to take the soda to the pandal, but he would take it a-s soon as his boy returned. When he insisted on having 4 bottles of soda at once the witness *** gave 4 bottles and a tumbler with ice. The bottles and glass were returned a few minutes later but the man disappeared without paying the price of 6 annas. Next day when he asked for the price he was told that he could take it from the police station. On the 26th at about 8-30 in the morning when he was going thro the bazaar, Govinda Menon the local S.I. called him and questioned him why he did not send foods. When he was asked by sowinda Nair and 24th he replied that he did soul it in wedistely but money for it Then Eche Henon, anothers!

-namesa names and beat him with a chair on which he was sitting.S.I. Govindamenon ordered a constable to take him to the police station. Then he was dragged inside and beaten on his cheek and back 3 or 4 times. The evidence of this witness fixes the time of the assault on him at 8-30 on the morning of the 26th . The assault was by the local police and this seems to be the earliest of the series that followed on the 26th of April. Achutan Kunhalan, alias Mohammad, Chappu, and Abdul Khader also were examined by us the same evening. They described the details of assault on them. Mr. Chatukkutty Nair and Abdul Ahmad Khan also deposed supporting Mr. Ramunni Menon up to a point. This is all the oral evidence recorded by us. The article written by Mr. Ramunni Menon and published in the "Hindu" of the 3rd March 1921 entitled "Vagaries of the District authorities" is marked as Ex. A. This closes the evidence of the complainants.

GRAVITY OF OFFENCE: -

From the evidence set out able it is clear that atleast 25 persons were assaulted and beaten by the reserve police of Malappuram. It is also clear that the offences were committed between 8-30 and 11-30 A.M. on the morning of 26th April 1921. The offences committed were of an organised and premeditated type forming part of a carefully sketched out plan with an ulterior object. They were also Y of an aggravated character. If the sections of the I.P.C. are to be applied they include rioting, house trespass grievous hurt and mischief and robbery. When such offences were committed by any person the police have power to take cognisance of the offence, arrest the offenders without warrant and lock them up pending the trial until they were released by a duly constituted court. Ottapalam is a place where there is apolice station. There is also a police

Magistrate permanently stationed. The D.S.P., Mr. Hitchcock and A.S.P. had also been present there from the 23rd to the 26th Until now no police officer has taken cognisance of any offence committed by these reserve policemen nor has magistrate take no cognisance of the offence. Why so? Is it because nothing happened at Ottapalam on the 26th April and the story given by the 27 witnesses was invented by them out of spite? Or is it because most of the injured persons are Non-co-operators and they did not prefer complaint before them? When the police themselves committed the offences the sufferers preferred to submit themselves to the judgment of the public. We shall therefore deal first with the question whether the occurrences of the 26th April as deposed to by the witnesses were true or false.

As the riot by the reserve police was started as it progressed, information had been received in the conference. pandal almost immediately at every stage. It is in consequence of such information that Mr. P.Ramunni Menon, the Secretary of the Conference went out into the town with Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan to enquire and pacify the people. Mr. Ramunni Menon's statement before us is the same as that which he made at the Conference pandal on the morning of 26th soon after he was beaten and ill-treated. The same is the case with the statement of Mr. Kunchappa Menon. The statements of several of the witnesses were recorded by us the same evening. Some were recorded on the 27th and some on the 28th. Having regard to the close proximity of the hours and dates on which the

to the close proximity of the hours and dates on which the statements recorded and the particulars narrated by each one of the witnesses and other circumstances, we conclude that the

facts as stated by the witnesses are true. No serious effort can be made by any reasonable person to deny the occurrences altogether.

The other Side: --

Although the accused persons were not present before us and we had no opportunity of knowing the versions of the other side, personally, in this case, there is available, a piece of information which may be taken as representing the case of the reserve policemen. The "Madras Mail's" own correspondent who professed to be an eye witness of the assault on Mr. Ramunni Menon and some of the incidents of the morning wired to tell "Madras Mail" the very next day setting out the various incidents which were said to have been within his own knowledge and charging the reserve police of Malappuram with several offences with which the 27 citizens of Ottapalam now charge them. The Correspondent of the "Madras Mail" did his best to give an accurate version of the events although in regard to some facts and certain inferences, he could not get over his prejudice and partiality. It is seldom that even partial truth is admitted in interested quarters. The copy of the "Madras Mail" is marked as Ex.B. for the convenience of reference. A comparison of the facts narrated therein with the facts narraged by the prosecution witnesses along with the evidence recorded by us, leads only to one conclusion, namely, that the charges made by the prosecution witnesses against the accused are true. If the charges against the Malappuram police are true, the following questions arise necessarily for considerations: --

(1) Whether the conduct of the accused falls under any one of the general exceptions of Indian Penal Law

which absolves them of all liability.

Whether there were any extenuating circumstances such as grave and sudden provocation.

- (3) Even if there was no grave and sudden provocation whether the offences were committed on the spur of the moment or whether it was the result of previous conspiracy.
- (4) If it was the result of previous conspiracy whethere the D.S.P. Mr. Hitchcock and the A.S.P. and the local police were parties to the conspiracy and to what extent if any.
- We propose to deal with the various aspects briefly with reference to the evidence on record both direct and circumstantial. As regards the 1st point it cannot be pretended that these reserve policemen who engaged themselves in such serious criminal acts, were acting in lawful discharge of their duties. Admittedly it is not a case of dispersing a meeting or a crowd by the police when they were on their duty. It is not a case where there was any throwing of stones of brick-bats when they were attempting to keep order. This is a case in which the reserve police of Malappuram divested themselves into members of an unlawful assembly for committing the

then forest and members of an unlawful assembly for committing the various offences on peaceful citizens of Ottapalam and the innocent volunteers of the Provisional and the Khilafat conferences. There is no law which exonerates them from criminal and civil liability.

NO GRAVE OR SUDDEN PROVOCATION: -

On the 2nd question of provocation a few words.

The position of the parties on the morning of the 26th April

was this. Some of the persons who were beaten and ill-treated were local merchants who were engaged in their shops in their legitimate business.

Mr. Kunchappa Menon and Thangal were persons who were on their way to take the train one for talicut and the other for Palghat. There were some other persons who were innocent passersby. On the other hand the reserve police were 35 in number . Some of them were armed with very long sticks. The manner of their attack, the abusive language used by them and the general conduct as deposed to by the various witnesses conclusively show that they were out for mischief to provoke a breach of the peace at any cost in a deliberate and unabashed manner. It is in the evidence of several witnesses that they were beaten and attacked after being questioned whether they were not advocates of the Khilffat cause. Some were attacked for wearing Khilafat caps. Others were attacked for having Khilafat badges. Some others for being Khilafat and conference volunteers. When Arakal Kunhi Bava, one of the witnesses, was attacked by 5 or 6 policemen and questioned whether he did not belong to the Khilafat party he said "Yes" Thereupon he was asked under whose orders he jointed it. On his replying that he joined it in his own free will, he was given a slap on his face by a Hindu constable. Kunchappa Menon was deprived of his hand stick and the Khilafat badge in the presence of the two Jahebs. From all these facts it is clear that no provocation was given by any of the victims unless it be that the wearing of a Khilafat Ca-p a Khilafat Badge the carrying of a stick in the hand, the carrying of the silver rods by the attendants of the Thangal in their hands and walking erect of Kunchappa Menon thro' the streets of Ottapalam or the exercise of the free will by the Arakal Kunhi Bava

should be deemed either collectively or severally, in the eye of the law, to have given sudden and grave provocation to the reserve police of Malappuram. There is no law yet against the Khilafat caps, or badges or Khilafat flags and the free air. All these acts are quite innocent and legitimate. Still in most cases these have been the object of attack by the police. Under the circumstances it will be absurd to contend that any provocation was given to the police by the citizens of Ottapalam or the volunteers.

Yet there are two cases to which we should refer specially under this head of provocation. One is the case of the two brothers Mr. Unnikrishna Menon and Narayana Menon. These two are owning a joint shop on the main road opposite to the building in which the reserve policemen forcibly entered into the shop of these two persons, one of the police questioned unnikrishna Menon who said:--"Rotten cycle". It is rather difficult to speell out exactly what was implied in these words. We may assume that it implies that some one at that shop had said on a previous occasion that the cycle on which one of the policemen was riding was a rottn one. Let us assume that one of the brothers or somebody else at the shop had used such an expression. Can that be a sudden and sufficient provocation for the offences committed by the police against these two brothers.

The same question implies unequivocably that the so-called provocation must have given if at all, some time before the commission of the offence. If that is so it ceases to be sudden. As regards the question whether it is sufficient provocation there is no law to that effect justifying

the offences of house-breaking and grievous hurt by the police themselves. It is unmasinable how a remark of that character could entitle a policeman to cause grievous hurt by fracturing the nasal bone of the unfortunate Narayana Menon. As regards the truth of the fact whether enybody at the shop of Narayana Menon uttered the words "rotten cycle" we are inclined to hold that such an expression could not have been used by either of the two brothers against any of these reserve policemen who had been quartered in front of their own shop. These two shopkeepers could not have taken the risk of insulting a police officer. To support our conclusion there is one other circumstance. It is in evidence that when the question was put by the policemen one of the brothers replied saying that there was no cycle shop there. This enables us to infer that these two brothers were innocent and they could never have used any such expression against any of these policemen. It may be that some such observation was made by some body else in some other places or it may be that it was the imagination of the excited brain of the policemen. From any stand point we are of opinion that there is no justififacation for the attack made by the police on these two brothers.

The 2nd case is that of Kunhi Koya of Tirur in Ponnani Taluk. The witness said that when he was taken to the Sahets the policemen told the Sahebs that the witness had insulted the police when they were taking Mr. Kunchappa Menon by telling them that if the treatment they were according to the volunteer that morning had been given the previous day, all their heads would have been missing. It appears from the evidence of this witness that this statement was made by the reserve police to the superior officers

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when they were questioned as to why they took hold of a man who had come from with outside village to sell his goods. The witness explains by saying that he never made any such statement but he was beaten and taken to the station because he told the police that it was not fair to take hold of a volunteer and kick him. He also added that one of the policemen who had purchased betel from him on the previous day got angry when he asked for the price and kicked him and beat him. It is in his evidence that all the articles in his shop including the sherbet bottles had been smashed to pieces by the police. Having regard to the conduct of the police that morning and the probabilities of the faces, we find the police in-vented the story as a plausible excuse for beating and arresting an outsider who seems to have made a favourable impression on the minds of the two sahebs. We shall assume that the witness used such an expression. Still we must hold that the police who were supposed to be the guardians of peace and order had no manner of justification for committing the offences with which they are charged. If any such provoking remark had really been made they could have invoked the aid of the all-comprehensive section 144 of the cr. P.C. and justified their position. On a review of the whole evidence, we hold that no provocation was given to the police by any of the victims. On the other hand it was the police themselves that did every possible mischief to provoke a breach of the peace on some pretext or other.

CONSPIRACY: -

The next question is whether there was a previous conspiracy. If there was a conspiracy who were all privy to it and what is the motive. There is evidence on record to show that the attack was the result of a conspiracy carefully

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designed beforehand. In this connection it is necessary to refer briefly to the steps taken by Mr. Thomas, the District Magistrate and Mr. Hitchcock, the D-S.P., before April 1921 to "scotch" the movement of Non-co-operation. Mr. Thomas applied to Government in or about February last to give him power to apply section 144 cr. P.C. to the whole of Malabar but the Government of Madras did not approve of the suggestion because it would mean the application of the seditious Meetings Act indirectly to the whole district. It could not be done without the previous sanction of the Government of India. The Government of Madras also pointed out to Mr. Thomas that such sanction was not likely to be granted even if applied for. But at the same time they gave him a free hand to apply section 144 to specified areas. Thomas applied the sections to Ernad and Walluvanad Taluks and calicut town. Ottapalam the scene of Police disturbances, is in the Walluvanad Taluk. This proclamation just preceded the arrival of Mr. Yakub Hassan at Calicut in February last to address a public meeting. Although Mr. Yakub Hassan assured Mr. Thomas that he would not address the meeting on the Khilafat or politics, but he would address them on non-violence. Mr. Thomas insisted upon Mr. Yakub Hassan and his compatriots Messrs. Madhavan Nart, Gopala Menon and Mohideen Koyat furnishing security to keep peace. They refused to comply with the over and preferred imprisonment. Before their arrest and imprisonment the District Magistrate and Mr. Hitchcork, the D.S.P. did their best to make out a case that the Moplahs of Malabar were of the most inflammable character and even the slightest political agitation would bring on violence and blood shed. As to what the two District officers have been doing since then we might refer to the letter written by Mr. P. Ramunni Menon



to the "Hindu" dated 3rd March 1921 under the title of "vagaries of the District Authorities". Therein he narrated how Mr. Thomas threatened the 2 Khilafat volunteers who were standing at the gate of Mr. Madhavan Nair's house, with jails and all sorts of pains and penalities if they should any longer wear their uniform and how he ordered his orderlies to take the lother houses and to set that they work stryped valunteers to their uniforms. It was also described how 4 Khilafat volunteers proceeding in a carriage were compelled to get down and were not allowed to proceed further before they had removed their uniforms. After referring to vakious other vagaries of these District officers Mr. Menon pointed out that in spite of the unnecessary and irritating display of military provess and the high conduct of the Executive the people maintained perfect non-violence and that it was a decided victory for the Non-co-operation movement and a correspondingly decided failure for the authorities as their attempt to goad the people to violence had so thoroughly and signally failed.

From the facts stated above it is clear that during the last 4 or 5 months there has been only one issue bet the District authorities and the people of Malabar, i.e., whether the Moplahs of Malabar are a violent a non-violent people. The District officers have been contending that the Moplahs are violent, whereas the people of Malabar have been contending that they are quite non-violent and that they have thoroughly imbibed the spirit of non-violence.

It was under these circumstances that the provisional, the Ulema, the Khilafat and the student conferences were held at Ottapalam. Mr.Hitchcock, D.S.P. and Mr. Thomas reported to the Government that in the whole of Malabar the Moplahs

of Walluvanad and Ernad taluks were of the most violent character and that prohibition of public meetings should be applied to these taluks. It was so applied to some specified areas.

It seems to us that it became a question of honour and prestige for the district Police officers to make out that the Moplahs of Malabar are of a violent type. Over 5000 people attended the various conferences on 23rd, and 25th including the people of Walluvanad and Ernad taluks. The Conferences were so successful, peaceful and orderly. The Khilafat and conference volunteers conducted themselves so magnificently that not even a whisper of complaint could be heard against them. We think that all this success was too much for the police authorities to witness or bear, because success of the conferences of such magnitud and importance will be a most eloquent and conclusive testimony of the non-viblence character of the Moplahs of Malabar generally and those of Walluvanad and Ernad taluks in special. Such a success will also imply that the prohibition of public meetings under Section 144 in the past may have been based on unfounded apprehensions.

Hence the necessity for conspiracy to devise a plan of action to provoke breach of peace at Ottapalam on the morning of 26th April 1921 and if any untoward casualities or injuries were caused to the police to bring in all their instruments of destruction into play and then attribute the whole thing to the movement of Non-co-operation. There is ample proof on record that the reserve police of Malappuram committed the various offences with which they have been charged in furtherance of the common object. Look at the words used by the police to Mayankutty the rickshwallah when they asked him to stop. They said"If it was your reign yesterday it is ours to-day."

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These words are so pregnant. Do they not show that there wasa previous conspiracy? Do they not suggest that the police were determined to create a reign of terror and alarm so as to destroy the success peace and order that had so well attended the conferences on the previous days. In other words they declared #If you enjoyed order and peace until yesterday we shall make a hell of the whole thing to-day". Then consider the very 1st question put to Madhava Menon the Khilafat volunteer on the railway platform when he was standing there to take the Calicut train. It was Sahibs call you come along". What do these words mean? Why did the Sahibs want him? Did they really want the identical man before them? If the identical man had been required it must have been because he was a very successful captain of the volunteer corps. Again consider the words used to Mr. P.Ramunni Menon when the police ran after him for the 2nd time. The words were "Are you the Vakil Ramunni Menon?" Each one of the merchants or shopkeepers that was assaulted was questioned 1st if he was not a khilafat man. It is in evidence that a local police head constable pointed out tox the reserve policemen one of the Moplah merchants as a Khilafat man. The words used to the rickshaman were "stop there you son of a dog you shall have enough for your Khilafat cap". What do all these expressions prove? They prove not only a pre-existing conspiracy but also the method and the manner of execution resolved upon by the conspirators. They establish without even a shadow of doubt that all these conspirators, before they started out resolved to get at the captain of the volunteers vakil Ramunni Menon all Khilafat workers or volunteers, the Khilafat flags and any others who might support them and assault them as roughly as possible so as to provoke violence and then use their arms and and ammunitions in the name of order and peace. They also show that

it was part of their campaign that the local police should abet and aid the reserve police by accompanying them to point out the persons they wanted.

In this connection the important question is whether Mr. Hitchcock, the D.S.P. and the Sergeant of the reserve police left Ottapalam before the riot commenced or whether they left after the riot commenced with full knowledge of the same. The special correspondent of the "Madras Mail," described himself as an eye witness and as a person who talked to Mr. Hitchcock for atleast half an hour on the rallway platform before he took the Caliicut train and he says that he asked him if there was likely to be trouble and that Mr. Hitchcock told him that the had no such apprehensions. If the riot had not commenced before Mr. Hitchcock went to the station what was the necessity for the so-called eye witness to put such a Question to Mr. Hitchcock on that morning when all the important political conferences had so peacefully terminated and the thousands of people and also the outside volunteers had all left the station the previous night. Mr. Hitchcock's office was only within a stone's throw from the railway station. Is it credible that Mr. Hitchcock could have gone to the railway station half an hour too early. WE We do not know who this eye-witness is. It is clear that from the very outset he was anxious to save the reputation of Mr. Hitchcock by attempting to make out that it was all the mischief of half a dozen reserve policemen without the knowledge of Mr. Hitchcock.

We shall show presently that he has miserably failed in his attempt. It is necessary to note the sequence of events as deposed by Mr. Ramunni Menon, Mr. Madhava Menon, the Captain

the two brothers Narayana Menon and Unnikrishna Menon and Kunhi Koya of Tirur. It is also necessary to note the distance between Mr. Hitchcock and the railway station and the scene of occurrence. From Mr. Hitchcock's office to the railway station it is about 5 of minutes walk.

The shop of Narayana Menon Brothers is just opposite to the front gate of Mr. Hitchcock's office buildings. The The Nedungudi Bank and the shops of other victims are a bit removed from the quarters of the Reserve Police on the other side. The quarters of the Reserve Police is next door to Mr. Hitchcock's office.

Even according to the special correspondent of the "Madras Mail" C.Madhava Menon the Khilafat volunteer was the 1st man attacked by the police near the railway station. Mr. Madhava Menon says that he was beaten and taken to the court buildings to the two sahebs. It is in these court buildings that Mr. Hitchcock's office was held. By sahibs he meant two European officers. It was in their presence that his Khilafat badge was removed. He explained to them how he was beaten kicked and dragged to their presence by the police. After he was let off by the main police, when he was returning by the road to the pandal, this Madhava Menon was met near the railway station by Messrs. Ramunni Menon., Abdul Hamid Khan and Chatukkutty Nair. Madhava Menon Narrated to his friends what had happened to him.

No doubt he was not able to identify Mr. Hitchcock as he had not known him before that date. That one of the two Sahebs referred to by Mr. Madhava Menon was Mr. Hitchcock is made clear by the evidence of Messrs. Ramunni Menon, Abdul Hamid Khan and Chatukkutty Nair. As Messrs. Ramunni Menon,

Chatukkutty Nair and Abdul Hamid Khan were passing along the road after talking to Mr. Madhava Menon they saw Kunhi Koya of Tirur and his sherbet stall which had been broken to pieces. After # walking a distance of nearly 200 yards from there, they met one European officer who was walking along hurriedly towards the Railway station. He was identified by Mr. Chatukkutty Nair as Mr. Hitchcock the D.S.P. Mr. Chattukutty was a hockey player and he had been playing very often with Mr. Hitchcock. He was a person known to him intimately and he could never have made a mistake about the identity of the man in broad daylight. When Mr. Ramunni Menon and his 2 friends proceeded about 100 yards further they came near the shop of Mr. Narayana Menon who had already been seriously injured on his nose. It was just in front of that shop in the main road that Mr. Ramunni Menon and another volunteer had been 1st beaten. Before the arival of Mr. Ramunni Menon and his 2 friends at Mr. Narayana Menon's shop Mr. Unniktrishna Menon had been taken to Mr. Hitchcock when he had no cloth on his loins. Mr. Unni Kriahna Menon says that when he told Mr. Hitchcock and the other officer that he and his brother were unjustly beaten and that they were not Non-co-operators the two officers left the place without giving a reply. Mr. Unni Krishna Menon Knew Mr. Hitchcock and he could not have made any mistake about his identity. He is positive about it. Again there is the evidence of Kunhi Koya that he was taken to 2 Sahebs and that it was the stouter of the two that put questions to him and set him free at the police office. His description could not go further. It is in evidence that the two Sahibs were the D.SpP. the A.S.P. and the D.S.P. is the stouter of the two. We consider that the evidence is conclusive and unimpeachable about the complicity of Mr. Hitchcock in the transaction.

It is clean that Mr. Hitchcock left his office for the railway station only after the Khilafat badge of Mr. Madhava Menon was removed and after hearing the sad tale of (1) Mr. Unnikrishna Menon about the injuries received by himself and his brother and of (2) Kunhi Koya of Tirur about his own fate and the fate of his goods stall and when the police riot was in full swing through the streets of Ottapalam. In what other way can any reasonable person explain the conduct of Mr. Hitchcock and his assistant, who had left the place without a reply? Mr. Unnikrishna Menon complained to them standing almost maked in the hands of the police who dragged him to them. Against such a volume of exidence direct as well as circumstantial recorded in the same evening there is the lame explanation of the special correspondent of the "Madras Mail" in favour of Mr. Hitchcock.

Is it believable that the Mallappuram reserve police could have thought of attacking the innocent people of Ottapalam without being aided by the superior officers and the local police? It is a mere accident that the reserve police directed their attack first and foremost against the Khilafat volunteers just in the same manner in which they had been attacked at Calicut under the orders of the District officers as described by Mr. Ramunni Menon in Evidence A. We think it is not an accidental coincidence. Khilafat badge, uniform or cap have been red rags to Mr. Hitch-cock from the very beginning. What was done at Calicut to destroy the Khilafat and non-co-operation movement has been repeated at Ottapalam with only one difference. At Calicut there was no riot and house breaking by the police, whereas at Ottapalam riot and house breaking preceded the attack on the Khilafat emblems and the workers. Mr. Hitchcock and his assistant used this

unlawful assembly of reserve policemen as an instrument to serve their own purpose without directly implicating themselves. Mr. Hitchcock hurried to the station with full knowledge of what was going on with a view to avoid responsibility and save his reputation.

As regards the local police we are of opinion that they abetted the offences both by ommission and commission. Some of them engaged themselves in the mean duty of marking out persons for the attack by reserve police as is deposed to by one of the witnesses.

The others omitted to appear on the scene. Not one of them came forward to stop the riot. The A.S.P. was in town and also the Stationary Magistrate. None knowns where the Magistrate was, what he was doing on the morning of 26th April 1921 and what he has been doing since then. It is in the evidence of Narayana Menon that the Magistrate sent for him, examined his wound when it was still bleeding and advised him to go to Dr. Joseph for treatment. Mr. Govinda Menon the local S.I. was also present then. These two officers had seen the grievous hurt caused to Mr. Narayana Menon almost immediately. What have they done? Did they investigate into the occurrences of the day? Did they make any reports to the D.S.P. or the District Magistrate? Did the District Magistrate send any report to the Government of Madras? These are all the questions the ansers for which could be found only in the sealed book of the Reformed Government "New India" one of the Madras papers, asked for an explanation about the assault on Mr. Ramunni Menon. None has been forthcoming until now. Verily this is maintaining law and order by the Government.

PROVOCATION GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE: --

Gravest provocation that could be conceived of by human mind had been given to the people of Ottapalam and the Khilafat and congress workers by those very people who had been entrusted with the maintenance of law and order. The attacks on the Thangal and Mr. Ramunni Menon who was described even by the correspondent of the "Madras Mail" as a well-known person of calm temperament and an ardent believer in non-violent agitation, were the worst of the series. What more is needed to wound the religious feelings of the Moplah community than the attack on the Thangal and his attendants as described in the evidence of one of the witnesses which is also admitted by the special correspondent of the "Madras Mail."

The temper of the people could be judged by what followed the brutal offences committed by the reserve policemen. Mr. Ramunni Menon when he approached the gates of the pandal after he was beaten and kicked, was lifted in the hands of some of his Moplah and Hindu brethren and brought to the dais in the Congress pandal where the students conference was continuing calmly and peacefully notwithstanding the receipt of the reports from time to time of the violence started by the policemen on the congress workers in the Ottapalam streets. Mr. Ramunni Menon was garlanded and embraced by some of his friends. He got up the table in front of the President and addressed the audience giving a detailed description of his adventures. He took everything with ease and pleasure and exhorted the audience to observe strict nonviolence and not to lose their temper even under worst provocation. Mr. C. Madhava Menon followed him and repeated the same exhortation. Most of the people who had received injuries ran up to the pandal without making the least attempt to retaliate. The leaders address them to observe strict non-violence. At the close of the proceeding at about 1 p.m. the people assembled there marched in a solemn procession headed by Mr. Prakasam and Mr. Ramunni Menon thro the important streets of Ottapalam and also the scenes of occurrence. The procession lasted nearly 3 hours and the people dispressed quietly to their homes at about 4 p.m.

As a protest against the outrageous conduct of the police 3 1st class Honorary Magistrates Mr. Sankunni Menon, Mr. Narayana Iyer and Mr. Abdul Khader, all gentlemen of moderate persuasion, resigned their offices at once. Three vakils, Kocuhunni Nair Govindan Nair, and Narayana Aiyar have suspended their practice at the bar.

RESPONSIBILITY: -

Although the responsibility of maintaining law and order is in the Government we hold that it has signally failed to maintain the same at Ottapalam on the 26th April last. On the other hand a grave situation and serious danger to public danger to public tranquillity had been averted by the strict observance of non-violence by the people of Ottapalam and the Congress and Khilafat volunteers. It is remarkable how ordinary people could practise non-violence under such provocation. It may be difficult to find a parallel to this even in the lives of some of the greatest saints and prophets. The movement of non-violent Non-co-operation had stood the ordeal of fire and water and come out victorious to the utter bewilderment and amazement of the conspirators.

CONCLUSIONS.

On a review of the whole evidence we are of opinion that the reserve police of Malabar, the local police of Ottapalam and the superior police officers were, before the commencement of the riot, engaged in a criminal conspiracy for the purpose of provoking a breach of peace and violence on the part of Non-cooperators and then using Reprisals and finally fixing the responsibility on the movement of Non-co-operation. We are also of opinion that all the above named offences were committed by the reserve police of Malappuram in furtherance of their common object and failed to secure the desired results. On the other hand the cause of non-violent Non-co-operation has achieved a crowning victory in the Kerala province, which should command the respect and admiration of even its worst enemies. In arriving at this conclusion, we have done our best to do our duty by the public on the one hand and the persons accused on the other. We hope we have not failed to do our duty by the accused. The sufferers have been victims of injustice and oppression. They have placed their case before the public. All the facts have been set out as accurately as possible by us. They speak for themselves. The highest of the tribunals, the people, shall judge.

We hope that all the police officers who have been guilty of the offences with which they have been charged and also the Government will look back upon their own conduct and will also hook forward and endeavour to make by their further good conduct some amends to society for the concern which they have had in this transaction at Ottapalam on the 26th of April.

(Sd.) T.Prakasam, Syed Murtuza. George Joseph L.A.Subbarama Iyer. K.P.Kesava Menon.

May 14,1921.

ANDHRA WORKERS.

SEC.107 Cr. P.C..

Cocanada, May 14.

Proceedings under Section 107 Cr.P.C. commenced at 110 clock on the 13th instant, before the District Magistrate Mr. Bracken.

In the court hall, similar notice was served upon Mr. Bulusu Sambamurthi, B.A., 1st Grade pleader, Secretary District congress Committee.

The Court hall was thronged with spectators. Prominent Non-co-operators and congressmen from the whole of Godavari and Kistana Districts. For want of foom several waited outside the hall.

The 5 accused M/s. K.V.R. Swami, Barrister, B.Sambamurthi, Gajavilli Ramachandra Rao M.A., Drs. Palakodeti Gurumurthi, Brahmagosula Subrahmaniam, all elected municipal councillors, were in cheerful mood. P.V. Subba Rao of Rajahmundry and several others put in a petition requesting adjournment as they intended moving the High Court for transfer of the case from Godavari District Magistrates file, as they apprehended that fair and impartial trial cannot be had before him. The Magistrate observed that as proceedings under section 107 is not a criminal cas case Section 52, Cr.P.C. did not apply and he would not stay the proceedings. He further remarked that as he, District Magistrate was responsible for the peace of the district; the very object of these proceedings would be frustrated if an adjournment were granted under the circumstances, and asked the accused to give written undertaking that they would not make speeches inciting peopeople not to pay taxes.

One of the accused Mr. Sambamurthi, stated that the non-payment of taxes not being one of the items in the current congress programme he as Secretary District Congress Committee gave instructions not to say anything about non-payment of taxes, that propagandists were closely following his instructions and that he verified it from personal knowledge during his tours. He further stated that they were prepared to give an undertaking on their word of honour that they would not advise people against non-payment of taxes, but the Magistrate insisted that they should give an undertaking not to visit villages within 10 miles from the Agency tracts and the accused could not but refuse to give such undertaking.

Mr. Sambamurti suggested that the Collector might pass such a prohibitory order if he liked but the collector declined to pass such order. Thereupon, the collector adjourned the proceedings for one week, remainding in the meantime the accused to custody in the local sub-jail, pending application in the Hach Court for transfer. The vakils immediately objected to the order and said that they were prepared to proceed with the case immediately and that they never wanted time on condition of remanding the accused to custody and pointed out that the collector's order was not legal. The order remanding the accused to custody in jail, was not given effect to and the collector adjourned the case to 2 P.M. on the 14th instant

Crowds of people waited watching the proceedings with a kee interest. The 4 accused of Rajahmundry were received this morning at the Railway station in eclat and taken in procession with Sankirtanams through the city. Complete peace and great enthusiasm prevailed.

May 14,1921:.

Col.Wedgwood writes in the "Daily News" London: -Three articles recently appeared in the "Daily News" on
the "spirit of India" written by "an Anglo-Indian". They make
me angry and I can quite understand the effect such articles
have on the spirit of Indians. This sort of attack on Indian
nationalists creates the "undisguised" hatred of the Indian
for the "A.I." a hatred which, owing to ignorance is getting
extended to all Englishmen.

Non-co-operation and race hatred is not to be found only on one side in India. People like this anglo-Indian (Daily getting fewer in India) would as soon co-operate with a monkey as with an Indian, and they let the Indian know it. The only Indians they know are their servants and they treat all Indians asservants. Their hatred of the educated Indian surpasses the hatred of the Indian for them.

The decent British officials, working out their soul trying to save Indo-British unity, making the reforms work in face of all this national non-co-operation; get unjustly sarred with ""Andlo-Indian's brush. In reality, they would lock up an "Anglo Indian" with more satisfaction than they would lock up Gandhi. One wishes that these people who are straining up race hatred in England could hear what Governors and Commissioners and Collectors working in India now think of General Dyer and Sir Michael and all the "Andlo-Indian" kidney.

INDIA'S WAR EFFORT: -

The doctrine of Non-co-operation is, to my mind deadly both to England and to India. It lives on race hat the it destroys the chance of orderly advance, it leads to anarchy. But we may

as well realise the feelings of the non-co-operating Indian. He will not shake hands with murder; he will accept nothing except complete freedom from a "Satanic Government". He has lost all faith in British justice. He knows he cannot rebel and fight machine-guns are too much for him - but he is desperate and willing to say that he does not care what happens. And all this pleasant state of affairs we owe to 'Anglo-Indian'.

How has it come about? Right up to the end of the War co-operation was open and almost whole hearted. Gandhi was making recruiting speeches. All India pulled with us in the war. The Armistice brought an over whelming victory for England; the Indians were no longer wanted. All the little smiles and politenesses and even good fellowship that had been the war-time atmosphere closed down with a snap. The old type "Anglo-indian tried to get back to the old atmosphere of master and subject. Rowlatt Acts were forced through. They have never been used and never will be used. But they did their work proving that all war time talk was insincere, and that official England dad not trust India.

There for lowed the rule of martial law in the Punjab. There the accussed slaughter in the Jallianwall Bagh. Let those who blame India for race-hatred and non-co-operation imagine how they would have felt in the other fellow's place. And, when they saw the butcher pensioned with their money, blessed by a foreign House of Lords, receiving £30,000 from admiring "Anglo-Indians" would they in such case accept the situation and shake hands with "Anglo Indian" crying "let bygones be bygones"? You will never get the Indians to forget or forgive, so long as the poeple like the writer of these articles can neither understand nor apologise.

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MODERN ANGLO-INDIANS:-

Fortunately such Anglo-Indians are getting fewer in India. It is symptomatic and a good thing that the British elected to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State took the trouble to cable to Lord Sydenham's committee, begging them to stop their insane activities. These are the real responsible British in India, elected by Englishmen and Scotsmen on the spot up-to-date not 3 years behind in comprehension of Modern India.

During my recent tour in India I consistently and always argued against non-co-operation. I regard it as both foolish and wrong in the way it is practised; but I used my arguments to both sides. The English officials and non-officials must co-operate with Indians; they too must play the game, they must treat Indians as equals. Things are better than they were 6 months ago. The officials are doing their best to undo what has been done by the O'Dwyers; they are trying to live down Non-co-operation and hatred; and all the time those antiques and dug outs in Pall Mall clubs are destroying the efforts of decent men to save India for the Empire.

In spite of them however things look better. Lord Reading has a chance; he will meet Mr. Gandhi and his satellites", and they will I have no doubt discuss together how to end this mightmare of hatred in India, and yet put India on the sure road to freedom. How "Anglo-Indian" will rage understanding that he no longer courts in India.

26th May 1931:--

LEADER

REPRESSION.

We have already pointed out how Government servants are thrown into a ridiculous position by the recent changes in their conduct rules. The myriad possibilities of mischief which those rules contain have not begun to manifest themselves in our Presidency. One curious instance of their application hails from Northern India and this might perhaps be taken as a little fore task of what is to happen on a wider scale through out the country. Mr. O.F. Jenkins, District Magistrate of Badaun is said to have peralised a subordinate Babu Dorilal for possessing an adult son who is a non-co-operator. The son, it appears, had been called upon under Section 144, Cr. P.C. to desist from seditious lecturing. The District Magistrate was displeased that Babu Dorilal "failed to produce a wirtten declaration of loyalty to Government on the part of his son" and asked him to show cause why for this failure he should not be removed from Government service. The father explained that his son was 25, lived separately, and was beyond his control. The District Magistrate thought it "impossible to retain him in the service while his son is openly professing disloyalty to the Government "This is a position of affairs", he thought, "which is likely to mislead the public as to the attitude of the Government towards sedition." The result was that Babu Dorilal was "suspended for one month or until he produces the required declaration of loyalty on the part of his son."

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May 27, 1921:--

Non-co-operation.

INTERVIEW WITH VICEROY.
MR.GANDHI'S STATEMENT.

Mr.Gandhi writing in "Young India" about why he the author of Non-co-operation waited on His Excellency the Vicercy and what happened at the interview says: -- The world is curious to know what ails us. His Excellency the Viceroy represents a big world. His Excellency wanted to know why I with whom co-operation was an article of faith had non-co-operated. There must be something wrong with the Government or me. Non-co-operation is directed not against men but against measures. It is not directed against Governors but against the system they administer. I went to see Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and heard His Excellency would like to see me and hear my views and I did not require any persuasion to prompt me to ask for an interview. I gladly seized the opportunity of waiting on His Excellency and assuring him that ours was a religious movement designed to purge the Indian political life of corruption, deceit, terrorism and the incubus of white superiority. The readermust not be too curious; he must not believe the so-called reports in Press. The veil must remain drawn over the details of the conversation between His Excellency the Viceroy and myserlf. But I can assure him that I explained to him as fully as I know the three claims, the khilafat the Punjab and Swaraj and gave him the genesis of non-co+operation. His Excellency heard me patiently courteously and attentively. He appeared to me to be anxious to do, only the right thing. We had a full discussion of the burning questions as between man and man. We discussed the question of non-violence and it appeared to me to be common ecause between us. But beyond saying that we were able to understant each other, I am unable to say that there was more in the interwhich including is included for no small gain, in the
view was a distinct success. At the end of the long discussion and
I am more than ever convinced that our salvation rests upon

can
our own effort. His Excellency only help or hinder. I am am
sanguine enough to think that he will help.

May 28, 1921:-

INTERVIEW WITH THE VICEROY (Contd.)

Mr. M.K.Gandhi writes in "Young India":--

"Many are asking why I waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy. Some inquire why the author of Non-co-operation should seek to see the Viceroy. All want to know the result of the interview. I like the rigorous scrutiny of the Non-co-operator, who more than Caesar's wife, must be above suspicion Non-co-operation is self-reliance. We want to establish Swaraj, not to obtain it from others. Then why approach a Viceroy? This is all good, so far as it goes. And I should be a bad representative of our cause, if I went to anybody to ask for Swaraj. I have had the hardihood to say that Swaraj could not be granted even by God. We would have to earn it ourselves. Swaraj from its very nature is not in the giving of anybody.

"But we want the world with us in our battle for freedom we want the good-will of everybody. Our capse, we claim, is based upon pure justice. There are certain things we want Englishmen to surrender. All these things need mutual discussion and mutual understanding. Non-co-operation is the most potent weapon for creating world opinion in our favour. So long as we protested and co-operated, the world did not understand us. The erstwhile lion of Bengal in his early days used to relate the story of Englishmen who asked him how many broken heads there were in India, if things were really so bad as he represented them to be. That was the way John Bull understood best. The other question the world has undoubtedly been asking is: -- If things are really so bad why do we co-operate with Government in so panperising and humiliating us? Now the world understands our attitude, no matter how weakly we may enforce it in practice. The world is now curious to know what ails us. His Excellency

mentioned to Pandit Malaviyaji and to Mr. Andrews that he would like to see me and hear my views. I went to see the Panditji because he was anxious to meet me. I hold him in such high regard that I would not think, wen if he was well and I could help it, of letting him come to me. As it was, he was too weak to travel to me. It was my duty to go to him. And when I heard the purport of his conversation with His Excellency, I did not require any persuasion to prompt me and ask for an appointment if His Excellency wished to hear my views. I have devoted so much space to the reason for my seeking an appointment for I wanted to make clear doubts and the meaning of non-co-operation.

* * * * * *

"And so I hope, this great movement of Non-co-operation has made it clear to thousand as it has to me, that whilst we may attack measures and systems we may not must not attack men.

Imperfect ourselves, we must be tender towards others and be slow to impute motives."

We must redouble our efforts to go through our programme.

It is clearly as follows:--

Removal of untouchability;
 Removal of the drink curse;

(4) Registration of Congress members and

(5) Collection of Tilak Swaraj Fund.

⁽³⁾ Ceaseless introduction of the spinning wheel.
and the ceaseless production of Khadder, leading to
an almost complete boycott of foreign cloth.

115 940

May 31, 1921:--

LEADER.

NON2CO-OPERATION.

The Press Communique from Simla sets forth the circumstances which have led to the publication of the apology and the undertaking of Moulanas Shaukat Ali and Mohamed Ali. The decision was also the outcome of the recent interviews between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Reading. A prosecution of the Ali brothers at this juncture would have had most undesirable results. We must express our satisfaction that Mr. Gandhi's wholesome advice, to, and influence with, the brothers has averted this result and Lord Reading has acted wisely in abandoning the prosecution. The success of the movement as we have always insisted, depends upon strict observance of the principle of non-violence in the better and the spirit.

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THE ALI BROTHERS.

GOVERNMENT'S INTENTIONS.

PROSECUTION DEFERBED.

AP942

SImla, May 30--

A press Communique says: --

"The attention of the public has doubtless been drawn to the apology and the undertaking issued to-day by M/s. Md. Aliand Shaukat Ali to the press. This document runs as follows:-"Friends has drawn our attention to certain speeches of ours which in their opinion have a tendency to incite to violence. We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence and we never imagined that any passages in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them. But We recognise the force of our friends argument and interpretation. We sincerely feel sorry and express our regret for the unnecessary heat of some of the passages in these speeches and we give our public assurances and promise to all who may require it that so long as we are associated with the movement of Nonco-operation we shall not directly or indirectly advocate violence at present or in the future nor create an atmosphere of preparedness for violence. Indeed we hold it contrary to the spirit of Non-violent Non-co-operation to which we have pledged our word."

In view of the publication of these expressions of regret and promises for the future, the Government of India desire to make it known generally that they had decided on the 6th May to prosecute Messrs. Md. Ali and Shaukat Ali, for certain speeches delivered in the United Provinces during the last few months. These speeches in the opinion of the Government of India were direct incitements to violence. The immediate object of the Government in determining to enforce the law on

the present occasion was to prevent incitement to violence and preserve order after the decision to which reference has been made was reached.

It was urged on the Government that their immediate object could be obtained without recourse to the criminal courts. The Government consequently, wwing to the statement now issued over the signature of M/s. Md. Ali and Shaukat ali, have decided to defer from instituting criminal proceedings against them in respect of those speeches so long as the solemn public undertaking contained in the statement issued to the press is observed. should the conditions of this undertaking not be performed, the Government of India will be at liberty to prosecute them for their past speeches. It must not be inferred from the original determination of the Government to prosecute for the speeches inciting to violence that promoting disaffection of a less violent character is not an offence against the law. The Government of India desire to make a plain statement that they will enforce the law relating to offences against the state as and when they may think fit against any person or persons who have committed the breaches of it.

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June 18, 1921:--

LEADER.

The proposed method of recruitment to the Imperial Forest Service from those who have served in the army or the navy has naturally aroused bitter feelings in the minds of the hard worked and experienced men of distinguished educational qualifications and technical knowledge employed in the Provisional cadre of the Service. We are at a loss to understand what has naval or military skill to do with forest administration which requires deep technical knowledge. The present method of direct recruitment from among the educated Indians, for the Imperial Forest Service., under rigid conditions, has not till now given any satisfaction to the people as it has been worked in an illiberal and prejudicial manner towards Indians and the publication of the communique inviting applications from the naval and military men, has shattered the hopes of young Indian aspirants, for the Imperial Forest Service either by direct recruitment or by departmental promotion. We are afraid that India, in her present crippled financial condition cannot afford to be too generous towards men whose recruitment into Imperial Forest Service cannot, with any shadow of reason, be considered conducive to the progress of forest administration in the country, No doubt military and Naval men are worthy of high honour and public esteem but to saddle them on a department, requiring efficient service to the detriment of men of approved qualifications may smack of prejudicied action, not warranted by reason justice or equity. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will realise the situation and act in a manner calculated to allay widespread discontent.

94%

June 20, 1921.

The Buckingham Mill Sympathetic Strike.

The Vice-President, Madras Labour Union, Perambur Barracks writes under date 20th June 1921:-

(As previously announced to the public the workmen of the Buckingham Mills have struck work this morning in sympathy with the workers of the Carnatic Mills who did not obtain redress of their legitimate grievances from the Mill management. The workmen of both the mi Mills met in their Union premises this morning an and listened to the address of their elders who advised the workers that as they had finally resorted to the strike they should stand by the same till their grievances were redressed and thereby render future strikes impossible. The workmen assembled expressed their indignation against one of the Assistant Commissioners of labour for his presence at a meeting of Adi-Dravidas held yest yesterday, exhorting/them to break the strike by joining work as against the unanimous decision of all the workers of the Mills. This morning's proceedings were characterised by sincere determination and devotion for the Union cause and in spite of the great display of the police force in the neighbourhood of the Union Premises, the men conducted their proceedings most peacefully con consistent with their principles of Satyagraha. / The work ment further restred that they would seek other work and specially that of the spinning wheels and handlooms during the period of the strike! The workmen assembled expressed their opinion that the Mill management would cease to entertain the pious hope of cowing down the workers by mere lock-outs and display of force and that sympathy, goodwill and justice alone would render the recurrence of the present unfortunate strike impossible in the future. The elders hope that the mill management will realise that their present attitude towards the strikers will not end the situation that that they will; sympathetically view the grie

vance of the workmen and sincerely try to find a proper and final solution of the present troubles relating to labour and capital,

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Our point is that it is sufficient that the impression prevails that he is helping the capitalists. That is enough to completely destroy what little scope for usefulness he may have possessed and in the interests of peace it is our earnest hope that his suspicious activities will immediately cease. Nor is the Labour Commissioner the only factor that stands in the way of peace. The police also are under suspicion and justifiably in our opinion. They appear to intermatpret their duty of preserving law and order somewhat too generously and seem to think that it is their special mission to break the strike. Breaklegs of course are entitled to protection but we question the necessity of encouraging them tacitly or openly to regard themselves as privileged. To be a black-leg is sufficient provocation in itself without his flaunging his character in the face of sullen strikers. That such incidents have taken place we have no doubt and we regard them as incitements to disorder countenanced, or at least not discouraged, by the police. One last point we should like to make. There has been much talk in the past of inquitous agitators who foment strikes and disturb the serenity of benevolent capitalists. What are we to think of agitators whose political career is one long drawn shrick of communal hatred who essay the pleasant and grateful task of splitting up the solidarity grateful task of splitting up the solidarity of the strikers? Is the politician as strike-breaker any more desirable than the politician as strike-maker? We do not blame the capitalists. They are entitled to use every means, passably legitimate, in their fight. It is for their willing cat's paws to determine how long they e going to continue in that useful but in the long run dangerous office. /

5th July 1921?--

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-968tapalem-Incident. OTTAPALAM INCIDENT.

CONGRESS ENQUIRY REPORT.

GOVERNMENT TO SUE FOR LIBEL.

Octaramend, July 5.-- A press communique regarding the occurrences at Ottapalam in Malabar District on 26th April issued to-day sets the official facts and concludes as follows: The Government have read in the 2 "Hindux" newspaper a report appearing over the signature of five persons viz., (1) T.Pwakasam (2) Saiyid Murtuza, (3) George Joseph, (4) L.A.Subbarama Ayyar and (5) K.P.Kesava Menon. This report purports to give an account in detail of the occurrences at Ottapalam on the 26th April and makes certain allegations against the police. The Government have authorised the Superintendent of Police Mr. Hitchcock to file a suit for damages against the signatories to this report and the Editor and Proprietor of the "Hindu" newspaper.

August 5, 1921:-

LEADER.

The following letterhas been received from Mahatma Gandhi in regard to the recent congress elections:-

On the way to Algarh, 3rd August 1921.

Dear Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar,

---- You will see what the working Committee has done. I confess I have not gone into the facts norm considered the law applicable to them. But I feel that any disturbance of the elections will interfere with the working of the programme. I hope that you will accept the decision and help the prosecution of Swadeshi as advised by the resolution of the A.I.C.C.

I hope to be in Madras at the end of the month.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Mahatma Gandhi.

We cannot but feel that the A.I.C.C. and the working committee have failed to realise the importance and gravity of the issues involved in disposing of the matter in the manner they have done. Having regard wish expressed in the above communication as well as in the resolution of the majority of the members of the Working Committee we refrain from making any detailed comments. We must however make one further remark. The last clause of the resolution of the Working Committee says that it "advises such persons as feel themselves aggrieved in Bengal and Madras to co-operate with the Provisional Organisations in both Provinces with a view to the prosecution of the programme to a successful isage". This reveals a gross misreading of the situation so far at least as Madras is concerned. It is not a personal grievance that the representation to the A.I.C. was designed to ventilate t was a constitutional and legal question of fundamental importance that was raised for decision; nor is it clear how persons who "feel themselves aggrieved" are to co-operate with Provincial Organisations

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from which they have been of set purpose, and by a process of skilful manouvering and manipulation kept out of membership in them. How can these be co-operation with persons who have deliberately discarded it?

November 3, 1921:-

Non-co-operation.

REPRESSION IN NELLORE.

Mr. V.Raghviah, Secretary, District Congress Committee, Nellore, wires:-

Nellore, November 1:- It is by now well-known to all that the anti-drink campaign is progressing in Nellore district with wonderful rapidity. Consequent upon repeated failures in connection with toddy auction sales the local authorities, desiring perhaps to terrorise the people, charged Messrs. Chathurvedula Raghavayya Garu and Putur Subbramiah Garu, both prominent leaders in the temprance movement most injustly under section 290 I.P.C., for indecent exposure. The accused being staunch non-co-operabora refused to have defence and engaged no vakils. The town sub-Magistrate tried the case and sentenced the leaders this afternoon to pay a fine Rs. 15 or to undergo 2 weeks' Simple Imprisonment. The accused refused to pay the fine and very gladly accepted the jail amidst defening cheers from the vast crowd assembled at the court. \rimathi Putur Balasaraswatiamma, wife of Sri Putur Subbaramulu prostrated before her husband and gave him a hearty send-offassuring to fill his place and carry on his splendid work. She and the accused exhorted the people to completely boycott foreign cloth successful, stop sale of liquor and immediately give up Governments offices for the speedy attainment of Swaraj. After being profusely garlanded the accused were marched to the jail amidst cries of "Vande Mataram" and Gandhi Mahatma-ki-jaiv

July 2, 1921:-

Leader.

TILAK SWARAJYA FUND.

To The deep joy of the nation, the Tilak Swaraj Fund has been over-subscribed. The gloomy prognostications of the hostile press have been utterly falsified and their cheap jeers at the slow progress of the collection work have recailed on themselves--------- This only exposes the hollowness of their previous sneer that it is only the idle roughs and ignorant proletariat and not the men with a stake in the country, that sympathised and cooperated with Non-Co-operators. Simalar is the case with their criticism of the contributions on a territorial basis. One sapient critic, who displayed more prejudice than knowledge of the rudiments of statistical methods, compared the Government of India's loan subscriptions with the contributions to the Congress fund and drew the inference that there was more loyalty(?) or support to the bureaucracy or to the Moderate Besantite group in the country than sympathy with the Congress. If this inference were correct, then, it would have led, from his point of view, to the absurd conclusion that his province was the least loyal or his party the least popular,. The fact is arguments based purely on a territorial basis, cannot always yield valid conclusions. The same economic conditions which made Bombay and Bengal contribute the largest amount to the loan also made them fist in magnitude as regards their support of the Gongress Fund. If then, the above arguments advanced to discount the significance of the success of the Fund are untenable, equally untenable is the last one that relating to ear-marked subscriptions. If such subscriptions do not unmistakably comnote sympathy with the ideas of the Congress why, then, did the donors to whom every form of official expressions facts has made it understood that donations will be met with official disfavour, select Non-co-operating congress workers and not the numerous officially blessed institutions and schemes, to entrust their contributions with to farward what they had at heart? The preference given by these benefactors to the non-co-operating

Congress agency over the co-operating official and non-official agencies is proof positive of their sympathy with the movement. Try how they will, the significance of the Congress movement, them is unmistakable. That such a magnificent sum as a crore was raised in a country whose average annual income perhead of the population is only about Rs. 40/- that it was raised in a few months is evidence of the hold that the cause has over the That it has been substantially supported not by dreamers but by hard headed businessmen, men with a stake in the country shows the extent of the new influence which pervades all classes in the country, rich and poor educated and ignorant The cause has evoked a spirit of sacrifice in all, and on the whole in proportion to their ability. The success of the Fund is bound to stimulate the workers to greater efforts and encourage the faint hearts and the doubting to throw in their lot with their country's best interests. It ought also, to be a warning to critics that, whatever the temporary state of the tide of Indian politics, there is no harking backward and that India, as a whole will march on under the banner of "Advance! Mother India"! Statesmanship in Indian policy will henceforth lie only along the lines indicated by this banner, and the more there is of statesmanship with the authorities the better will it be for all concerned.

LEADER.

While all our contemporaries are agreed that something must be done about the grave situation at Perambur, they naturally as to what, how and by whom. One contemporary has started a relief fund for the homeless sufferers and another bursts into tearful eloquence over the desolation that is presented after the fires. As we have pointed out, it is idle to ask who began the trouble. It is sufficient that the trouble exists and grows worse daily. The prime necessity of the moment is obviously peace not merely bet the warring elements among the labourers but, employer and employed. It ought not to be impossible to find a way out of the present impasse and the way out of the present and the very unpleasant turn which has been to a primarily economic dispute by the introduction of communal hatred, makes it all the more necessary that the situation should once again be brought under control. It is clear that noneof the factors at present engaged directly or indirectly in the contest is capable of bringing about a pacification. The Labour Commissioner is suspect in the eyes of the strikers. The police are equally under suspicion and their method of handling the situation has left a good deal to be desired. The politician is taboo, for he is believed by the capitalists to be at the bottom of the present discontent. Meanwhile the public is wonering if these untoward events are causing the slightest uneasiness in the cool heights, where the two halves of Government are harmoniously united in a solidarity of inaction. It may be foolish but the public expect that the Government should take some action with a view to bringing the present state of things to an end. We bearn that His Excellency is now in Madras and await with interests what he proposes to do in the matter.

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LEADER.

The God out of the Machine.

Lord Willingdon's performances did not generally tend to exercise one's sense of humour but his speech ye sterday with its pathetic disclimers, its indignant aspersions and its solemn warnings was a little above the everage level of his efforts. The meeting which he convened yesterday and at which besides the labour leaders and the officials, some "black-legs" were also invited to be present, was intended, presumably to bring about a settlement of the strike. We say presumably because in the result it merely evolved into one more opportunity. for His Excellency for letting off steam. As an effort at conciliation it was a distinct failure. As an exposition of His Excellency's political faith it was, we venture to be lieve, as distinctly superfluous. His Excellency denied that Government and its officers were helping the mill authorities to crush trade unionism. On the other hand he pathetically insisted, Government were actually about to legislate in order to regularise the position of labour organisations. To those who have studeted the history of the present strike, the disclaimer must appear to put an unduestrain upon one's capacity for credulity. The Government may love trade unions; if so, its affection is most convincingly dissembled; The Labour Commissioner and his assistants have been active in procuring "balck leg" labour for the mills. It has been argued that he did so in his capacity of protector of depressed classes. All we can say is in what ever capacity he acted, the Government cannot escape the responsibility of having interfered on behalf of the capitalists. Its intentions may have been of the purest but the world has an unpleasant knack of judging by results rather than motives. We do not suppose His Excellency is given much to introspection but a little reflection ought to convince him that his whole attitude and the nature of his speech constitute an effective criticism of his disclaimer. He comes down to Madras and before trying to understand the strikers' case sends for and threatens their leaders. Their case is then put before him and he

tells them in yesterday's meeting that they have no case, that they ought to have been thankful to serve under such generous masters. But that was not the sum nor indeed the major part of his efforts at conciliation. The strikers had not only no case but the strike was not an economic one but political. The inevitable Non-co-operator is at the bottom of it. Since non-co-operation is so much in the air we are not surprised that it has become a kind of obsession with His Excellency but it is a little farfetched to ask the public to believe that because the strikers' leaders are non-co-operators, their sole mission in life is to play the serpents in the capitalists' Garden of Eden. It is well known that in the present instance the men came out spontaneously in sympathy with the carnatic Mills' men and that all the influence the leaders have exerted in the strike has been to ensure peace and order. But if His Excellency chooses to think that the strike is political the means are easy at his hand to convert stood the motive underlying the men's decision to leave Madras. They are starving here. They are wilting under the fron of His Excellency's displeasure. In the disturbed atmosphere created by people whom His Excellency wisely for once refused to discriminate, they fear persecution and worse. Since they must live and cannot live at Perambur they have to go elsewhere. We hope this aspect of the matter is quite clear because we notice a tendency in the usual quarters to lken the present position with that at chandpur. The men recognise that the alternatives are either to regoin the mills on the employers' terms or go elsewhere where they could be at peace and find such livelihood as they can. If they decide on the later alternative it will be the duty of the public to afford them all the possible help it can.

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MILL STRIKE SITUATION. PUBLIC MEETING.

Government's Action condemned.

Public Sympathy with Labour.

Mr. C.Rajagopalachari moved the following resolutions
That this public meeting of the citizens of Madras sympathises
with the workmen of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in their
present sufferings and fight against the capitalists and calls on
the public to render all possible assistance to them during the
continuance of the dispute.

He said that during the strike, the men should secure for themselves some employment whereby they could earn at least 4 annas. At the same time they must cut short unnecessary expense. The public also should come to their help and they would help them. Then the Mill management would grant their demands which were just.

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THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

For us in India who have been watching the proceedings of the Imperial conference it is somewhat reasonable to feel that there is at least one member of the Conference whose mind views the Empire as inclusive of other races than of British descent. So far as we have seen till now the problem of India's staths and stature within the Empire has not troubled the attention of most of the representatives at the Conference Even outside the circle of the Conference itslef, the question of the Dominions appears to monopolise thought among publicists and in the Press. The urgency of the problems relating to the differences between the coloured and the white sections of the Empire does not seem to be present to their minds. The obes session is all about the white peoples, about the colonies and the Dominions, about the ways and means of regulating their place in the Commonwealth. "The Chief significance" wark wrote Mr. H.Duncan Hall in the "Times" on the eve of the conference --lies rather in the fact that the Imperial conference will attempt for the first time in its history to frame a foreign policy for the British Commonwealth and to decide how and what to extent the United Aingdom and the Domanions will co-operate in providing the defence forces necessary to uphold that policy". Mr. Duncan Hall assures us that public interest in Britain has been concentrating only on onequestion, that of the constitutional relations between the Dominions and the United Kingdom ----- We have seen articles in the British Press expounding the demands of the Dominions and the dangers of failing to meet them, but few regarding India and her rights. It is said that the claim of equality of status now insisted on by Canada, South Africa and other colonies in am natural outcome of the grant of self-government and that it must be acknowledged at the perild of breaking the Empire.. . . . What this will mean to India when the Dominions are not prepared to give up their exclusiveness to her is hardly necessary to enlarge upon. To put it briefly it will mean a multiplication of the chains round India's neck, and

as yet we have no indication whether the Imperial conference have thought or will think of a safeguard against this danger. The silence of Reufer on the Conference discussions on India is rather ominous and the inference forces itself that the conference should have been influenced by the trend of opinion in the British and Dominion Press. The public has perhaps by this time concluded that the conference when it ends will have done nothing for India.

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LEADER.

The corporation and the Strike.

That vigilant keeper of the public conscience, the "Madras Mial" is scandalised because the Madras Corporation is attempting to bring about a settlement of mill strike dispute. Our contemporary which can be trusted to play the devil's advocate to perfection whenever need for that exalted mission arises, advises the capitalists to ask the corporation in the words of Lord Ampthill. "to mind its own business". The views of the Madras Mail are perhaps intrinsically not of such great value as to necessitate any serious argument over them. Its political platform is well-known and it is a worthy exponent of a community which dissolves in blood and tears over the small measure of sacrifice of prestige that is called for in order itself in the appointed place in the new Utopia. That community has not yet lost its contempt for the "blackman" its belief inforce and its faith in the strong hand. However much it may disguise its feelings in normal times, a time of crises invariably sees the cloven foot coyly peeping out from its robe of innocence. There has been no better illustration of this truth than the recent events at Perambore. The capitalists hounded on by our contempraary tried by every means to break up the labour solidarity and when their attempts anximm culminated in the inevitable disorders that aggressive strike-breaking brings in its train, they promptly handed the situation to the guardians of law and order to handle. How that situation was handled by these agencies from the Governor downwards is well enough known. With the Labour Commissioner working openly as an agent for recruiting blacklegs, with a compleisant police as ready to see trouble where no trouble is as it is apt to be away when real trouble threatens, with a Governor who sees no incogruity in the head of a province donning the hemald's robe and presenting the capitalists' ultimatum as his sole contribution to the cause of peace, the mill authorities may feel with justice, that the big battalions are on their side and that consequently they need

not worry about compromises. . . . The mill authorities areprepare and can afford, to wait for the day till the strikers come crawling on their knees with halters round their necks, praying to be trampled upon. In that attitude they have been openly and to the scandal of the public supported by the Government. In the circumstances it is a little difficult to see the sense of the "Madras Mail's" whether querulousness over the appointment of the corporation Committee. Whether the Committee succeeds or not in its mission of peace is a different matter - - - - it is the height of absurdity to argue that the corporation has no concern in the present situation. A public body, representative of the citizens of Madras who are we venture to think, as much concerned with the well-being of the City as His Excellency the Governor or even the "Madras Mail" would be guilty of a gross sin of omission if it failed to use every effort to bring the dispute to an end.

The strike as such in its purely economic aspect may not be the legitimate concern of the corporation, but itsix reactions on the civic social and sanitary side are very much its concern as it must be of every right thinking citizen and it would require censistry of a higher order than the Mail's to prove that it is possible to keep apart the economic aspect for the cigic.

GANDHI READING INTERVIEW. TOPICS OF CONVERSATION.

Simla, July 30th: ---

His Excellency the Viceroy's attention has been derected and notably by Mr. Gandhi to various statements that have appeared and to inferences that have been drawn in the public press relating to the conversation between Mr. Gandhi and His Excellency accordance concerning Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Md. Ali and which in some respects do not correctly represent the purport of these conversations. Consequently, the Viceroy authorises the publication of the following agreed statement which briefly reproduces the substance of these conversations.

The interview between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi resulted from conversation between His Excellency and Pandit Malaviya relating to the conditions generally prevailing in India. His Excellency informed Pandit Malaviya of the Government's decision to commence criminal proceedings against Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Md. Ali for having made speeches inciting to violence and the discussion turned upon the disturbances that might possibly ensue.

Pandit Malaviya expressed his opinion that in would be of advantage for His Excellency to meet Mr. Gandhi Hisexcellency replied that he would be glad to see Mr. Gandhi and hear his views if he applied for an interview. On the next day Mr. Andrews saw His Excellency and suggested that His Excellency should see Mr. Gandhi. It should be observed that various important matters were discussed during these conversations and that the proposed interview between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi was intended to have reference to the situation generally. His Excellency is however aware that Pandit Malaviya in inviting Mr. Gandhi to Simla did not refer to the contemplated proceedings against Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Md. Ali.

In due course Mr. Gandhi came to simla at the request of Pandit Maleviya and Mr. Andrews and asked for an interview with His Excellency which was immediately arranged. At the first interview no waxaax mention was made of the proposed prosecution. The

conversation related to the causes of discontent in India. On On the next occasion His Excellency stated that according to the Government reports responsible Non-co-operators had made speeches inciting to violence, contrary to the dectrine advocated by Mr. Gandhi Mr. Gandhi repudiated incitement to violence on the part of any of the responsible Non-co-operators and said that if he was satisfied that any of them had incited to violence he would publically repudiate them and their teachings unless they withdrew the statements that amounted to incitements to violence. His Excellency mentioned the name of Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Md. Ali and promised to show Mr. Gandhi passages in their speeches which in his opinion were calculated to incite to violence and when the passages were actually read to Mr Gandhi he admitted that they were capable of bearing the interpretation His Excellency put upon them. He, however asserted that he was convinced that it was not intended by Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Md. Ali to incite the audience to violence. Mr. Gandhi added that he would see them as soon as he left simba and advise them to express publicly their regrets for the unintentional incitement contained in the passages. His Excellency thereupon asked whether in view of the importance of the document Mr. Gandhi would show him the draft of the statement he intended to advise Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mohamad Ali to publish. It was at this stage that the Viceroy said that it was proposed to institute criminal proceedings against Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Md. Ali in respect of these passages and that if Mr. Gandhi showed him the statement and it satisfied him from the standpoint of his Government he would use his influence to prevent the institution of the prosecution; for, the vicercy said the object of the Government would be attained if the making of speeches of a violent character was infuture prevented. Mr. Gandhi readily agreed to show the statement. The draft statement was duly shown by Mr. Gendhi to His Excellency who pointed out that interduction of certain paragraphs gave the statement the appearance of a manifesto including that of the religious creed of Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Md. Ali. The Vicercy observed framxisafurther that

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the statement was explanation incomplete in so far as it did not contain a promise to refrain from incomplete in so far as it did not contain a promise to fefrain from speeches inciting to violence. The Viceroy added that after publication of the statement Mr. Md. Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali could give any by means of speeches provided they did not infringe the law. Mr. Gandhi agreed to delete the paragraphs in question and to add a passage to cover promises of future conduct. His Excellency then informed Mr. Gandhi that if Mr. Shakut Ali and Mr. Md. Ali signed the statement as thus altered by Mr. Gandhi with the addition of promise as to future conduct steps would be taken to suspend the installing kitationxaf truction of proceedings and that no prosecution woould take place so long as the promises given in the published statement were observed. But if they were not observed, the Government remained free to take up prosecution for the past speeches. The Viceroy added that in the event of the publication of the statement by Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Md. Ali and of Government refraining in consequence from the prosecutions, it would be necessary to issue a communique explaining the attitude of the Government. There was however no desire to bargain. Mr. Gandhi even said that whether the prosecutions are take place or not, he would be bound, after having seen the extracts, to advise his friends for their own honour and that of the cause, to express publicly their regrets. During the whole discussion His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi were actuated by the desire to prevent any untoward events that might result from the prosecutions as also to prevent speeches inciting to violence. The Viceroy informed Mr. Gandhi that he might not be able to prevent the commencement of proceedings if the statement was not published with the least possible delay. There was already much discussion on the speeches not only in India, but also in the U.K. Mr. Gandhi agreed that the statement should be published without delay. Mr. Gandhi then left simla and somedays afterwards telegraphed to His Excellency that Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Md. Ali had signed the statement with immaterial alteration and sent it to the press for publication. The alteration was as follows:-

The passage in Mr. Gandhi's draft statement was "we desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence, but we recognise that certain passages in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them." The passage substituted by Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Md. Ali was:- We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence and we never imagined any passages in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them, but we recognise the force of our friends' argument and interpretation". After the publication of the statement, an official communique was issued by the Government. The terms of the communique were not actually settled until just before its issue and Mr. Gandhi never saw it, although the substance of it as already indicated had been communicated them.

The main part of the interview between His Excellency and Mr. Gandhi consisted of conversations which ranged over the various causes of discontent in India including the Punjab disturbances the Khilafat agitation, the Treaty of serves and the general conditions of the people. Mr. Gandhi did not submit any scheme of Swaraj to His Excellency neither was a scheme of Swaraj was discussed at the interviews.

REPRESSION IN ANDHRA.

Notice on Mr. K. Venkatappayya......

Desabaktha Venkatappayya, Barrister Narasimharao, Barrister Gupta, Maddy Venkatasubbayya and Chimajurti Basavayya altogether five, were served warrants under section 107, Cr. P.C. The situation is serious. At Gunture-

Mr. P.H.Gupta, Secretary, District Congress Committee, Guntur, writes under date July 30:-

Tooday, is the last day of hartal. Courts, shops and restaurants continue closed. For the organisation persistence, orderliness and duration this hartal is unprecedented. Everything passed off admirably except for 2 untoward incidents yesterday The SENTENTIALE Sub-Inspector one Subbayya Nayudu made himself notorious by his unjust and unprovoked arrest of Bhattiprolu Suryaprakasarow who was quietly calling out students from the Town High School. The Sub-Inspector whipped several boys who simply followed the Sub-Inspector and Mr. Prakasa row to the Police station. Injuries are serious. Blood flowed from wounds. People strongly believe that the local authroities are deliberately provoking violence to efford opportunities for police intervention and retaliation. A few indiscreet boys naturally excited by the Sub-Inspector whipping of innocent boys threw mudclods at the Deputy Collector's jutka, but Desabaktaa Venkatappayya who just arrived approached the jutka and successfully dispersed the crowd. Mr. Prakasa Row is taken to the Sub-Jail. Swaraj volunteers are keeping the crowd distant. Mrs. Lakshminarayana and Jaminapurna Tilakamma headed a ladies' procession and held a meeting at Sanagadigunta and collected a large amount to the Swaraj fund. A Panchayat Court was formed. Leading merchants became members and pledged to refer all disputes to the said Government. The usual monster meeting was held yesterday evening. Barrister Narasimha Rao Venkatappayya, Sitarama Sastri and the Municipal chairman Rajasaheb made passionate appeals and

persuaded the people to continue the agitation observing strict non-violence The imprisoned leaders were removed to Vellore jail. Yesterday morning a committee consisting of Eka Lakshminarasimhan Rajasaheb and Chikamurti Basavayya was appointed to investigate yesterday's incidents and report before 1st August. The police launched a frivolous charge against Prakasa Rao under Section 453 for trespass. Accused refused to offer fail.

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REPRESSION IN ANDHRADESA. LEADER'S ARREST.

Widespread Public Resentment.

The arrest of Desabaktha Venkatappayya and four other leaders has created an intense feeling in the people. The local courts continue deserted by pleaders. Monster meetings are held daily. Tilak's anniversary celebrations., are going on and a huge procession attended by thousands with bhajana parties was held this morning. Repression has put a new life into the town.

LEADER'S MESSAGE; -

Mr. Ramakoteeswara Rao, publicity office, Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee Guntur wires under date August 1:-

The following is Desabaktha Venkatappayya's message from prison. "I offer my heart felt thanks to all of you who have come to see me with reverence. Many have also come from other places. To all of them I offer thanks. We have now become powerless. All of you one still capable of carrying on the national work. Therefore you must translate your enthusiasm into action. During this week we seven were arrested. At least 7000 people should be prepared to go to jail, at the rate of a 1000 for each of us. All vakils should suspend practice and lead the movement in their respective places on the lines of absolute non-violence. Every one of you should spin yarn on the charka, . Foreign cloth should be totally boycotted and all should wear only Khadar."

REPRESSION IN ANDHRAPRADESH VENKATAPPAYYA RELEASED. . .

Mr. Rama Koteeswara Rao, Publicity Office, Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee, Guntur, wires under date August 2:-

The hartal that followed the arrests and conviction of Barrister Lakshminarayana and Vakil Narasimhachary lasted from 21st till the 30th. The people were absolutely orderly and nonviolent, perfect discipline being maintained through out despite grave provocation. On the 30th afternoop, Desabaktha venkatappayya President, Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee and member and working Committee of the National Congress, Barrister Gupta Secretary, District Congress Committee Maddi Venkatasubbayya, Chikamurti Basavvayya and leading Vysia Citizens and municipal Councillors were served warrants under section 107, and taken to the sub-jail. The District Magistrate previously imported large police reserve force from other districts who surrounded the court preventing access to the trial. All the accused refused to ask for fail or give security, but merely filed statements denying allegations of incitement and breach of peace. The greatest sensation was created by the arrests.

Lawyers have suspended practice till January only six remaining to join. Fifteen of the 16 Narasaraopet vakils suspended Other centres are following Mahatma Gandhi wired:- "Delighted over the arrests, Hope people will remain firm, but undemonstrative and absolutely non-violent. Would urge no hartal. Concentrate on complete boycott of foreign cloth. Expect response".

Parents are withdrawing children and lawyers suspending practice.

Trial commenced on the 30th evening, Deputy Collector Gundu Row deposing that the accused incited people to throw stones at him. The trial continued yesterday morning mostly with official witnesses. Mr. Prakasam arrived from Bombay by morning mail and attended the trial. Dr. Subramanyam, Secretary Provincial Committee from Rajahmundry and Krishna Row Editor, "Kistna Patrika", Masulipatam arrived by the same train. The

Lokamanta anniversary celebrations proceededjoyously, ladies drawing the Swarajya Car. 10,000 poor were fed. ***EXEX* A very remarkable meeting was held in the evening 20,000 attending ladies numbering 3000. Mr. Prakasam presided. Dr. Subrahmanyam Krishna Rao and Sitarama Sastri spoke rejoicing at the splendid response of the Guntur district. Mr. Digumarti Ramaswami, B.L., Head Clerk, Sub-court and few of the officials announced their resignation. Huge piles of foreign cloth were burnt. Maddi Radhakrishnayya appealed for funds for distributing Swadeshi cloth to the poor. Instantaneously there was response some ladies were giving ornaments.

The President conveyed the Mahatma's message expressing unbound faith in Andhra Desa. While the president was mentioning Venkatappayya's name the whole audience remained without slightest disturbance. Bombay Mandya Congress Committeepresented Swarajya flag and Tilak bust wont to Guntur District Congress Committee through Siram Venkatasubba Row. The flag is the same which Mahatma Gandhi carried in his car and collected 15 lakhs for Swarajya Fund.

This morning the Desabaktha was discharged by the District Magistrate saying that his statement was substantially true and the Desabaktha always maintained peace. The Desabaktha said " if you believe my statement then believe also my fellows prisoners equally innocent and discharge them". The trial is proceeding of the other accused Mr. Suryaprakasa row's trial being unduly postponed though under remand.

Three palmad Muhammadan Non-co-operators and sentenced 8 months are still kept at Gurzala.

Mr. D. Bhaskara Rao, Guntur, wires under date August 2:Next comes the arbitrary and despotic action of the District
Magistrate who arrested Desabaktha Venkatappayya and three other
influential banias and a Bar-at-Law. All the four are in the
local sub-jail. These three leaders have been incarcerated for
saving the Deputy Collector from being pelted to death by the
provocated mob. Especially Mr. Venkatappayya placed his arms

round the Deputy Collector and received the wounds himself, thus justifying leadership he has got in non-violent Non-co-operation. The remaining three also were as helpful as Desabaktha and in averting what would otherwise have been a serious situation. The pelting and throwing of stones is due to the inhuman whipping by the Sub-Inspector Subbiah Naidu who whipped innocent boys that were following him when the school was closed in the afternoon. The Deputy Collector who was thus saved remarked "Mr. Venkatappayya you are the cause of this; you will find your position this evening. Desabaktha replied "I have done my duty and saved a life. I don't care if you imprison me for this? This he said smilingly. This is the 1st time when an acknowledged leader of a whole province has been thus arbitrarily impresoned by the whim of an young unstatesman by District Magistrate. Neither Pandit Nehru nor Das nor Lalji were issued notices under section 144. The situation is grave Sections 144 and 107 have never been more abused than when Dr. Sapru is the Law Member.

It is supposed that he suggested to the Government these sections as substitute for the Rowlatt Act which is not a dead letter though not abrogated.

But truth is on our side and the collector has realised

Desabaktha's influence. Courts are deserted District Magistrate

maydischarge or charge him after the enactment ix of the force

of a trial. It does not matter. If he is discharged, the strength

of popular will is demonstrated and we score a vicotry for

Non-co-operation If sentenced the Collector would acelerate the

coming of Swaraj by giving fresh impetus to the Non-co-operation

movement. Reserve police have been brought from outside.

LEADER.

So far as India is concerned, little that is tangible has resulted out of the proceedings of the Imperial conference. There is of course, the resolutions on the status not of all Indians but of domiciled Indian in the Dominions. We publish the text of the resolution elsewhere from which the public might judge for itself what it comes to. It recognises the incongruity of the situation in which British Indian citizens, legally domiciled in the Dominions are denied the rights of citizenship, but sees no remedy. The resolution also recognises the "desirability" of bestowing the rights of full citizenship on domiciled Indians, but it does little to get the wimnes of the Conference fructify into facts. South African representatives promptly dissented so that the resolution threatens to be little more than ploush wish.

The Government of India says it has had little time to reply, but does the reply admit of a doubt or an alternative?
"Not at all" will we are sure be the unanimous reply of South trif African Indians not only, but of India as well.

Imperial Conference - End of Session:-

London, August 5.

As regards the position of British Indians in the Empire the following resolution was passed:-

This conference has reaffirmed that each community of the British commonwelath should enjoy complete control over the composition of its own population by restricting immigration from any other communities, but recognises that there is incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire, and this conference therefore is opinion that in the interests of the solidarity of the Commonwealth it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised.

LEADER.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

We published yesterday Reuter's telegraphic resume of the work of the Imperial Council, which concluded its session on the 5th instant. The official summary of the proceedings of the conference is enough to enable us to gather without much difficulv the lessons of the conference so far, at least as India is concerned. The outstainding fact brought out in the discussion is that what the Dominions want is complete independence in practice, not only in regard to domestic questions but also in regard to foreign policy. The Dominions do not want any shackles to bind them, gilded though they be. The lesson to India then, of the conference is that nothing could be got for her as a privilege of her being a partner in the Empire. Imperial citizenship is indeed a passport for getting neglect, for the Dominions know that the sanction behind it is not likely to operate against them with any inconvenient effect. This being the position, we are surprised that the "representatives of India" should have set so much store by the reciprocity resolution. At hest it may secure us only an effective paper equality; any colonial can evade our ban by seeking - and seeking is obtaining in this case - English citizenship through naturalisation; and our ties to Britain make it imperative that such worthless passports should be respected. Thus even to enforce reciprocity effectively, we are thrust into a position which means independence of the Empire! Imperial citizenshi has thus proved irnoical as it might seem an impediment on our path. The fact is we cannot maintain national self-respect unless we are placed absolutely in the same footing as that of the Dominions. We regret the Indian representatives at the Conference failed to realise this and act accordingly.

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MISS STRIKE.

THE LABOUR SITUATION.

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The Secretary of the Labour Union writes under date 9th August 1921:-

In yesterday's meeting of the Union Messrs. Kasturiranga Ivengar, &. Rangaswami Iyengar, Satyamurthi Iyer, Kalyana Sundara Mudaliyar Singaravelu Chetti Chakkarai Chetti and Subrahmanya Iyer, among others, were present. The leaders addressed the vast audience of the workers assembled in the Union premises expressing admiration for the workers' patience and endurance in continuing the strike against the great obstacles and wished the workers to remain united till they attained their object .. They further drew the attention of the workers to the public sympathy shown in their favour and they promised increased support to their cause. It was unanimously resolved amidst great acclamation on the motion of the President Mr. Kalyana Sundara Mudaliyar, that the Union shall having nothing to do with the Government Committee of disturbances and that they shall refrain from giving evidence before the Committee on the grounds that the workers are not responsible for the disturbances, and that after the judicial opinions expressed by the highest magisterial court in the city, it was mot worthwhile to pursue the matter any further. except to bring the real offenders to justice as disclosed in the magistrate's judgment.

IN ANDHRA DESA. Non-co-operators Sentenced.

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Tiruvur, August 15.

Six Non-co-operators of Gampala Gudempeta Bapayya, Utukulu Venkatappiah, Santhapuri Narayana Row, Suvarapu Venkayya and Chimalapadu Venkataramiah and a 16years old boy Raghavarapu Venkayya were sentenced to 6 months hard labour by the Sub-Magistrate of Tiruvur Mr. K.Venkatachalam, on a frivolous charge. The prisoners when interviewed by Dr. Ramachandra Row M.D., President of the Kistna District Congress Committee appeared amazingly cheerful and wimhed success to Non-co-operation Four mome are cheeffully awaiting sentence.

In Vizagapatam District:-

Mr. Sundar Rao Seceretary, District Congress Committee Vizagapatam wires from Gajapatinagaram, under date August 15. The work of achieving the Bombay Congress programme commenced in right earnest in Vizag district with the Tilak anniversary celebrations, when all classes and communities enthusiastically adopted the Swadeshi vow. The District Toddy sales are breaking down. At vizanagaram and Yellamanchili there was not a single bidder. Dr. Subrahmanyam, Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee is touring in the District. At Vizagapatam Yellamanchili and Vizanagaram people burnt foreign clothes. When the Docotr eloquently appealed the vizagapatamaladies responding offered their Japan and other foreign silks for burning. The ladies also contributed to the Tilak Swaraj Fund when the Doctor addressed them separately in Sitharamaswamy Temple. One feature is that only one cloth was offered till now for Smyrna. Doctor subrahmanyam is giving life to the place. Great enthusiasm pervades in the whole district, where all places are anxiously awaiting his visit. Yesterday at Vizaganagaram the citizens took advantage of the Doctor's presence in their midst and celebrated sirijut Aurobinde's birthday. A huge procession paraded the streets.

A mass meeting of over 5000 gathered in Swaraj Maidan.

Mr. Sundar Rao, Md. Abdul Khayum of Aligarh, Khilafat worker, as and Doctor Subrahmanyam addressed the audience after prayer.

Dewan Bahadur Papayya Sastri offered his Japan silk upper cloth to the sacred fire, blessed the workers and the movement and returned in home spun.

Mr. Yakub Hassan's Interview.

In connection with the communication of Mr. Yakub Hassan published yesterday regarding the unfortunate happinings in Madabar Mr. Yakub Hassan had an interview with Lord Willingdon this noon He told His Excellency that he wanted to go to Malabar with a few friends to pacify the Moplahs with a view to bring about the cessation of violence. Considerationing the influence he has over the people these, he felt sure that he would be able to restore order and quiet. Astrain service is interupted and private telegraphic messages are refused by the Telegraphic offices and martial Law is proclaimed in Malabar, he requested His Excellency to afford him facilities to proceed there and see that his movements were not hampered in that district His Excellency declined to give him any assistance in this matter saying that Government looked upon him as a revolutionary bent upon destroying the present constitutional Government; and his going to Malabar His Excellency believed would only inflame the Moplahs against the authorities mather than soothe them. His Excellency also told him that that if he went there on his own responsibility, the local authorities would deal with him as they thought fit. The spirit in which the Government face the situation may be gathered from this interview . If a sincere attempt to bring the disorders to an end could meet with such a fate we need not be surprised at the suspicious querulousness which marks the tone of Government pronouncements in respect of the Press. The rightminded section of the public will have no hesitation in strongly condemning the unconciliatory attitude of Lord Willingdon.

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LEADER -

We publish elswwhere Mr. Yakub Hassan's address which he delivered to-day at Tanjore as President of the Madras Provincial conference. It is a clear survey of the present situation in the country and deals with all the burning topics of the day such as the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the Swaraj movement. Mr. Yakub Hasan realises what a sleepy hollow the Tamil districts at present are in regard to congress work. The lifelessness and stagnation that now characterise public life in the Presidency are deplorable especially in view of the fact that there is a good deal of useful work awaiting our congress organisations. Besides the programme laid down by the Congress working Committee there is the labour problem in our cities which men have to tackle. Labour suffers as do others in their wake, for its neglect by Congress organisations due largely to avoidable disharmony and factiousness which are the bane of our public life at present. Mr. Yakub Hassan has ample opportunities as President to Handle the situation with tact and a knowledge of local conditions and help to restore to our public life unity and energy without which it can accomplish little or nothing.

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MADRAS MILL DISTURBANCES.

DISORDER AND LAWLESSNESS SPREADING.

The disturbances which were hitherto confined to Vysarpadi and the immediate neighbourhood., have taken a more serious turn and have gradually spread to more distant localities like Purasawalkam, Vepery and Chintadripet. Almost every Paracherry in the Purasawalkam and Vepery has been infected with the spirit of violence and lawlessness.

Dakshinamurthi Mudali, a caste-Hindu snuff grinder, resident of Audiappa Naicken Street when returning from latrine to-day this morning near ponnan Koil (Puraswwalkam) was cut in his newk with a mill sword by an Adi-Dravida and he immediately died.

Two houses in Sundarappa Pillai Lane in Purawawalkam were set fire to last night. The Police and the residents of the street co-operated in puting down the fire. The owner of one of those houses has complained to the police charging certain Adi-Dravidas with incediarism. Fox houses in Cox Paracherry chintadripet were also burnt.

Last evening at x 4 the Adi-Dravidas and caste-Hindus had a free fight and stone throwing was largely indulged in.

In this connection 5 caste-men have been arrested and no Adi-Dravidas.

This morning Adi-Dravidas were running about the streets of Purasawalkam with Mill Swords and lathies in their hands striking terror into the hearts of the people. The Police on patrol duty while allowing these Adi-Dravidas to run amok, caught hold of caste-Hindus who made an attempt to pursue the Adi Dravidas. In Thacker's Street Purasawalakam a sand-cart driver by name Arjuna Naicker was cut in his left arm. He was taken to Dr. Kamath's dispensary by one of the constables and his injuries were medically attended to while the motor lorry with police officers was proceeding down the Purasawalkam High Road in the morning a few caste-Hindus and Mussalmans who were running

for protection were caught hold of by the Police and forcibly taken on the lorry. At the same time an Adi-Dravida who was funnd straying in that locality with a lathi in his hand was similarly taken on the lorry. The Brahmin cook of Mr. T.Ananda Rao a vakil of the High Court, was waylaid near Purasawalkam market and a finger in his left hand was cut by the Adi-Dravida Assailants. Afraid of the disturbances the many labourers and clerks livin g in Kosavapet did not proceed to their work places. It is understood that the Assistant revenue Officer of the Madras Corporation has forwarded a petition in the locality which is surrounded an all sides by Paracherries. All the shops on the Purasawalkam High Road are kept closed.

REPRESSION.

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MORE PROSECUTIONS.

We note the repressive activities of the Local Government are on the increase. For the last few months a repressive campaign on an extensive scale has been carried on and even now continues to be carried on, in the Andhra districts, where public workers held in great esteem like Mr. Gopalakrishnaiyah and others have been run down under the vague security sections of the of the Criminal procedure Code. Within the last 2 or 3 months. more than one prosecution for sedition have been undertaken Mr. Yakub Hassan, Dr. Varadarajulu Nayudu and Mr. Subramania Siva have all been proceeded against for sedition. The latest victim of this policy is Mr. Abdul Majid Sherer, a Muslim Public worker of sober views who has always thrown his weight on the side of moderation. When, after the Tanjore Khilafat conference of which he was the president, the "Madras Mail" represented him as advocating "Wihad". Mr. Sherer wrote to the paper repudiating the suggestion and adding that, as a member of the Jamiatul Ulema, he was bound by its ordinance proscribing religious war. The form of "Jihad" which he spoke of was "Jihad with "Mal" or property and not "Jihad" with "Jan" or lives. That such a man of markedly temperate views should be proceeded against is an act the measure of whose impolicy it is difficult to estimate. That he is prosecuted if we understand aright for a speech made in a public conference, is eloquent of the ascendency of re-actionary counsels in the decisions of the Government. It has be en the tradition in the past with the Executive Government, not to seek for sedition in the Congress and the Conferences. The Executive were hitherto treating national and provincial gatherings as, to say privileged occasions in connection with which as a rule, they wisely refused to scame with sections of the Penal Code. We wonder what part Lord Reading plays in regard to these prosecutions. Probably he thinks, as an ex-lord Chief Justice of England that law must be allowed to take its

own course. If that were so, the sooner he learns that in India conditions are quite different from those obtaining in England. the better will it be for justice to prevail. With an Executive whose will is in many ways supreme, both inspite of and because of Law, the gulf between Law and public opinion in India, unlike in England, is dangerously wide. If Lord Reading is minded to see that real justice is administered, he will do well to bear this fact in mind in sanctioning or acquilscing in the political repression carried on by the Provincial Governments.

Non-co-operation.

THE CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

LEADER.

an important resolution on the question of civil Disobediente.

The discussion on the subject was animated and thorough with a clear gasp of all the realities of the situation. Mahatma Gandhi has been in this instance the focus to which the influences from all the ardent spirits in this country were directed, and he has been successful, it must be said in withstanding the pressure from all sides and to reducing the problem to reasonable dimensions. He has put his position clearly not only in the summarised report of his speech wir ed to us but also in the issue of "Young India" district the 3rd instant, in which he says:-

"Those only can take up civil disobedience who believe in willing obedience even to irksome laws imposed by the state so long as they do not hurt their conscience or religion and are prepared equally willingly to suffer the penalty of xmm civil disobedience movement. Disobedience to be civil, has to be absolutely non-violent, the underlying proncipe being the winning over of the opponent by suffering, i.e. love.

For the purpose of the hilafat the punjab or the Swaraj givil resisters must implicitly believe in the necessity of Hindu Muslim unity based not upon expediency but upon real affection. Civil resisters must believe in Swadeshi and therefore use only handspun. Humanly pseaking, if not even one out of the 250 districts in India is thus ready, I consider the attainment of Swaraj during this year nearly impossible. If one district can be found where 90% of the population have completely boycotted foreign cloth and are manufacturing all the cloth required by them by handspinning and hand weaving, then the whole of the population of that District, whether Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jewish, is living in perfect unity, if the whole of the Hindu population is purged of the sin of untouchability and if at least one in every ten of its inhabitants is capable of suffering imprisonment or even mounting the gallows, and if while that

district is civilly peacefully and honourably resisting the Government the rest of India remains non-violant and united and prosecutes the programme of Swadeshi, I hold it to the be perfectly possible to establish Swaraj during this year. I shall hope, that there are several such districts ready. In any case the method now to adopt is for workers to concentrate on and develop their own districts without reference to the rest. They must not invite imprisonment till they are ready, nor must they avoid it if it comes to them unsought. They should make no speeches but simply finish the Swadeshi programme in a business-like manner. Where workers find no response from their districts, they must not get dishearten ed but should simply become expert carders, spinners and weavers. Their out turn will be their best and whole work whilst their neighbours are thinking what to do".

Mr. Gandhi has also promised to show by an example in his own Brovince of Gujerat how to bring about the practice of Civil Dis-obedience, from all this it is clear that the Mahatma is more maximality acutely conscious of the dangers, pitfalls and impediments in the way of adopting Civil Disobedience than many of the impetuous advocates of that course. He fully realises that it is not an immediately practicable question in many parts of India. The conditions attached to the resolution have also to be clearly borne in mind before embarking on such a line of action. While we do not think the adopting of Civil Disobedience in many parts of the country, is expedient, practicable or imminent, the passing of such a resolution at the present time by responsible public men is a significant indication of the temper of the country and of its electrified atmosphere. Lord Reading, much as we expected from him, has not shown an grasp of the realities of the situation in the country. There has yet been no sign in his administration of a sagacious outlook or a keen political vision. Tehexpression The prosecution and conviction of the Ali-Brothers and their Co-workers, the organised compaign of repression throughout in country

co-workers, the organised campaign of repression throughout the country under the guise of betting the law take its course, and the disregard of Indian public opinion which is shown in the acts of various local Governments are grave provocative causes to add to the existing popular discontent which has naturally found practical expression in the proceedings of so truly a metional body as the All-India Congress Committee.

REPRESSION.

Mr. Yakub Hassan's Case.

Mr. Yakub Hassan has been convicted and sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment. The sentence is we consider, out of all porportions even to the alleged offence. It is indeed monstrously severe in view of the fact that the offending speech was made at a provincial conference to an audience capable of listening to political speeches without exciting itself to a high pitch of disaffection dangerous to the safety of the state The prosecution simply proved the speeches, but, as for their really seditious character, we doubt if 12 good men and true could be found to bear testimony to it if the term sedition were clearly interpreted to them according to modern conceptions. The District Magistrate's judgment which we publish elsewhere. is a rambling jumble of hazy notions and clouded conceptions as to the nature of the speech and the law bearing upon sedition. The Magistrate's exposition of the duty of the subject towards the person of the sovereign of and members of his family illustrates our position. The Magistrate therein enunciates the surprising theory that the boycott of the prince's visit entails legal consequences!

How reception to Royal personages is legally more obligatory on the subject than the observance of the Royal Prodlamations is legally obligatory on Government, the MagEstrate has failed to explain. He satisfies himself with simply stating that boycotting the Prince is disloyally and disloyally whatever it may mean - is, of course, sedition and merits condign punishment. It is utterly disingenuous to suggest that the boycott of the festivities connected with the receiption of the Prince is an attempt to excite feelings of disaffection towards His Majesty personally, but this is what the Magistrate does in spite of the non-co-operator's disavowal of the same from a 1000 platforms. Further, the magistrate seems to think that in order to bring the speech under explanations to the section, the speaker must have appealed to the Gover ment to redress the grievances. This is, as a matter of fact, not demanded by An Buchon.

the section. Broadly interpreted all "bona fide" legal attempts to get redress of grievances must be deemed to be covered by the explanations. contrary, however is the bureaucratic view of law and loyalty. The judgment serves to show how deluded these estimable persons are who expect a political millennium in India by the mere Indianization of the services. Colour makes no difference in a bureaucrat. There is little to choose between Mr. Gharpurey and Indian Civilian and Mr. Kennedy an English Civilian. If there is anything the balance would seem to be largely he in favour of Mr. Kennedy.

MOPLAH PRISONERS. SUBBOCATION IN TRAIN. OVER SIXTY DIE.

Coimbatore, November 20.

The early hours of the morning at the Podanur junction were the scene of a tragic incident which recalled to one's mind the dark days of the "Black Hole". When No. 77 passenger train from Calicut to Madras reached the Podanur station carrying a closed iron wagon with prisoners numbering 100 from Tirur bound for Bellary camp, it was discovered, when the trapdoor was opened, that a number of prisoners were lying dead in the carriage while few others were in an unconscious state. The seriousness of the occurrence was then realised and though it was a little after midnight, available outside help was sought after and they were removed from the wagon along with the bodies. Consequently they had to break their journey.

The Railway medical officer appeared on the schene andi the patients were attended to with the scanty supply of materials and available appliances. It was found on a closer examination that 56 of the 100 were dead due beyond doubt to Asphyxia. These 56 co corpses were left at Podanur and later consigned to the former destination (Tirur). As regards the remaining 44, the only safe course possible in the circumstances was found to carry them to Coimbatore as the prisoners needed instantaneous and efficient medical aid. By about 6 A.M. they were brought into the Coimbatore station and kept in the lay by siding. Through some of the passangers who happened to be eye witnesses at Podanur, the matter was widely known to the public and the news spread like wild fire to every nook and corner of the town, amongst officials and nonofficials, European and Indian, men women, and children. Before 7 A.M. the station yard of the platform on all sides were filled with spectators amongst whom there were also people who were on their heels for the Mass in different churches. Reserve Police and Local Police were found hard at work in forbidding the spectators from approaching even the vicinity of the schene as they were I am told on good authority ordered by the Railway officials to

control the crowd. The disappointment and dismay expressed itself on the face of every eager spectator, Major Forest I.M.S. the District Medical and Sanitary Office was informed of this sad incident while he was half asheep and immediately he huried to the scane with all the necessary materials and appliances that could be had at much short notice. The patients were attended to properly in spite of the great difficulty felt in the usual course of things to get even a small quantity of water for rendering first aid to the injured. Hacks, that were available in the station premises could not be procured and a lorry from the in firm of Stanes and Company was got for removing the sick to the hospital and others to the Jail. Thirteen were removed to the hospital while 25 surviving convicts with six dead bodies were handed to Mr. clements, the superintendent of the Central Jail, who felt himself in a difficult predicament for want of definite orders to admit them into his jail. Before securing admission into the hospital, out of 13,2 expired and for the rest every possible aid was given personally by Major Forest who spared no pains to do all that he could in the circumstances.

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The members of the Muhammadan community who were busy in other ways in feeding the poor diverted themselves and promptly notified a hartal and communicated with the jail authorities demanding the production of the corpses, and also asking for information about the taking place of an inquest on the dead. The District Magistrate. The District Surgeon, the Sub-Magistrate Mr. Mansfield, Town Inspector of Police Khan Sahib G.A.Gulam Hussain Saheb were later in the day present at an inquest held on the dead in the Central Jail. En I understand that communications have been submitted to both Imperial and Local Governments, as well as Earl Cromer, chief of His Royal Highness's staff, giving expression to their feelings of grief.

Great sensation prevails.

Moplahs.

ANOTHER "BLACK HOLE".

Our Coimbatore correspondent sends an account of a terrible happening in a train, conveying prisoners presumably Moplahs, from Tirur. We have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the facts or of his estimate of the casualties. We have no hesitation in saying that the affair is a most revolting one and the news will be received throughout India with feelings of the greatest indignation. That feelings of the greatest indignation. That more than 60 men should be allowed to die of asphysciation and that in the present cold season, betrays a callous disregard of human life on the part of those responsible for the "packing" arrangements The only parallel we can think of to this horrible incident is that of the "Rat Black Hole" of Calcutta. That, of course, has passed into history, we mean history as it is written by European historious for Indian edification. The horrible nature of the deed has been taught to regard its author as the last word in wickedness.. One wonders what the historian of the future will make of tragedies like the Amritsar massacre or the present one. He will no doubtexcercise a nice discrimination and ignore them altogether or else airily refer to them as regrettable incidents and unfortunate errors of judgment. But we are more concerned with the pregent than with the future. Those who remember the amount of fuss made over the karachi troop train incident may be pardoned for wondering if feelings of outraged humanity will be stirred upm into revolt on the same scale in the present instance. We agree that the protests then raised had ample justificationand the men responsible had, if they were not culpable, to bear the results of theirnegligence. The circumstances in the present case are, it is true slightly different. Here the victims were not European soldiers but Moplah prisoners. Making all allowance for that fact the incident nevertheless leaves a masty taste in the mouth. After all, one cannot in decency subscribe whole heartedly to the maxim that the only good Meplah is a dead Moplah. And, since the prisoners' measure of turpitude had already been determined by the courts appointed for the purpose it strikes one as carrying enthusiasm for law and order too far to

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inflict conditions of transportation upon them which in the case of over 60 men proved to be tentamount to a capital sentence. Correspondents have more than once complained in these columns of the tendency on the part of officials, to treat Moplah prisoners as something not only less than human but as lesser thankhe beasts that perish. It is clear that had these complaints been accorded the notice they deserved in the name of the most common humanity this caluminating horror could have been avoided. Since writing the above a Government communique has been received confirming our correspondent's report. We know that excuses can be found, and will in due course no doubt be found in abundant measure. for those responsible. The large number of prisoners and the deficiency of rolling stock no doubt makes a certain amount of overcrowding inevitable. Nevertheless the circumstances as reported by our correspondent indicate a mentality on the part of those responsible for the despatch and transport of the prisoners that is little less than revolting. We are aware that in such matters the official attitude is instinctively one of getting into cover. Nevertheless we hope that the spirit of fair-play will triumph over that intact and an impartial enquiry made to establish the knex responsibility for the horrible incident and to those culpable to condign punishment.

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November 25, 1921:-

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BOYCOTT OF THE SERVICES.

RESIGNATION OF TALUK CLERKS......

Bapatla Nov. 23.

This day, the 23rd of November 1921, is a red letter day in the annals of Baptla as 3 permanent clerks (the second a clerk of 20 years' service) in the local Taluk Office have tendered their resignations in response to the call of the All, India Congress The following is the text of the Resignation petition.

To the Tahsildar, Bapatla:-

Sir, As we do not want to serve any longer under the present system of Government against the mandate of the Great Indian National Congress, we hereby tender our resignation and request that we may be relieved as early as possible.

We solemnly declare that we know the consequences of the resignation.

We beg to remain,

(sd) Perala Ramamoorthy.
" Chirala Narasimhan.
" Kambampaty Jagannadha Sastri.

November, 20, 1921:-

LEADER

REPRESSION.

DEMOCRACY AND SEDITION.

Sedition as an offence against the state must necessarily die depend for its criminality upon the meaning of the state-concept. When, as in the days of Louis XIV the political creed enforced by authority was 'I am the State' it was treason to go against the personal will of the monarch or incur the displeasure of his favourite advisers. But with the decline of the monarchy and the fall of the few, the popular will was enthoroned in political matters and the idea of State was freed from the trammels of tra dition, ignorance and prestiga. The state ceased to be the stronghold of any power-exercising person or class and was recognised as a self-determined and self-determining organization of individuals having equal political rights. The doctrine of democracy EXEM established the svereignty of the people as the foundation w of political philosophy, and reduced the status of stateofficials form the administrative head downwards, from that of masters to one of servants appointed by the sonsent of the people and removeable at their will. According to this doctrine the state or the system of Government was not solely an agency to "rule" over or control any body but the organised embodiment, the collective personification of the national will and freedom of the individuals constituting it for their personal evolution and self realisation. Thus in a properly constituted state satisfying the cannons of this advanced theory wine conflict between the people and the Government cannot exist or recur since the former is recognised as the fountain-head of all authority, the ultimate though not always the immediate Creater and controller of the latter. It is this recognition of popular sovereignty that forms at once the glory of democratic governments the cause of their comparative stability and the best safeguard against the rise of revolutionary mo movements. And It is also the absence of such recognition and the defiance of this supreme principle that is at defiance o f this supreme principle that is at the root of all popular misery and political turmoil. This is one of the valuable lessons of history the sum of human experience gained in the course of political evolution and cannot be lightly ignored by the people or the Government in any cour . And in the conflict that is now

going on In India between the people and the Government it is this lesson that both parties will do well to bear in mind. The struggle for Swaraj is not an attempt to overthrow the edifice of the state, but to constitute it according to the sound principles of political science adopted in all advanced countries and place it on the only strong foundation, i.e., the popular will.

It is not in any sense intended to disturb the forces of law, and order and raise the monster of anarchy and revolution but is only an effort to ensure the permanence, not merely the temporary preservation, of law and order and avoid - not merely postpone - the advent of anarchy and revolution for all time to come. For no one can deny that self-government is the beest and the most enduring because the most natural, safeguard against revolutionand anarchy. Swaraj is the best expression of the meaning of State, which as already pointed out is but the embodiment of the general Will, i.e., the rational will and freedom of the individuals constituting it,. Whereever this is absent, this national and organised expression of the popular will, the conditions prevailing are not at all natural and are as such bound to be disturbed by the inexorable laws of political evolution and human experience. And the longer it is postponed under specious excuses, the greater are the chances of the natural and human forces getting out of control, bringing in violent outbursts and sudden collapses. Hence those who are engaged in organising and giving expression to these latent but irrepressible forces of political action cannot, according to any cannon of commonsense and political wisdom be considered as a menace to the State. They are rightly speaking, the strong pillars of the state and the society the true friends of the country and the community as well as the real builders of the nation and the guardians of its ancient cultume in the correct and comprehensive meaning of the terms. To accuse them of spreading disaffection as the enemies of the State betrays a gooss ignorance of real state interests, a serious cleavage between the outlook of the Government and the people and a sucidal confusion between the status of master and servant in political relations and national matters. To raise and

servant in political relations and national matters. To raise and give expression to the legitimate aspirations of appeople for self-government and organise them for the march is but an entirely innocent and noble effort at helping the inevitable political evolution of a people the completion of the state-building along sound-lines so as to make a perfect Embodiment of the General will of the people. And if this natural and almost divine process conflicts with any of the laws of the ruling power it shows only the rottenness of the prevailing system of law and Government and the urgency for their entire modification in the light of the laws of God and Nature. Repression as has been pointed out and proved in history, works the other way debying these ineverable laws. Hence it is bound to fail, the system it seeks to support collapsing by its own inherent weakness and unnatural construction.

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Some questions.

We draw the attention of our readers to the medical evidence published elsewhere, at the train tragedy enquiry. It will beseen that two medical officers of high qualifications have stated definitely that the cause of death was as phyxia. They further opined that there was gross over-crowding. They also emphatically stated that the type of wagon used was unsuited for the conveyance of human beings. These views have naturally a very important bearing on the question of responsibility. The question naturally arises, who authorised the use of such wagons in definace of clearly expressed railway regulations. Was any medical opinion taken as to the possibility of their use without any serious detriment to the health of the prisoners, and if so, whose? Was medical opinion similarly taken when their use was decided on, as to the the number of prisoners, who could be conveyed with safet safety having regard to the air-space available? Finally, what are the "Other circumstances" which according to the communique threw doubt upon the theory of asphyxiation? So far as mundame intelligences can gather there was not the faintest suggestion in the evidence recorded of the cause being other than asphyxiation Mx. Nor has the trend of cross examination betrayed any knowledge of the existence of these "other circumstances."

It will be remembered that the communique in question was widely disseminated over the country creating the impression now shown to be wholly erroneous, that the cause of death was not as phyxiation. Indeed, one up-country paper went to the length of stating that it was not established that the cause was not as phyxiation and proceeded to make its intelligent comments on that basis. It is the obtious duty of Government to let the public know what these "other circumstances" were which led to issue a communique so grossly wide of the truth. We are aware that there was a wild theory about poisoning or cholera but that was obviously a futile herring drawn across the trail by subordinate officials anxious to shuffle off any possible consequences to themselves that nobody took any serious notice of it. As we are sure lord willingdon does not mean to carry



loyalty to his subordinates to the grotesque length of endorsing their mendacious and misleading theories he must take the public into full confidence. Has the lesson of the Punjab been so soon forgotten? For Government as much as for common folk honesty is always the best policy. We shall wait and see.

Incidentally we may draw attention to the following remarks of "New India" "Horror is simulated at the use of the wagonsbut these are continually used for the transport of pilgrims and no one complains. Comment is entirely superfluous.

36.00

xXx

December 5, 1921:-

1054

VINDICATING THE LAW. ARRESTS IN PUNJAB.

LAJPAT RAI AND OTHERS.

Lahore, December 3.

Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. K.Santhanam, Dr. Gopichand and Mr;
Maliklal Khan were arrested to-day at the Provincial Congress
Committee office while holding a general meeting of the
members of the Provincial Congress Committee to consider the
present political situation in the Province, for the contravention
of the seditious Meetings Act.

LEADER

Non-co-operation.

THE COUNTRY's call.

To-day's telegrams show that Lord Reading's Government is fast nearing the goal of its repressive campaign which is nothing less than the suppression of the Indian National movement, and the extinguishment of the Indian National Congress. The serest of Mr. C.R.Das, President elect of the forthcoming national congress a session which was expected to be the most memorable and critical one in our awakened national life - is the coping stone in the series of criminal prosecutions, convictions and imprisonments which the leaders of the congress and Khilafat organisations have been subjected to during the last 3 or 4 months. The campaign began in the present reactionary regime with the prosecution of the Ali Brothers at Karachi for speeches delivered at a Khilafat conference. Messrs. Yakub Hassan and Sharar Presidents, respectively of a Provincial Congress and Khilafat conference, were prosecuted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for speeches delivered in them. Various congress and khilafat speakers have been convicted throughout the country for working in the national cause. The punitive and the preventive provisions of the Criminal Law have been unscrupulously resorted to to stifle freedom of speech and of writing. Since the landing in India of the prince of Wales, the repressive campaing has taken a more virulent turn. Eminent congress and khilafat leaders been arrested and incarcerated. The Criminal law has been put into motion against two congress expresidents, the president elect of the next congress the presidents and secretaries of the various Khilafat committees as well as humerous persons among the rank and file. If there is any instance in history of trying to make the county a desert in point of nationalistic activity and calling it peace, the present is notable one. It is a novel way of affording welcome to the prince of wales and creating a clam atmosphere by clapping into jail and gagging the mouths of all those who are not inclined to join the "welcome" demonstrations. The policy of Lord Reading's Government however is calculated to make a surface exhibition of the people's

loyalty and servility. It would if acquieseed in by the majority of the Indian public, inflict a mortal wound on their national aspirations, and the attainment of the goal of Swaraj for the country. The noble and soul stirring message of Mr. C.R.Das to his countrymen ought to lift everyman's thoughts to the critical position which his country has come to occupy at the present time and the call of duty to his motherland to which an immediate earnest and practical response is needed. No matter to what particular school of political thought a man may belong, it must be realised that the Congress is the great national organisation which is bound to ensure for us our political freedom. We quoted yesterday the remark of the Moderate organ "Leader" of Allahabad that "If there must be a fight between the congress and the Government; let there be no ambiguity of the position of the latter towards the former". There cannot be any longer any possibility of doubt as to the nature of the struggle, nor can there be any doubt as to on which side every patriotic son of India ought to cast in his lot.

message .:-

1060, Just after his arrest Mr. C.R.Da s sent the following

PRESIDENT'S APPEAL.

"This is my last message to you ment women of India; Victory is in sight if you are prepared to win it by suffering; it is in such agony as that through which we are passing that nations are born; but you must bear this agony with fortitude, with courage and with perfect self-composure. Remember that so long as you follow the path of non-violence, you put the bureaucracy in the wrong; but move by a hair's breadth from the path which Mahatma Gendhi has mapped out for you, and you give away the battle to the bureaucracy,. Swaraj is our goal, Swaraj not in compartments, not by instalments; but Swaraj whole and entire. Now, it is for you men and women, to say whether we shall attain the goal for which we are striving.

"To my moderate friends I say this: survey the history of the world from the beginning of all times. Has any native yet won freedom by pursuing the path which you are pursuing? If the appeal should reach any waverer amongst you,. I ask him to consider whether he will now stand on the side of India in her conflict with the bureaucracy. There may be compromise in the matter of details, but there can be no compromise in the essential question that divides us from the bureaucracy and if you do not stand by and for India, you assuredly stand for the bureaucracy.

"And the students, I say this: you are at once the hope and the glory of India. True education does not consist in learning to add two and two to make four but lies in the service which you are prepared to give to the mother of us all. There is work to be done for the mother. Who amongst you is prepared to answer the call".

LEADER. NONZCOZoperation.

The Superindent of Police calcutta is said to have instructed his subordinates that the wearing of Khaddor or "Gandhi" caps should not be treated as an offence. This is a return to sanity which is the more surprising for its unexpected suddenness. The crusade against Khaddar was bout the first wage in the policy of repression which is now in full surge and the campaign was conducted with much rigour in almost every part of the country. In Calcutta especially, the wearing of this particular cloth was an unpardonable sin for which all the varieties of police illtreatment were considered small punishment. How calcutta smarts under this hatred of Khaddar can be judged from the comments o f the "Bengalde" a very moderage paper, It writes: - "Is it an offence of the blackest dye to wear khaddar? Our query is prompted by the fact that cases have come to our knowledge in which persons have been arrested, vulgarly abusedk and roughly handled for no other offence than that of wearing khaddar clothes. We should like to know under what sections of the Penal Code, the use of Khaddar renders a man punishable. It is evident that khaddar is to some European sergeants or soldiers what the red rag is to the bull. Surely the Government ought not to encousage such bitter prejudice on the part of those charged with the responsible duty of maintaining law and order. Many of them are reported to have carried this prejudice too far. There is no reason to suppose that a man wearing hand-spun and hand-woven cloth is an enemy of Government, and the wonder is that such supposition is really made by persons who ought to know better". Calcutta, therefore, will have a sigh of relief that it will no longer be victimised to this particular form of illegal repression.

December 26, 1921:-

LEADER.

Non-co-operation.

THE LESSON OF THE HARTAL.

There is now little doubt as to the completeness of the hartal in Calcutta on Saturday last. When the Associated press announced that while the prince was received by a large crowd of Europeans and Indians, the Hartal in the Indian quarters of the city was complete, we took the statement to be a significant euphemism. And so it has proved to be. Indian Calcutta completely observed the hartal., and mak nobody wanted to be told that European and Anglo-Indian Calcutta would have refused to observe it. To realise the magnitude of the hartal, it is necessary to remember that every endeavour had been made to prevent it. The lesson of the hartal of the 17th and of the failure of the reception of the Prince at Allahabad was not lost on the bureaucracy Every endeavour had been made to bring pressure, largely of the undue variety, to bear on the shopkeepers and others. Non-cooperators, of course were kept out of the way by the use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. They were decleared to be memers of an (now contested to be imaginary) unlawful assembly and were dealt with as such many prominent leaders were hurried away to jail for their persisting in the exercise of their legitimate functions. These repressive activities were taken up by Government in the bond belief or alleged belief that the hartal of the 17th instant was due to the work of the leaders of the non-co-operation movement. These however, were activities of a negative character, which simply made provision to see that the ordinary citizen was kept away from the "baneful" influences of the non-co-operator. And the Anglo-Indian Press were frankly sceptical as to the failure, of the hartal if Government rested content with these measures. They hinted that measures of a more positive nature were necessary to make the citizen exercise his normal functions In other words they wanted that all steps must be taken to prevent hartal succeeding. And Government were not slow to take up the suggestion. The Calcutta corporation authorities as also private land-lords of shopkeepers issued, or had been prevailed upon to issue, notices on their temants that if they declared hartal

their licenses would be cancelled or they would otherwise be dealth with. Nor was this restraint on the liberty of the subject the only precautionary measure taken by the organisers of the receptoon. The Gas Company kept its workmen in legal confinementfor 3 days feeding them and otherwise keeping them in good humour for the time lest the gass supply should fail. For days together the Tramway company and the Automobile Association, had been advertising for Anglo-Indian temporary hands or otherwise enlisting them to prevent a complete collapse of the receiption programme. So, with other public utilities. And then, there was the civil Guard, the product of a gorss abuse of the Executive powers under the police Act,. Thanks to all these gigantic preparations for months together, at immense cost to the taxpayers and thanks also to the large European and Anglo-Indian population of Calcutta the Government were just able to prevent a complete break-down of the receiption programme. As for the hartal it was as complete as it can be, notwithstanding all the preventive and coercive methods of the Government it is no use to say that the two sides of the road along which the Prince marched were lined with people. In a city which boasts of a population of 13 lakhs of people, one containing the largestEuropean civic population in India, it is certainly not difficult to get up a show of crowd at a particular place if the Europeans were minded so to crowd and if facilities for traffic along other thoroughfares, what with the police guarding them, were not exactly as good as the particular thoroughfare along which a crowd of compulsory holdday-makers could have in the face of the complete hartal, but a ludicrous significance, as to the Prince's receiption. those who have wyes to see may now see the real significance of the hartal. That the hartal was spontaneous is admitted on all sides and what with the civil guard and the Military picket, in abundance, there cannot have occurred any threat or intimidation, i.e., on the side of the non-co-operators How is this phenomenon to be explained? There was no intimidation and yet there was hartal. The whole repressive policy of the

Government was based on the apprehension of intimidation andd

hartal as cause and consequence. The success of the present hartal shows that they are not causally related. The repressive policy has thus clearly failed; for what has the Government gained by resorting to the arbbtrary and wholly unwarranted use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the wholesale arrests of leaders and volunteers? They have made a bad situation considerably worse and intensified the determination of the people to see that in future no such rude hands will be laid on their elementary rights.

With reference to the reported hunger-strike of Lala Lajpat Rai and other prisoners in Lahore Jail, the Associated Press sends a laconic message glossing over the im ident as if it were all due to accidental oversight. The following details are given by a correspondent in the "Tribune": - "Political prisoners numbering about 80 in the Lahore central Jail went without food on the morning of the 24th December hen the food offered m to them was very bad. The "Atta" of which the "Rotties" were made was freely adulterated with bran and though it presented appearance of being well roasted it was "Kachha" inside. It can safely be said that nearly 20 or 25% of the "Atta" was either Bran or mud. More than half of the vegetables too, consisted of leaves of turnips. Under these circumstances all the political prisoners in the ward numbering about so fefused to take any food and sent it back at about 12 O'clock. Rai Sahib Lala sita Ram, a Jail visitor was shown the food which he had no hesitation in pronouncing to be very bad. Other complaints were also put before him, and he noted down all of thme. At 1-30 p.m. the superintendent went into the ward with the Jailor and called all the men who had been sentenced to R.I. and asked them why they were not at their work. They replied that no specific work had been allotted to them, and further, that they had had no food. On this the superintendent, in rather an angry tone told them that he had seen the "Rottles" and they could not be given anything better in jail. They informed him that until 2 or 3 days, it was not so bad, but it was getting worse. He got more angry still and asked them all to be shut up in the workshop as a punishment, which has accordingly been done. He has also ordered that all the other prisoners both under trial and others, should be locked up in their cells, presumably by way of punishment. These orders have all been obeyed. All the persons including Lala Lajpat Rai, have gone without their morning meals and they have made up their minds that if the food is not better in the evening they will not eat in the evening". That is the sort of treatment

that respectable patriots are accorded. We are glad to note, however, that the jail authorities have learnt to behave better and that the hunger-strike is attend.

MUSLIM LEAGUE.

"INDIAN REPUBLIC"

HARSAT MOHANI'S ADDRESS.

MUSLIM LEAGUE SESSIONS.

Ahmedabad, December 30.

The address that Maulana Harsat Mohani delivered this afternoon as President of the All-India Muslim League was from the Beginning to the end a plea for an Indian republic to be called the United States of India, to be declared on the 1st January 1922 and to be attained by all possible and proper means including guerilla warfare in case martial law was proclaimed. The Maulana said the importance of the league woul grow in proportion as they approached nearer and nearer swarai for under free India questions of Muslim rights would rise again with greater importance but the League to-day was weak. It was therefore necessary that its creed should be changed according to the wishes and relginous dictates of Muslims and that its constitution and rules and regulations thereunder be modified on the lines of Congress to extend membership of the League. The object of the League should be not only the attainment complete independence, but also to urge that the form of that independence should be a republic called the United States of India to be attained by all possible and proper means, so that all might take their place under the League whether believing in non-violence or not.

YE L

From the Hindu dated 14th September 1921: The Riots and After.

Mr.C.Rajagopalachari writes: --

A serious error which vitiates most of the comments made in the press and in the speeches made on this subject in the Councils, local and Imperial, is that it is taken for granted that the outburst was the consequence of the congress and Khilafat propaganda among a fanatic people. Throughout the area which has been the scene of the present disturbance, ever since February last, that is for the past seven months, all Congress and Khilafat propaganda and meetings had been rigorously prohibited by orders issued under the Cr.P.C. These ordershave been fully obeyed. The Moplas in these taluks are so illiterate that no one with any knowledge of the place can believe that they were affected by the writings and speeches of any one out side. The District Magistrate throught that the Mpx Mopla community in these Taluks were so imporant and isolated that the easiest course to prevent

the face of provociation. We may not sit in self-satisfaction at our not being responsible for the disorders but it is certainly an erroneous assumption to attribute the disorders to a preaching which had been effectively prohibited for the past seven months.

trouble was complete segregation. He tried to shut out all knowledge and feeling about the Khilafat but that being impossible he succeeded only in shutting out all attempts to teach the principles of non-violence and self-respeaint in

During the disturbances the District Magistrate permitted Congress and Khilafat workers to enter the disturbed area and speak to the insurgents. But this trust had not been shown before in any form or degree. The men who would have done the most effective service in the cause of non-violence were shut up in jail from February upto the time of the disorders and those who were not in jail were prohibited from organising or addressing and gatherings in this area.

1074-

The disorders were the work of four districts classes of men:--

- 1. An oppressed tenantry.
- 2. Some Mussalmans who felt the Khilafat wrong and never believed or understood non-violence or the theory of suffering.
- 3. Men who were ever ready for an opportunity to loot and rob; and
 - 4. Religious fanatics.

The band that organised themselves for anti-Government assaults on men and property and in the destruction of bridges and roads and other communications seem to have gone mad and under provocation or unable to bear searches and arrests in patience. They were assisted in their work by a number of demobilised soldiers returned from the x war. They seem to have gone to private houses only for obtaining such fire arms as were available and a offered no violence. Public buildings and records were mercilessly destroyed. Soon, the suspicion of authority let loose roving bands of robbers. It s clear that these robbers acted independently of the anti-Government hands and also of each other. The Khilafat was no more in the minds of these looters than in that of any other body of robbers; but the new-born idea of Hindur Muslim unity seemed to have saved the Hindus from a carnival of personal violence. No indults to women are reported except in a few unauthenticated strories. The statements made about the murders of Hindus on a large scale are untrue. Two temples one at Karikat and another at Arikizhai were broken open but many Hindu temples even in the most disturbed areas were untouched. The attack on the Nilambur family was not anti-Government but was the work of a rebel tenantyry.

Either some of the most fanatic anti-Government bands or distinct bands that seem to have sprung up in the midst of these disorders, indulged in a crime which it will be hard for Hindus to of India to forget or forgive. Though there is reason to believe that the number of forcible conversions have been deliberately exaggerated, I have authentic information

that one family numbering over thirty and twenty more individuals were made to accept Islam.

There have been such plausible exaggerations that one has to keep a careful guard over the tales of atrocities. As far as I could gather, apart from the death-roll at engagements with the Police and the Military and at the conflict with the Nilambur-re Nilambur retainers, there was murder in cold blood of three European planters, three Policemen, one Namburdri, and two Moplahs, one a retired Police Inspector and another a Head Constable. The killing of the European Lieutenant and the Assistant Superintendent of Police and two Indian Policemen at Tirurangadi Post Office is alleged on the one hand to have been in cold blood and on the other under grave provocation or in self-defence. Taking into account the widespread character of the disorders, the number of the insurgents, the full field allowed to them and the number of defenceless people left at their mercy, the cases of deliberate murders and personal violence are extraordinarily few.

The looting was most extensive. Seventy five per cent of the Hindu houses in the eastern malf of Ernad Taluk, almost the whole of the Walluvanad Taluk and the Northern half of Ponnani taluk were either looted or blackmailed. It is true that most of the Moplas in this area are extremely poor but there is no doubt that a vague sense prevailed among the looters that they came under the protection of a Moplah revolution, and that Moplah houses should therefore be immune from their attack.

In the work of the Paresident of the Khilafat Committee of Tirur and his friends and in that of the Congress and Khilafat workers at Ponnani there is much to be proud of. So also is the courage of non-violence establishes in the doings of Mr.K.Madhavan Nair who has given me a thrilling account of his experiences at Manjeri where he went immediately after his release from prison and found himself in the centre of rebellion.

Those who hoped to attain Swaraj by Non-co-operation will not rest satisfied with the discovery that the acts of violence in Malabar arenot attributable to non-violent Non-co-operation. We, who believe and claim that we can control the action of the masses and that we will attain self-government by Non-co-operation, must fully admit our failure in Malabar. We should find out the causes of this failure, and, profiting by the lesson, rise stronger out of the calamity.

The disaster is two-fold and both ways of the greatest magnitude. Violence, on the part of the people, for whom we seek self-government, by whatever section caused, is a calamity which postpones the attainments of the objects of our non-violent programme. The terrible loss of life and destruction of property are equalled only by the moral disaster. It is no exaggeration to say that the acts of the misguided bands of Moplahs have inflicted of a mortal wound in Hindu-Muslim amity. Among Hindus in Malabar, in man, woman and child, hatred and fear have taken the place of the new-born unity and trust. The Hindu community have lost faith in their Mussalman brothers and in united work for the future. May God so guide us in our actions, that we will be able soon to recover the ground lost by this calamity.

It must be possible and we should find means to spread the gospel of voluntary suffering and non-violence and the importance of restraint under provocation even in areas where we may be effectively prevented by Government from organising meetings and lectures. We have to contend against Government in many ways, and this is only one of them. We should not despair of doing what is necessary for our programme even where Government orders are intended to result in checking the principle of non-violence.

The military have not yet completely pierced the interior.
What was urgent for authority, viz,, the restoration of the
lines of communication have been finished. The inevitable
Martial Law arrests, punishments and reprisals will throw
many more families into distress besides those thrown into

that condition by the lootings.

1082

Foodstuffs have not reached the people in the affected areas. The fear that the rebels might obtain food and prolong the fight prevented the ingress of E food even E for innocent people. The harvests in the fields have had to be neglected or allowed to unlawfully carried away. The terrible death roll among the Moplah insurgent bands must have thrown numbers of families into a helpless condition.

The one thing that is needed now is relief to the starving and the helpless. It is this work alone which can heal the wounds inflicted on the Hindu-Muslim unity.

There is no time to be lost, but the Hindu and Mussalman merchants and organisations should at once come to the rescue of the victims of the mad outburst and its terrible consequences Sd/C.Rajagopalachari.

From the Hindu dated 19th September 1921: The Unwisdom of Repression.

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As Mahatma Gandhi said, the next few months are likely to be a period of storm and stress for national workers with Government adopting a policy calculated fo fan the flames ofunrest, one cannot too often insist on the necessity for calmness and patience. It's clear that Lord Reading has surrendered to his provincial lieutenants much as Lord Chelmsford surrendered to Sir Michael OSDwyer Once again history is repeating itself and a period of intensive repression has begun which is likely to test the courage and forbearance of the country to the breaking-point. We have had the fleating-abou arrest of the Ali Brothers and there are NAMESKEN rumours floating about that Mahatma Gandhi himself is to be arrested. Few people outside the charmed circle of crested bureaucrats believe in the efficacy of repression, through there is a party which believes in the modified commandment that: "Though shall not kill; but needest not strive officiously to save." These people are sorrowful over the fact, of repression but are not prepared to be sorrowful since after allit is directed against people whom they fear and hate. / Making all allowance for the invertebracy of a certain section of public opinion there will be general agreement as to the supreme unwisdom of further exasperating the people. Spectacular prosecutions like that of the Ali brothers or Mr. Gandhi may satisfy the sense of justice of those who are never tired of insisting on the absurdity of hitting at the tools and leaving the real authors of the mischief alone but it is possible to regard the matter from another point of view. Abstract justice might require that the leaders should not escape while the following is harassed piecemeal and that explains the cheerfulness with which the leaders face threatened or realised persecution. Nevertheless, the question always remains if these prosecutions are entirely wise. In other words, will they serve the Government's purpose or conduce to the ultimate aim of all

Government which is peace of order? Would they not rather add to the Government's embargassment? An abstract passion for justice in defiance of expediency is no doubt a creditable characteristic but there are occasions in which discretion is the better part of repressive valour. Quite apart from political movements the minds of of the masses are at present in a state of explosive agitation. The Government may disclaim the responsibility for that and lay it at the door of those who are "inflaming" the mass mind. We need not enter into that discussion now but may confine ourselves to the necessity or wisdom of setting the match to admittedly inflammable material. As the Bombay correspondent of "capital" writes in its issue of toth instant: -- "Are the Ali brothers to be arrested before the meeting of the Indian National Congress in this city? The answer from the market place is in the affirmative. They do say that the Bombay government have already issued a warrant and are simply awaiting the arrival of Mr.Muhammad Ali to execute it. My personal opinion is that such arrest would be a political blunder in the present Mohammadan disconten which has been aggravated by the reverses to the Turkish arms. Had the Ali brothers not been incarcerated during the war their influence with their coreligionists would have been negligible. Lord Chelmsford gave them the halo of martyrdom and the demagogic triumph was easy. X" Few will question the soundness for it has been proved to hilt and its advantages and disadvantages closed scrutinised, it is, as a matter of common sense, the height of unwisdom to do anything calculated to agitate the peoples' minds still further. People, who rander remember the excitement caused by the indernment of Mss. Besant will, whatever their politics, view with apprehension the EEREFEE consequences of the new policy. The internment of Mrs.Besant agitated only educated Indian opinion. Mr.Gandhi and the Ali brothers are held in veneration not only by a considerable section of the educated public but also by far the most important element in the

population, viz., the ignorant masses whose resentment might find expression in ways more elementary than by passing resolutions of protest. It may be that Government realises the possibilities of the situation and is prepared to face the consequences of its policy. It must in that case be made clear to the public that the responsibility for any disturbance will solely be at the door of the authorities. They wil stand convicted at the bar of public opinion of pursuing a foolish, provocative policy to vindicate their own sease of prestige, for we suppose these spectacular gestures mean that and nothing more. The warning is all the more necessary because the obfuscation of the Reforms has blunted the mental alertness of a section of vocal opinion which is inclined to believe that repression ceases to be repression when it is administered by people who make loud protests about their enthusiasm for India's progressto self-government. That enthusiasm is apparently to be made to cover a multitude of official mistakes. We do not know if the call for co-operation in misgovernment will be answered with enthusiasm by the co-operation -- at-al-costs party, but the Government seems to think the attempt worth making. Thus the Bombay Government Press Communique announcing the intention to prosecute the Ali Brothers contains the following appeal: -- "Government are confident that all loyal citizens will unite in condemning and combating attempts upon the allegiance of the army." One wonders that any a responsible official could have sanctioned the insertion of this undignified and grossly unfair appeal. We have no quarrel with the sentiment though how far an attempt to give an entirely political complexion to a question which is a matter of religious conviction may be open to question. But we do most emphatically protest against the Government thus prejudging the case and prejudging the opinions of the tribunals concerned. The mere fact that they have been arrested does not render the Ali brothers guilty even in the sight of the law. Can it be that one of the benefits conferred by advent of the new dispensationis the abrogation of the great common law principle that every man is innocent till he is proved guilty? The "Times of India" in commenting upon this calls the appeal unusual but wise. It does not appear to have struck our contemporary that such attempts to prejudge the issue are not only wish/ unusual but cannot except by the most jaundiced be characterised as wise. The appeal asks the guilt of the Ali brothers to be taken for granted. Truly the Reformed regime is bringing forth strange fruit!

From the Hindu dated 30th September 1921:--

1092

The following passage occurs in the official report of the speech of the Home Secretary Mr.H.D. MCraik on the Max Moplah situation in the Council of State on September 5:--"There is possibly no single person who has done more to excite the feelings of the Moplahs than Mr. Yakub Hassan, and, early in this year, only a few months ago, he was arrested FOR HIS ATTEMPTS TO STIR UP SEDITION in the very district which is now in the throes of rebellion. He was even treated with extraordinary consideration and an offer was made to him, if I recollect aright, to furnish security or obey ø an order for bidding him to address public meetings in that' district. But he refused to accept the offer and was sent to jail. There he remained till the other day: when choelera broke out in the jail, HE BEGGED FOR HIS RELEASE." Now to say the least, the statement contains extremely unfair suggestions. To say that Mr. Yakub Hassan wanted to stir up sedition is an allegation for which there is absolutely no authority and which irresponsible statement an official in the Home Secretary's note that his other allegation that Mr. Yakub Hassan BEGGED for his release is equally baseless. In fact, it was the Government that were more anxious to release him than Mr. Yakub Hassan himself. Indeed, the initiative in the matter was taken by a responsible m official of Government, viz., the medical officer, and the release was the outcome of private conversations between the abovementioned official and Mr. Yakub Hassan. To insinuate on the basis of these facts that Mr. Yakub Hassan, who voluntarily suffered himself to be in Jail for five months, was such a broken-hearted coward as to beg Government to remit a month or less of his term of imprisonment belongs to a category of disingenuous tactics of which responsible Government officials with any sense of fairness ought not to allow themselves to be guilty.

From the Hindu dated 6th October 1921:-

Sir Michael O'Dwyer is nothing if not an adherent of Wentworthian "Thronough". Even in his retired life, his chief relaxation seems to be seek to enforce his pet policy in India. He exploits the British platform as well as the Press, that is, in so far as these agencies have not been bored by the pet aversions of the m ex-pro-consul, to forward his fell purpose. Sir Michael's theory is that the panacea for all the ills that the British Empire is now suffering from, is merciless suppression of Indian agitation -- a course which he opines is as easy as it would be & effective. He expounded it in a lecture at the Central Asian Society which appears in the latest issue of the Journal of that society. "India", he says, "is the base of our power in the East, while we are weak there, we can speak with no authority in Asia." The recalcitrance of the kemalists, the rebellion in Mesopatamia, the insubordination of Egypt, the hostility of Persia, the Menace of the Soviety the sinister vascillation of Afghanistan the contemptuous attitude of the frontier tribes -- all these and many more British difficulties have arisen, are arising and will arise in the future are directly due, according to this notorious ex-satrap of the Punjab, to "seditious Mahommedan agitation in India"; Strong and respected in India, Britain will be strong and respected elsewhere; Siv Michael holds as one of his admirers put it, "that the Indian, if he respects anythings respects strength! 2" "Governor go", is, according to him, the alternative offered by loyal India which, granted repression comprises all India except a few revolutionaries such as Gandhi, the Ali brothers and Lajpat Rai."MM.Mohamed Ali", he say! "is a man of no real influence and has no claim to speak for Mohammedan India. He has forced himself into the limelight by frenzied appeals to racehatred, and keeps himself there by allying himself with the fanatical Hindu Gandhi." Heis a leader carrying on "the intrigues of the disloyal Mohemmadans of India -- a small but dangerous section", which sir Michael says must be put down as it easily could be. In the spirit of

"I told you so", he regretshis theory was rejected in 1919, but takes comforts in the thought thaty" the proofs of its correct ness are only too manifest" as evidenced by the Kheri murder and Malegaon riots. He concludes that, with a doseof severe repression, everything will be alright. The conclusions are, of course, based on sandy foundations and lies which he takes for facts as when he depicts are the character and influence of the leaders he pillories or when he says that "the (muhajareen) movement was promoted by the Ali brothers and Gandhi," but that seems to trouble Sir Michael the least. The pity of it is that he and his supporters have at last succeeded in seeing that Indian Government was stampeded into resorting to a campaign of futile repression.

From the Hindu dated 15th October 1921:-

1098

A correspondent wires from Karachi: -"The treatment meted out to the political prisoners in Sind is far from being good. They have to work like others in jail convicted for criminal offences. I think political prisoners are not so maltreated in other provinces." We do not know what the case generally is in other provinces but we know that at least in one or two cases in one province the treatment has so far been unexceptionable and that the Government of India and most provincial governments have accepted the position, recognised in all civilised States, that political offenders stand on a different footing from that of ordinary felons. Ought a spirit of vengeance, we ask, to be allowed to pervade the treatment of the politicals in jails? Enlightened theories of prison administration undoubtedly answer in the negative; and the Bombay Government which seems, unwisely and with disastrous effects, to allow the sind bureaucracy to have its own way uncontrolled, ought, if it is jealous of its reputation to prevent the maltmeatment of political prisoners. The state will only be stultifying itself if it acts otherwise; for, the more it makes the prisoner feel that his lot under the existing Government can only grow progressively worse the more will be he take it and plan for its destruction. Above all, it is the duty of the state to see that the feelings of its citizens are not outraged by the State clinging to out -of-date, if not indeed barbarous, methods of prison treatment. Will the myrmidons of the sind bureaucracy, if what is reported of them be true, be directed to conform to better standards of prison management?

From the Hindu dated \$8th October 1921:-Justice in India.



In spite of the existence of an ex-Lord Chief Justice at the head of the administration justice in India is rapidly becoming rare, especially where non-co-operators are concerned, The Viceroy, pious votary that he has been of that Goddess in' Britain, may no doubt be actually burning with the desire to enthrone her here during his regime. But the system over which he presides and the officials through whom it works practicaly refuse to entertain her at his bidding -- so essentially alien has the principle become to the prevailing order of administration If H.E. is still in doubt as to a the virtual futility of his verbal homage to his favourite principle, in the abstract, we offer him the following facts brought to the notice of the public by Babu Bhagawandas of Benares, through the columns of the "INDEPENDENT". "On 26th September last, the city Kotawal of Benares, accompanied by a M number of sub-inspectors and constables arrested Dr. Abdul Karim (a private and medical practitioner and prominent local Non-Co-Operation and Khilafat worker) without a warrant (none being shown to Dr. Abdul Karim when he asked for it) at a volunteers' meeting held to make arrangements for the picketing of foreign cloth shops that after noon at Gyan Vapi, and took him away in a motor van. His case was put up before the new Joint Magistrate, Mr. Kharaghat. The charge was of an offence under section 225, I.P.U. (rescue of an offender under lawful custody). The evidence produced by the prosecution proved only these facts; On the 23rd of September, some persons brought to Dr. Abdul Karim at his house, an old woman and an youth, together with a Thali and a Batuva (bras utensils): The youth confessed that he had stolen them under the stress of hunger. The old woman was content to have her thing back, and was not desirous that the youth should be prosecuted. Mr. Abdul Karim admonished the youth, who promised not to steal again, pulled his own ears and sat up and down--a very common form of domestic punishment in India, for juveniles. Then the

parties went their own ways. These were the facts proved. Dr. Abdul Karim made no defence and called no witness. The Joint Magistrate was not satisfied that any offence was made out against Dr. Abdul Karim, as no force had been used for any 'rescue' and the 'thief' was not in custody when his captors voluntarily agreed to an amicable settlement. The prosecutor asked for time. The case was adjourned. It came up for hearing on 28th, the day after. The Magistrate announced that he was satisfied that the offence charged was made out and sentenced Dr. Abdul Karim to one year's R.I. what was done to the juvenile thief? He was brought up before the Magistrate also and was let go with warning on manis executing a personal recognisance of Rs. 200 and furnishing security for a like amount, to be of goodbehaviour, in the future. No action was taken against the old woman on the others who had taken the offender to Dr.Abdul Karim." Thus the grounds for m the prosecution and conviction of the doctor would technically seem to be the accused's compounding of the offence of petty theft committed by the boy. But apart from the differential treatment by the Magistrate off the prime offender and the alleged compounder, how foar the Magistrates justice did really satisfy the public conscience of the place may be seen from the resolution passed at a public meeting unanimously condemning the prosecution in the case es moved by the personal spite of police officers and the judgment as unjust and perverse.

From the Hindu dated 18th October 1921:-

1104

A retired officer of the Indian Medical Service in a contribution to the "Times", deplores the gradual Indianisation of the Indian Medical Service and says that, in spite of the "great deal of sentimental m am nonsense" that is being written about the equality of races, it is very "distasteful to an European to serve under an Asiatic". This is a true specimen of impotent rage bornof race pride and colour prejudice. Appointments to the Indian Medical Service are made by the Secretary of State for India, assisted by Selection Committees both in England and India. Nominations areevidently made in the light of the recommendations of the Public Services Commission, and with a view to secure for India the services of the best available candidates. The conditions in India also require the services of eminent medical men familiar with the local conditions and with thorough knolveledge of the tropical diseases. If the present system of "Indianising the Indian Medical Service" be distasteful to some of the recruits, the remedy lies with them and the country will not be the worse for their absense. We have far too many European officers in the country who readily serve under Indians, to require the services of such men as "Hatim Tai" who are so are so puffed up with with racial hauteur that they would not serve in India except as xaxax Ma Baps.

From the Hindu dated 20th October 1921}--

1106

In Martial Law Area

Detention of Khilafatist

Mr.Muhammad Abdur Rahman, Secretary of the Kerala Provincial Khilafat Committee writes under date, Calicut October

This morning a head constable came to my office and told Mr.T.V.Muhammad of Chaughat, Secretary, Ernad Taluk Khilafat Committee, who had been staying with me from the 19th August, that he was wanted by the Inspector. He immediately followed the constable.

Afterwards I was told by others who were then in the Office that he was escorted by three police men. Now, doubting whether he was arrested or was called by the Inspector to gather any information from him, I sent my boy to see where he was taken to and what the police were about with him and whether he was returning. The boye returned at about 11 o'clock saying that the gentlemen was taken to the Railway station and seated on the platform.

At about 12 o'clock I went to the Railway station to enquire of the Inspector whether Mr.Muhammad was under arrest and if so if what was his offence. To both these questions the Inspector Mr.Vasudevan curtly replied that he was not prepared to answer any of my questions. Mr.Muhammad also on being questioned told me that he was not shown any warrent and was simply asked to go down there.

He has been detained now for full five hours, (the time of my writing this letter being 2 o'clock) and yet himself and his friends are kept in ignorance of his offence. As a non-co-operator, it is certain, that he will not defend. Why then should the police hesitate to name his offence, and bring it under some blessed section of I.P.C? Are Khilafat workers exempted from the right to demand to show them a warrant before arrest?

From the Hindu dated 21st October 1921} --

Repression Run Mad.

The order prohibiting the public meeting arranged for to-day is of a piece with the policy upon which Lord Willingdon, presumably with the concurrence of those harbingers of democracy our ministers, has set his heart. We have known for some time that Lord Willingdon is not the kind of ruler who can tolerate any views other than his own and whose gubernatorial career is a succession of shocks inspired by the gratitude and perversity of those to whom it is his ambition to play the part of Deputy Providence. Lord Willingdon no doubt believes in the Reforms, but his interpretation of the ideal is peculiarly his own. He wax envisages a happy family looking up to and hanging on the lightest word of an all powerful Governor, and all done by kindness except when otherwise indicated. That his Government should seize the opportunity, of a localised if undoubtedly serious outbreak to carry into practice his favourites theories of Government is nothing surprising. The public are too familiar with the beautifully varied and statling uses to which the procedure Code could be put and will accept the latest, as it has accepted the others, & with the consolation that the way of the bureaucracy like the peace of God "paseth understanding". That there could be any possible dangers to the peace of the city by the holding of the meeting, it would be grotesque too suggest. That reason being eliminated one is driven to the conclusion that the motive hehind the order is purely and simply persecution. The Government is "carrying the war into the enemy's camp" and no one can deny that it has ample facilities for such an offensive once it decides to burn its boats and abandon all cannons of decent and just Government Prosecutions of various kinds now launched and inculating, and the unscrupulous use of the Procedure Code, at least go far to prove that executive officialdom is going to stick at nothing, in its campaign. The time of trial prophesied by Mr. Gandhi is at hand and while we are confident that repression is bound to

defeat itself and will not prosper under the assiduous wardenship of Lord Willingdom any more than under that of the his forbears, there is a necessity to stand firm, close up the ranks and offer a united front to a new offensive. The times are critical but we are sure they will not strain the patriotism of the leaders as well as the rank and file unduly.



From the Hindu dated 20th December 1921:--

Prohibition could make a country drunk not sober" is an astonishing statement, but it appears to have been actually made and emphasised at a recent meeting of the East India Association, London, about which a special cable appears in they "Englishman". The author of this dictum was Dr. John Pollen, who is said to have used it in defence of the people of India who, he suggested, were being bullied into abstinence. The reason why prohibition increased drunkenness was that it encouraged illicit distillation and that, again, was a ground, it was hinted, why Government should oppose prohibition. These are reasonings which, coming from an Association mostly of Britishers retired from service in India, will be counted for something more than mere abstract uninterested presentation of facts. The strangest observation made at the meeting was that "it was a gross misrepresentation to allege that the British Government had introduced alcohol into India tx and are now encouraging its consumption for the sake of revenue." This statement is funny in its sharp contrast with the Government's attitude towards picketing with a view to induce voluntary prohibition in spite of Government. Dr.Pollen's remarks have too undisguised an air of propaganda and it was well that Mr."Pussyfoot" Johnson, who has actual experience of Indian ambitions in regard to stopping of drunkenness was present at the meeting. Mr.Johnson is reported to have said: "The demand for prohibition emanated from the people themselves. Their representatives and also Indian-owned newspapers advocated prohibition with remarkable unanimity."

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