

Indian Opinion

No. 2—VOL. XX. FRIDAY, JANUARY 13TH, 1922.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper
under Section 110

NOTES AND NEWS

DELHI, Jan. 8.—Lala Lajpat Rai, the leader of the non-co-operation movement, has been sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment, and ordered to pay a fine of 645 rupees.—Reuter.

Reuter (Allahabad) in a message dated Jan. 4, states:—The four persons, including the son and nephew of Pundit Malaviya, who were arrested for making violent speeches, have been sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment.

Bombay, Jan. 5, (Reuter).—Gandhi has signified his willingness to attend a round table conference here on Jan. 14, which has been convened by Pundit Malaviya and a number of other non-party leaders. Invitations have been sent to representatives of all shades of political opinion.

Bombay, Jan. 4.—Pundit Malaviya, Jinnah, and other non-party leaders have sent letters to representatives of all shades of political opinion, saying that it behoves the Government and people to make their utmost effort to prevent a resort to civil disobedience until the resources of reason and statesmanship are exhausted. They describe the Government's adoption of a policy of repression as the great obstacle to a settlement, which can only aggravate unrest, and they invite all the papers to call a conference to find a solution.—Reuter.

Bombay, Jan. 7.—A message from Belguam states that the Non-Brahmin League has passed a resolution condemning the non-co-operation movement, and recommending the cold-shouldering of it, but attributing the hold obtained by the non-co-operative movement to the Government's failure to redress the widely-felt grievances.—Reuter.

The *Tribune* (Lahore) writes as follows in connection with the resignation of Lord Sinha from the Governorship of Behar:—

"A vernacular daily of Calcutta, the *Hindustan*, said in a recent issue that one of three rumours that were in process of circulation in Calcutta regarding Lord Sinha's resignation was that it was due to a difference of opinion between his lordship and a European member of his Executive Council, resulting in the exchange of unpleasant words and an appeal to a higher authority by the latter. Another rumour which is noticed by no less responsible a journal than the *Prabashi* one of Babu Ramanzoda Chatterjee's organ, is even more extraordinary. It is to the effect that Lord Sinha was asked to arrest Mahatma Gandhi, that he refused to be made a cat's paw, and as a protest against the suggestion resigned his office. Neither journals vouches for the correctness of the rumour to which it draws attention, while the former invites the Government to contradict such of the rumours that are current

as are untrue, as their circulation can do no good. That is an appeal in which we heartily join."

Since the above the following notification appeared in a Gazette Extraordinary at Delhi dated Dec. 5:—
"Owing to urgent reasons of health, His Excellency the Rt. Honourable Satyendra Prasana Baron Sinha of Raipur, P. C., K. C., K.C.S.I., has resigned his office as Governor of Bihar and Orissa with effect from the afternoon of November 29th, 1921, and his resignation has been accepted by His Majesty the King-Emperor with great regret."

General regret will no doubt be felt, not so much at the resignation of Lord Sinha from the Governorship of Bihar, but by the knowledge of the reasons which have necessitated the resignation. Our sincere prayer is that Lord Sinha may be restored to his normal health to enable him once more to take up an honourable position in the rank of the leaders of India where, we are sure, he will be able to render better service to his country than as a Governor under a bureaucratic Government.

A Reuter's message from London dated Jan. 6, states:—In view of the strength of the "All-White Australia" movement, surprise is expressed in London at the statement made in Sydney by Mr. Barwell, Premier of South Australia, in which he advocated the development of the Northern Territory by the settlement of selected Asiatics with full citizen rights. Mr. Barwell declared that he was convinced that some modification of the White Australia policy would eventually become inevitable, and that coloured labour must sooner or later be admitted, under proper restrictions calculated to prevent a fusion of the races and racial hatred. The *Times*, emphasising the danger involved, quotes the example of the South African troubles in this connection, and quotes General Smut's dictum that the Indians should be induced to return home.

THE INDIAN SITUATION

THOUGH lately we are favoured by Reuter with very little news from India there is not the least doubt that the situation there is becoming graver and graver. The Government who had hitherto carried on their propaganda quietly against non-co-operation appear now to be showing a warlike spirit. That it is so is no doubt a good sign for it enables one to hope to see the end of this bitter struggle. To the list of those already suffering imprisonment for the sake of their own and their country's honour is now added the name of Lala Lajpat Rai known as the "Lion of Punjab. It is interesting to note from the Indian papers how Lalajee's arrest took place. Lala Lajpat Rai, it is reported, was at the Congress Committee's

office engaged in a committee meeting at which were present less than forty members. The District Magistrate of Lahore and the Senior Superintendent of Police entered the room while the committee was sitting and the Magistrate said, that he declared the meeting an unlawful assembly and ordered it to disperse. Lala Lajpat Rai who was in the chair, replied that he considered the meeting lawful and as president refused to disperse it. Thereupon the District Magistrate said, "I arrest you." Lalajee gladly surrendered himself. Lalajee was then driven in a motor car to the telegraph office. People assembled both sides of the road. The police in large numbers was present and the military had been posted at several places but the crowd maintained a perfectly calm behaviour. Permission was sought by certain people to observe *hartal* in the city but the Congress officials dissuaded the people from taking that step. After the arrest the office of the Provincial Congress Committee Office was locked and sealed for search. Large crowds had assembled on the Mall outside the telegraph office. Nobody was allowed to go in. The representative of the *Tribune*, from which we take this report, was also refused. Lala Lajpat Rai on noticing the crowds outside sent a message asking people to disperse and to maintain peace under even the most provoking circumstances, since non-violence is of the very essence of the Non-co-operation movement. Apart from the police, ordinary and armed, there was military posted at the Telegraph Office. Two machine guns were also seen inside the Telegraph Office compound along with the military. According to the report there were four other leaders with Lala Lajpat Rai.

Non-co-operators are very often accused of intimidation and violence. It was reported that the *hartal* at Calcutta on the arrival of the Prince of Wales in India was a great success but that the success was due to intimidation on the part of the volunteers. It sounds so silly when one considers that the non-co-operators have definitely pledged themselves not only to refrain, on their own account, but to see all their comrades and followers refrain, from every form of intimidation and violence. And again what intimidation could there be on the part of a body of men unarmed against a whole mass of people? But where there is real intimidation, threat and violence is seen from the description of Lala Lajpat Rai's arrest given above. The show of police, military and machine guns against an unarmed people to arrest a handful of leaders is intimidation, we think, that cannot be surpassed. The acts of violence on the part of some of our misguided brethren in India are no doubt to be condemned in the severest terms possible, but, at the same time, it will be admitted by all sane and right thinking men and who know what human nature is, that in face of the provocation such as the above and much more in addition to the one unbearable provocation constituted, as Mr. Gandhi has said, by "the Prince's visit itself and the circumstances attending the ceremonials arranged and the public money wasted for the manufacture of a welcome to His Royal Highness," the acts of violence were exceptionally mild.

We understand that a round table conference of representatives of the various provinces is to be held on the 14th instant. Not long ago the Viceroy was reported to have informed a deputation that such a conference "will be impossible unless an assurance is

forthcoming that non-co-operators will cease defying the law." It seems now that the non-party leaders are convening a conference. We doubt whether the labours of the conference will be fruitful. Dyerism does not seem to have yet died out from India. The recent tragic affair in which Moplahs packed in a van were suffocated to death shows that there are many Dyers still living in India. We may state, by the way, that whilst much misleading comment has been made and is still being made by the local papers about the so-called "seditious" movement of non-co-operators in India, not a word has been said in connection with the above treachery. Reuter is good enough to inform us of the Prince of Wales having played polo and tennis but has not apparently seen the importance of informing us how the guilty persons in the above matter were dealt with! So long as such acts as these are still possible in India there is very little hope of any co-operation on the part of non-co-operators or of their movement to cease. It should not be forgotten that Ireland has had to suffer a great deal to get freedom and so will India have to suffer to be free from the bondage of slavery. That the battle will be won without civil disobedience seems very doubtful. However, Indians in South Africa are watching with keen interest and anxiety the movement in India and we can only hope that some good may result from the proposed round-table conference.

MR. C. F. ANDREWS

ON THE KENYA PROBLEM

Delhi, December 1.—Mr. C. F. Andrews on his return from East Africa made the following statement to a representative of the Associated Press:—

I found that the Indian community in East Africa had made very great progress since my last visit in November 1919. The Indians have been able to tide over the severe financial depression remarkably well. To give an instance, I found stone buildings in Nairobi rapidly superseding corrugated iron sheds in the Indian quarter. Another means of estimating the strength of the Indian financial position is to watch the sales of late enemy property and land in Tanganyika. By far the large proportion has gone to Indian buyers and the chief purchasers have been Indian merchants from Kenya. Socially, a great advance has been made by Indians both in Kenya and in Uganda. Education has gone steadily forward and it is encouraging to witness the eagerness for girls' education as well as boys'. Each religious community looks after its own children and promotes social service. At the same time there is also complete unity among the different religious denominations. A spirit of hopefulness is now everywhere abroad. In political matters Indians have been greatly reassured by the resolution regarding citizenship passed by the Imperial Conference in London in July 1921.

It cannot be clearly understood in India itself that there is only one issue in East Africa, namely, that of racial non-segregation. The Europeans are claiming racial segregation in everything. The Indians are demanding no racial segregation. This one issue is a life and death question to the Indians in East Africa. They feel that their own honour and the honour of their children and of their children's children are involved in it. There is no possible room for compromise. Racial segregation inevitably leads to inhuman laws and inhuman conditions. We have ourselves painfully discovered this in India itself. Untouchability in whatever form it appears, is inhuman and immoral

and irreligious. My own deep interest in this question is because it is fundamentally a humanitarian issue rather than political.

While I was in East Africa my time was taken up almost entirely with the social, religious and educational work and I had very great encouragement in every place. I was able to meet the women as well as the men. Indeed I spoke at more women's meetings than men's. A great opportunity of advancement is now offered to the Indian children owing to the completion of the Alladina Visram High School at Mombasa at the cost of more than five lakhs of rupees. This will be opened on the 1st January. The building is the gift of Mr. Abdul Rasul Alladina and Visram, the son of the great Indian Mahomedan pioneer of East Africa, after whom it has been named. I have found the same Indian generosity also present in Uganda. Mr. Mathuradas Nanjibhai has built a library and reading room at Jinja and intends to build a school also. A school building has also just been erected entirely with Indian money. All these buildings have been completed since my last visit in 1919. In spite of the great financial strain it would be difficult to speak too highly of the munificence of Indian settlers in East Africa.

When asked about the European attitude, Mr. Andrews stated that there was bitter opposition to Indian claims and a fixed determination to retain racial segregation to the uttermost. There had been a definite threat of armed resistance if Indians were given equal citizens' rights and that threat had been again and again repeated. The Europeans had not passed through the financial crisis as successfully as they had perhaps added to their bitterness. It must be remembered that Mr. Winston Churchill, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, had actually been Chairman of the Special Committee on equal Indian citizenship. Mr. Winston Churchill himself was the final arbitrator of the destiny both of Kenya and of Uganda, because they were both directly under the Colonial Office. This is why the threat of armed resistance was made and repeated.

When asked what India might do, if Mr. Winston Churchill should give way to European threats of violence, Mr. Andrews pointed out that it would be possible under the reciprocity agreement to retaliate against both East and South Africa, but that he hoped such retaliatory action might never be required.

When asked finally about the assault made upon himself by Europeans at midnight on the Uganda Railway, Mr. Andrews stated that he did not want any notice to be taken of it.

THE RECENT MOPLAH TRAGEDY THE BLACK HOLE OF BELLARY

The *Mahratta* comments thus on the recent death by suffocation in India of 64 out of 100 Moplahs packed in a luggage Van:—

We ask our readers to suppress their indignation before they read the following lines in which we proceed to detail a tragedy which has no parallel in human history of experience. One hundred Moplah prisoners were crowded into a covered iron wagon and were brooked from Tirur to Bellary. They were escorted by a party of armed policemen. At Podanur one of the escorting party peeped through the trap-door of the wagon and saw the prisoners lying flat on the floor some dead and awaiting Death, the healer of all mortal humiliations. The door was opened and out of 100 nearly 60 were found dead. They were victims of asphyxiation. As we read the accounts of this horrible tragedy in the cold print and in the cautious language of the Associated Press, we could not retain our indignation for a considerable time. We did not believe that such a thing would ever happen under the

enlightened rule of the British Government. We remember the storm that was created when a few British soldiers succumbed to heat in a railway train near Karachi for want of ice. But they were British soldiers and so inquiries were made and the delinquents punished. But in this case they are Indians and rebels to boot. What courtesy and treatment can they expect except that actually given? Lord Reading was Chief Justice of England and it seems that he has left justice behind as he crossed the Suez. The Calcutta Black Hole was raised into a war-cry in England though it was only a creation of fiction on the part of Halwel. That story is instilled into the ears of every school-boy in Britain and in India. But the Bellary tragedy which is stranger than fiction will not figure anywhere. Of course inquiries will be instituted and the men will be found guilty of error of judgment and may be sacked with handsome pensions. If Dyer could escape with a present and a pension, even a cold-blooded murderer may aspire for an exalted executive office here or abroad. The Government will repeat its parrotlike tale of 'forget and forgive' and our Moderate friends will be glad to close the chapter. But we believe in Divine Dispensation and we wait.

SITUATION IN INDIA

MOMENTOUS ISSUE

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes as follows in a recent number of *Young India*:—

The next few weeks should see civil disobedience in full working order in some part of India. With illustrations of partial and individual civil disobedience the country has become familiar. Complete civil disobedience is rebellion without the element of violence in it. An out and out civil resister simply ignores the authority of the State. He becomes an outlaw claiming to disregard every unmoral State law. Thus, for instance, he may refuse to pay taxes; he may refuse to recognise the authority of the state in his daily intercourse. He may refuse to obey the law of trespass and claim to enter military barracks in order to speak to the soldiers, he may refuse to submit to limitations upon the manner of picketing and may picket within the prescribed area. In doing all this he never uses force and never resists force when it is used against him. In fact, he invites imprisonment and other uses of force against himself. This he does because and when he finds the bodily freedom he seemingly enjoys to be an intolerable burden. He argues to himself, that a state allows personal freedom only in so far as the citizen submits to its regulations. Submission to the state law is the price a citizen pays for his personal liberty. Submission, therefore, to a state wholly or largely unjust is an immoral barter for liberty. A citizen who thus realises the evil nature of a state is not satisfied to live on its sufferance, and therefore appears to the others who do not share his belief to be a nuisance to society whilst he is endeavouring to compel the state without committing a moral breach to arrest him. Thus considered, civil disobedience, civil resistance is a most powerful expression of a soul's anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of an evil state. Is not this the history of all reform? Have not reformers, much to the disgust of their fellow; discarded even innocent symbols associated with an evil practice?

When a body of men disown the state under which they have hitherto lived, they merely establish their own government. I say nearly, for they do not go to the point of using force when they are resisted by the state. Their "business" as of the individual is to be locked up or shot by the state, unless it recognises their separate existence, in other words bows to their will. Thus three thousand Indians in South Africa alter due notice to the Government of the Transvaal

crossed the Transvaal border in 1914 in defiance of the Transvaal immigration law and compelled the Government to arrest them. When it failed to provoke them to violence or to coerce them into submission, it yielded to their demand. A body of civil resisters is, therefore, like an army subject to all the discipline of a soldier, only harder because of want of excitement of an ordinary soldier's life. And as a civil resistance army is or ought to be free from passion because free from the spirit of retaliation, it requires the fewest number of soldiers. Indeed one perfect civil resister is enough to win the battle of Right against Wrong.

Though, therefore, the All-India Congress Committee has authorised civil disobedience by Provincial Congress Committees on their own responsibility, I hope they will put due emphasis on the word "responsibility" and not start civil disobedience with a light heart. Every condition must be given its full effect. The mention of Hindu-Muslim unity, non-violence, swadeshi, and removal of untouchability means that they have not yet become an integral part of our national life. If an individual or a mass have still misgivings about Hindu-Muslim unity, if they have still any doubt about the necessity of non-violence for the attainment of our triple goal, if they have not yet enforced swadeshi in its completeness, if the Hindus among that mass have still the poison of untouchability in them, that mass or that individual are not ready for civil disobedience. Indeed it would be best to watch and wait whilst the experiment is being carried on in one part. Reverting to the analogy of the army, those divisions that watch and wait are just as much co-operating, actively as the division that is actually fighting. The only time, whilst the experiment is going on, that individual civil disobedience may be resorted to simultaneously, is when the Government obstruct even the silent prosecution of Swadeshi. Thus if an order of prohibition is served upon an expert spinner going to teach or organise spinning that order should be summarily disregarded and the teacher should court imprisonment. But in all other respects, in so far as I can judge at present, it will be best for every other part of India scrupulously to respect all orders and instructions whilst one part is deliberately taking the offensive and committing a deliberate breach of all the unmoral state laws it possibly can. Needless to add that any outbreak of violence in any other part of India must necessarily injure and may even stop the experiment. The other parts will be expected to remain immovable and unperturbed, even though the people within the area of experiment may be imprisoned, riddled with bullets or otherwise ill-treated by the authorities. We must expect them to give a good account of themselves in every conceivable circumstance.

CIVIL VERSUS CRIMINAL

When a man willfully breaks his own laws, the disobedience becomes criminal. For he commits the breach not against himself but against some one else, and not only escapes punishment for the breach for there is none provided against himself by the maker of laws, but he avoids also the inconvenience caused by their observance. What is true of the individual is true of the corporation. At the present moment one observes this criminal breach by the Government of its own laws throughout India. Sections of the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code are being freely abused. And because non-co-operators refrain from questioning orders issued by officials, bare-faced illegalities are being committed by them with impunity. We have seen this in Bulandshahr, in Chittazong, all over Sindh, and nowhere so systematically and so deliberately as in the Madras Presidency. Mr. Yakub Hassan has pointed out with great justification that his arrest and conviction are contrary to the spirit of the Viceregal pledge. Indeed, it is against not only the spirit of Lord Reading's pledge but it is against

the letter even of his predecessor's communique in which it was declared in solemn tones that so long as non-co-operation remained non-violent there would be no repression. No one dare accuse Mr. Yakub Hassan of having incited to violence in his Tanjore address before an audience of picked representatives. Nor was any violence done in the Tanjore district as a result of his speech. The Magistrate in the case of Mr. Iyer of the "Deshabhaktan" actually admitted that there was not a trace of violence in the writing that was impeached and that it actually contained exhortations to non-violence. Mr. Ramaswami Iyengar, leading pleader of Coimbatore has been arrested for a spirited letter to the *Hindu* though there was no violence in it. And so have Dr. Varadarajulu and Mr. Gopalakrishnayyah been arrested for the speeches and writings, although it is known that they not only do not incite to violence but that theirs is actually a restraining influence in the face of provocation. Is it any wonder if one infers from this campaign of repression an intention on the part of the Government to invite violence? In not one of these cases I have mentioned has there been any outbreak of violence as a result of the speeches and writings concerned. And so we see that the Government is guilty of criminal breach of its own laws. And what legal remedy has the afflicted individual against the Government? There is certainly no sanction provided against the Government in law when it prostitutes the law itself to its own base ends. When therefore a Government thus becomes lawless in an organised manner, civil disobedience becomes a sacred duty and is the only remedy open specially to those who had no hand in the making of the Government or its laws. Another remedy there certainly is, and that is armed revolt. Civil disobedience is a complete, effective and bloodless substitute. And it is as well—that by exemplary restraint and discipline in the way of submission to unjust and even illegal orders we have created the necessary atmosphere for civil disobedience. For thereby on the one hand the tyrannical nature of the Government has been made more manifest, and on the other by willing obedience we have fitted ourselves for civil disobedience.

It is equally as well that civil disobedience is being confined even now to the smallest area possible. It must be admitted that it is an abnormal state, even as a corrupt and unpopular Government should be in civilised society like disease an abnormal state. Therefore, only when a citizen has disciplined himself in the art of voluntary obedience to the state laws is he justified on rare occasions deliberately but non-violently to disobey them, and expose himself to the penalty of the breach. If then we are to achieve the maximum result in the minimum of time, whilst fiercest disobedience is going on in a limited area, perfect submission to the laws must be yielded in all other parts so as to test the nation's capacity for voluntary obedience and for understanding the virtue of civil disobedience. Any unauthorised outbreak of disobedience, therefore, in any part of India will most certainly damage the cause and will betray an unpardonable ignorance of the principles of civil disobedience.

We must expect the Government to take the strictest measures to suppress this impending defiance of authority, for on it depends its very existence. Its instinct of self-preservation alone will actuate measures of repression adequate for suppression. And if it fails, the Government of necessity disappears. This is, it either bends to the national will or it is dissolved. The greatest danger lies in violence breaking out anywhere by reason of provocation. But it would be wrong and unmanly to invite the sternest measures and then to be incensed against them, apart from the fact that it will be a breach of our solemn pledge of non-violence. I may be arrested, thousands who take part in the peaceful revolt may also be arrested, imprisoned, even tortured. The rest of India must not lose its head: When the proper time comes, the rest of India

may respond by undertaking civil disobedience and inviting arrests, imprisonments and tortures. It is the sacrifice of the innocent we want to make. That alone will appear pleasing to God. And therefore, on the eve of the great battle the nation is embarking upon, my earnest exhortation to every non-co-operator is to fit himself for civil disobedience by fulfilling to the letter and in the spirit the conditions of civil disobedience laid down at Delhi, and to ensure non-violence everywhere. Let us not be satisfied that we remain non-violent individually. We boast that non-co-operation has become universal in India. We boast that we have acquired sufficient influence even over the unruly masses to restrain them from violence. Let us prove true to our claim.—*Young India.*

MR. C. R. DAS'S MESSAGE

TO THE CONGRESS WORKERS

Mr. C. R. Das who has been imprisoned by the Indian Government sent the following message to the Congress Workers on Dec. 2 :—

" My first word and my last word to you is never to forsake the ideal of non-violent non-co-operation. I know it is a difficult creed to follow. I know that sometimes the provocation is so great that it is extremely difficult to remain non-violent in thought, word, and deed. The success of the movement, however, depends on this great principle and every worker must strengthen himself to withstand such provocation. We are too apt to commit the riot. For instance, if there is a riot in a city we say that the hooligans were provoked to commit the riot. Let us not forget that these so called hooligans are our countrymen. Let us not forget that we the non-co-operators claim to hold the country. Let us realise that to the extent to which we do not succeed in so controlling the masses, be they hooligans or not, to that extent non-co-operation has failed. The responsibilities are ours. It does not lie in our mouth to say that wicked people have instigated the masses to break law and order. Do you not realise that the success of our movement depends on this, that no other people, wicked or otherwise, should be able to lead the masses or any section of our countrymen towards violence and bloodshed? If we fail to exercise control over the masses how can we claim to have success? I am not discouraged. I pray to God that you may have sufficient strength to carry on this battle peacefully never forsaking the ideal of non-violent non-co-operation in all its bearing. "

TEACH US HOW TO DIE

BY TERENCE MACSWINEY

Every wrong that in them smarts
God, we enter our last fight;
Thou dost see our cause is right;
Make us march now in Thy sight
On to victory.

Let us not Thy wrath deserve
In the sacred cause we serve,
Let us not from danger swerve;
Teach us how to die.
Death for some is in reserve
Before our flag can fly.

All the agony of years,
All the horrors, all the fears,
Martyrs' blood, survivors' tears,
Now we offer Thee
As an endless holocaust
For the freedom we have lost,
God restore it, tho' the cost

Greater still must be;
Let Thy grace attend our host,
Give us victory.

See, we open our hearts,
Every wrong that in them smarts
Every secret pain that starts,
We, too, offer Thee;
Every dearest hope's decease,
Every fear that rocks our peace,
Every cross with pain's increase,
Burthened tho' we be;
Sacrifice that shall not cease
'Till our land be free.

Thou holdest freedom in Thy hand;
Thou canst liberate our land;
Hear us; yield our one demand—
Ireland's liberty.

We ask not her chains to rive
And the sacred deed survive,
That we may rejoice alive
In her victory;
We but ask that she shall thrive,
And rest our fate with Thee.

We know not what must befall
Marching at our country's call;
Make us strong who must yield all
That she may not die.
Those who will survive the fight,
Still attend them with Thy Light,
Thou our hope in darkest night,
Then our guardian be,
And hold our dear land in Thy sight
Erect, firm and free.

વેંચવાના પોસ્તકો

ક્રિસવાલ શોપ અવરજ એકટ	•	૧
એક દિવસ પ્રતે મહાન રોશ્નરોપનો પત્ર	•	૪
અંકગણીતના મુળતત્વ	•	૧
બાળ અંકગણીત	•	૧
મુસ્તફા કામેલ પાઠાલું છવન ચરિત્ર	•	૧
મુસ્તફા કામેલ પાઠાલું બાપલ	•	૧
હોદ સ્વરાજ	•	૧
સલ પીના બીલુ ક્યું નથી	•	૧
બાળ મંગાધર તીલકના મત અને વિચાર	•	૧
પુસ્તક અને પત્રિકા	•	૧
ગીરમીટના સવાલ ઉપરની ચર્ચા	•	૧
વધરાખ બોધ કાવ્ય	•	૧
ઉટાલાલ પદ્મોદીની	•	૧
કાવલ સામે ચલાવી ફરજ	•	૧
સામાજિક સેવાના સન્મારજ	•	૧

જારકોને મુશ્કલાત: ઉપલા પુસ્તકો નીચેના ચીરનામે લખવાથી અને તેની કોમલ બીટીસ પોસ્ટલ ઓફિસ, બેંક નોટ અથવા યુનીવર્સલ સ્ટેમ્પથી બીટી મોકલવાથી મળી શકશે. વી. પી. ના ઓફિસોને ખાન આપવામાં આવશે નહિ.

Manager, INDIAN OPINION, Phoenix, Natal.

crossed the Transvaal border in 1914 in defiance of the Transvaal immigration law and compelled the Government to arrest them. When it failed to provoke them to violence or to coerce them into submission, it yielded to their demand. A body of civil resisters is, therefore, like an army subject to all the discipline of a soldier, only harder because of want of excitement of an ordinary soldier's life. And as a civil resistance army is or ought to be free from passion because free from the spirit of retaliation, it requires the fewest number of soldiers. Indeed one perfect civil resister is enough to win the battle of Right against Wrong.

Though, therefore, the All-India Congress Committee has authorised civil disobedience by Provincial Congress Committees on their own responsibility, I hope they will put due emphasis on the word "responsibility" and not start civil disobedience with a light heart. Every condition must be given its full effect. The mention of Hindu-Muslim unity, non-violence, swadeshi, and removal of untouchability means that they have not yet become an integral part of our national life. If an individual or a mass have still misgivings about Hindu-Muslim unity, if they have still any doubt about the necessity of non-violence for the attainment of our triple goal, if they have not yet enforced swadeshi in its completeness, if the Hindus among that mass have still the poison of untouchability in them, that mass or that individual are not ready for civil disobedience. Indeed it would be best to watch and wait whilst the experiment is being carried on in one area. Reverting to the analogy of the army, those divisions that watch and wait are just as much co-operating actively as the division that is actually fighting. The only time, whilst the experiment is going on, that individual civil disobedience may be resorted to simultaneously, is when the Government obstruct even the silent prosecution of Swadeshi. Thus if an order of prohibition is served upon an expert spinner going to teach or organise spinning that order should be summarily disregarded and the teacher should court imprisonment. But in all other respects, in so far as I can judge at present, it will be best for every other part of India scrupulously to respect all orders and instructions whilst one part is deliberately taking the offensive and committing a deliberate breach of all the unmoral state laws it possibly can. Needless to add that any outbreak of violence in any other part of India must necessarily injure and may even stop the experiment. The other parts will be expected to remain immovable and unperturbed, even though the people within the area of experiment may be imprisoned, riddled with bullets or otherwise ill-treated by the authorities. We must expect them to give a good account of themselves in every conceivable circumstance.

CIVIL VERSUS CRIMINAL

When a man willfully breaks his own laws, the disobedience becomes criminal. For he commits the breach not against himself but against some one else, and not only escapes punishment for the breach for there is none provided against himself by the maker of laws, but he avoids also the inconvenience caused by their observance. What is true of the individual is true of the corporation. At the present moment one observes this criminal breach by the Government of its own laws throughout India. Sections of the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code are being freely abused. And because non-co-operators refrain from questioning orders issued by officials, bare-faced illegalities are being committed by them with impunity. We have seen this in Bulandshahr, in Chittagoang, all over Sindh, and nowhere so systematically and so deliberately as in the Madras Presidency. Mr. Yakub Hassan has pointed out with great justification that his arrest and conviction are contrary to the spirit of the Viceregal pledge. Indeed, it is against not only the spirit of Lord Reading's pledge but it is against

the letter even of his predecessor's communique in which it was declared in solemn tones that so long as non-co-operation remained non-violent there would be no repression. No one dare accuse Mr. Yakub Hassan of having incited to violence in his Tanjore address before an audience of picked representatives. Nor was any violence done in the Tanjore district as a result of his speech. The Magistrate in the case of Mr. Iyer of the "Deshabhaktan" actually admitted that there was not a trace of violence in the writing that was impeached and that it actually contained exhortations to non-violence. Mr. Ramaswami Iyengar, leading pleader of Coimbatore, has been arrested for a spirited letter to the *Hindu* though there was no violence in it. And so have Dr. Varadarajulu and Mr. Gopalakrishnayyah been arrested for the speeches and writings, although it is known that they not only do not incite to violence but that theirs is actually a restraining influence in the face of provocation. Is it any wonder if one infers from this campaign of repression an intention on the part of the Government to invite violence? In not one of these cases I have mentioned has there been any outbreak of violence as a result of the speeches and writings concerned. And so we see that the Government is guilty of criminal breach of its own laws. And what legal remedy has the afflicted individual against the Government? There is certainly no sanction provided against the Government in law when it prostitutes the law itself to its own base ends. When therefore a Government thus becomes lawless in an organised manner, civil disobedience becomes a sacred duty and is the only remedy open specially to those who had no hand in the making of the Government or its laws. Another remedy there certainly is, and that is armed revolt. Civil disobedience is a complete, effective and bloodless substitute. And it is as well that by exemplary restraint and discipline in the way of submission to unjust and even illegal orders we have created the necessary atmosphere for civil disobedience. For thereby on the one hand the tyrannical nature of the Government has been made more manifest, and on the other by willing obedience we have fitted ourselves for civil disobedience.

It is equally as well that civil disobedience is being confined even now to the smallest area possible. It must be admitted that it is an abnormal state, even as a corrupt and unpopular Government should be in civilised society like disease an abnormal state. Therefore, only when a citizen has disciplined himself in the art of voluntary obedience to the state laws is he justified on rare occasions deliberately but non-violently to disobey them, and expose himself to the penalty of the breach. If then we are to achieve the maximum result in the minimum of time, whilst fiercest disobedience is going on in a limited area, perfect submission to the laws must be yielded in all other parts so as to test the nation's capacity for voluntary obedience and for understanding the virtue of civil disobedience. Any unauthorised outbreak of disobedience, therefore, in any part of India will most certainly damage the cause and will betray an unpardonable ignorance of the principles of civil disobedience.

We must expect the Government to take the strictest measures to suppress this impending defiance of authority, for on it depends its very existence. Its instinct of self-preservation alone will actuate measures of repression adequate for suppression. And if it fails, the Government of necessity disappears. This is, it either bends to the national will or it is dissolved. The greatest danger lies in violence breaking out anywhere by reason of provocation. But it would be wrong and unmanly to invite the sternest measures and then to be incensed against them, apart from the fact that it will be a breach of our solemn pledge of non-violence. I may be arrested, thousands who take part in the peaceful revolt may also be arrested, imprisoned, even tortured. The rest of India must not lose its head. When the proper time comes, the rest of India

may respond by undertaking civil disobedience and inviting arrests, imprisonments and tortures. It is the sacrifice of the innocent we want to make. That alone will appear pleasing to God. And therefore, on the eve of the great battle the nation is embarking upon, my earnest exhortation to every non-co-operator is to fit himself for civil disobedience by fulfilling to the letter and in the spirit the conditions of civil disobedience laid down at Delhi, and to ensure non-violence everywhere. Let us not be satisfied that we remain non-violent individually. We boast that non-co-operation has become universal in India. We boast that we have acquired sufficient influence even over the unruly masses to restrain them from violence. Let us prove true to our claim.—*Young India.*

MR. C. R. DAS'S MESSAGE
TO THE CONGRESS WORKERS

Mr. C. R. Das who has been imprisoned by the Indian Government sent the following message to the Congress Workers on Dec. 2 :—

"My first word and my last word to you is never to forsake the ideal of non-violent non-co-operation. I know it is a difficult creed to follow. I know that sometimes the provocation is so great that it is extremely difficult to remain non-violent in thought, word, and deed. The success of the movement, however, depends on this great principle and every worker must strengthen himself to withstand such provocation. We are too apt to commit the riot. For instance, if there is a riot in a city we say that the hooligans were provoked to commit the riot. Let us not forget that these so called hooligans are our countrymen. Let us not forget that we the non-co-operators claim to hold the country. Let us realise that to the extent to which we do not succeed in so controlling the masses, be they hooligans or not, to that extent non-co-operation has failed. The responsibilities are ours. It does not lie in our mouth to say that wicked people have instigated the masses to break law and order. Do you not realise that the success of our movement depends on this, that no other people, wicked or otherwise, should be able to lead the masses or any section of our countrymen towards violence and bloodshed? If we fail to exercise control over the masses how can we claim to have success? I am not discouraged. I pray to God that you may have sufficient strength to carry on this battle peacefully never forsaking the ideal of non-violent non-co-operation in all its bearing."

TEACH US HOW TO DIE

BY TERENCE MACSWINEY

Every wrong that in them smarts
God, we enter our last fight;
Thou dost see our cause is right;
Make us march now in Thy sight
On to victory.

Let us not Thy wrath deserve
In the sacred cause we serve,
Let us not from danger swerve;
Teach us how to die.
Death for some is in reserve
Before our flag can fly.

All the agony of years,
All the horrors, all the fears,
Martyrs' blood, survivors' tears,
Now we offer Thee
As an endless holocaust
For the freedom we have lost,
God restore it, tho' the cost

Greater still must be;
Let Thy grace attend our host,
Give us victory.

See, we open our hearts,
Every wrong that in them smarts
Every secret pain that starts,
We, too, offer Thee;
Every dearest hope's decease,
Every fear that rocks our peace,
Every cross with pain's increase,
Burthened tho' we be;
Sacrifice that shall not cease
Till our land be free.

Thou holdest freedom in Thy hand;
Thou canst liberate our land;
Hear us; yield our one demand—
Ireland's liberty.
We ask not her chains to rive
And the sacred deed survive,
That we may rejoice alive
In her victory;
We but ask that she shall thrive,
And rest our fate with Thee.

We know not what must befall
Marching at our country's call;
Make us strong who must yield all
That she may not die.
Those who will survive the fight,
Still attend them with Thy Light,
Thou our hope in darkest night,
Then our guardian be,
And hold our dear land in Thy sight
Erect, firm and free.

વેંચવાના પોસ્તકો

ક્રિસવાલ શોષ અવરજ એકદ	•	૧
એક કિંકુ પ્રવે મહાન ટોચરોપનો પત્ર	•	૪
અંકમ્પીતના મુળતત્વ	•	૧
બાળ અંકમ્પીત	•	૧
મુસ્તાફા કામેલ પાસલુ' કવન ચરિત્ર	•	૧
મુસ્તાફા કામેલ પાસલુ' બાપુજી	•	૧
હોદ સ્વરાજ	•	૧
સલ વીના બીજુ કશું નથી	•	૧
બાળ અંકમ્પીત તીલકના મત અને વિચાર	•	૧
પુસ્તક અને પદ્યિકા	•	૧
મીરમીટના સવાલ ઉપરની ચર્ચા	•	૧
વધરાખ જોધ કાવ્ય	•	૧
કોટલાલાલ પદ્મોદીની	•	૧
કવલ સામે ચવાની દરજ	•	૧
શામાશક સેવાના સ-ચારણ	•	૧

કરારકોને મુશના: ઉપલા પુસ્તકો નીચેના શીરનામે
લખવાથી અને તેની કૌમત ખીટીક પોસ્તલ એરર, નેંક
નોટ અથવા મુનીવનનાં સ્ટેમ્પથી બીટી મોક્ષવાથી મળી
સકશે. વી. પી. ના એરરકોને ખ્યાન આપવામાં આવશે નહિ.

Manager, INDIAN OPINION, Phoenix, Natal.

BOOKS FOR SALE

To be obtained from the *Indian Opinion Press*, Phoenix, Natal. Postal Orders to be made payable at Durban.

We have just received the following books from India. The prices given include cost of postage:—

Folk-lore of the Talugus	2 0
The Hon. Mr. Gokhale and the Indenture System From Colombo to Almora	2 0
Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education, by E. B. Havell	4 0
The Indian National Congress, its Origin and Growth	2 0
My Indian Reminiscences by Dr. Paul Lift Irrigation	2 6
The Swadeshi Movement	3 9
Speeches on Indian Affairs by John Morley	9
Hindu Psalms and Hymns	3 6
The Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Tour in South Africa: Special INDIAN OPINION Souvenir.	2 0
The Ethics of Passive Resistance	2 5
Indian Home Rule, by M. K. Gandhi	0 3
A Book—and its Misnomer	1 6
War and Peace, Vols 1, 2, and 3, by Tolstoy, each	1 0
Reflections on the French Revolution, by Burke	2 0
Bhagavad Gita. Mrs. Besant's Translation	2 6
Asiatics Registration Amendment Act (1928) in English and Gujarati	2 6
Shri Madhwa Charya	0 6
Position of the Women in the Vedas	1 6
Hinduism, by Dr. Barnett	2 6
Letters of John Chinaman	2 6
Improvement of Indian Agriculture	2 6
The Tragedy of Empire	1 9
Hindu Social Ideals, by P. J. Mehta	2 0
M. K. Gandhi,	2 6
Rise and Growth of Bombay Municipal Govt.	4 6
Agricultural Industries in India	2 6
Speeches and Writings of Dr. Ras Behary Ghose	2 6
The Story of the Ramayana, the Epic of Rama	3 6
A Study in Indian Economics by P. Bannerji	2 0
English Traits and Representative Men, by Emerson	4 6
The Indians of South Africa, by H. S. L. Polak	2 6
Life of M. K. Gandhi (in Tamil)	2 6
" " " (in Hindi)	2 0
The Golden Number of "Indian Opinion"	
Paper covers	2 6
Bound in cloth	3 6
Sri Ramaswajacharya	2 6
Sri Sankaracharya	2 6
Glimpses of the Orient To-day, by Saint Nihal Singh	2 6
Mr. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings—1896 to 1917	3 3
Maitreyi	3 6
Gokhale's Speeches	7 6
The Indian Demands, by G. A. Natesan	2 6
Nation Building, by Annie Besant	2 0
Warfare in Ancient India	2 0

BIOGRAPHIES OF EMINENT INDIANS:—

Essentials of Hinduism	2
Aggressive Hinduism	2 0
Aspects of the Vedanta	2 0
Indian Industrial and Economic Problems, by Prof. Kale	3 6
Essays on Indian Economics, by Ranade	4 6
Essays on Nationalism, by Dr. Coomaraswamy	2 6
Sri Sankara's Select Works	3 6
Dadabhai Naoroji's Speeches	7 6
King George's Speeches	2 6
Ten Tamil Saints	2 0
Mrs. Annie Besant — A Sketch of her Life	1 0
For India's Uplift, by Annie Besant	3 6
Valahnavite Reformers of India	2 6
India's Untouchable Saints	2 0
The Governance of India, by Govinda Das	7 6
FRIENDS OF INDIA SERIES:—Lord Morley, Sir Wm. Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Rabindranath Tagore, M. K. Gandhi, Babu Surendranath Banerjee, Budruddin Tyabji, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, The Right Hon. Sayed Amir Ali, H. H. Shri Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, H. H. the Aga Khan, Swami Rama Tirath, V. Krishnarwami Aiyar, Kristo Das Pal, Dewan C. Rangachari, W. C. Bonnerjee, A. M. Bose, Behramji M. Mslabari, Wedderburn, Rev. Dr. Miller, Sir Edwin Arnold, Chas. Ravi Varma, Lala Lajpat Rai, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Swami Vivekanada, Toru Dutt, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Sir Salar Jung, V. P. Madhava Rao, D. E. Wacha, Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Rahimtulla Mohamed Sayani, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Sir C. Sankaran Nair, Lal Mohun Ghose, Raja Ram Mohan Badlaugh, Edmund Burke, Lord Minto, Sister Nivedita, Henry Fawcett, John Bright, A. O. Hume, Sir Henry Cotton, Lord Macaulay, Lord Ripon, Ram Roy.	each 1 0

"Indian Opinion" Supplements

We have the following supplements on art paper for sale at two shilling per dozen, post free:—

The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. V. A. Chettiar (Chairman, Tamil Benefit Society of Johannesburg), Mr. Budree (Vice President of the Transvaal Indian Association), The Late Mr. Narayanasamy, South African Indian Stretcher-Bearer Company, Hon. Mr. Gokhale's visit, taken at Heidelberg station, Mr. L. Hans Raj B.A. (Hon. Principal D. A. V. College, President Lahore Arya Samaj), Mr. Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazoor. Mr. Omar Haji Amod Johari, Mr. Joseph Royeyppen B.A. (A Natal born Graduate Passive Resister), Mr. Royeyppen (A Barrister-Hawker), Indian Volunteer Stretcher-Bearer Corps, Three Transvaal ladies as passive resisters (Mrs. Sivprasad, Miss Minnatjee and Mrs. Somar). Mr. Amceeroodin Fajandar, Mrs. Sheikh Mehtab, Asiatic Ordinance (A Chess play Cartoon) India's Great Loyalty (Cartoon), The Late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Ratan J. Tata, Mrs. R. M. Sodha, Sir William Wedderburn, Lt., Pioneer Settlers of Tolstoy Farm, The Late Count Leo Tolstoy, The Late Rev. Joseph J. Doke, The Late Mr. S. Nagappan, The Right Hon. Lord Amptill, G.C.L.E., The Triumphal Arch outside Park Station (Mr. Gokhale's Visit), Shri Sanyasi Swami Shankeranand, Mr. Sorabji Shapurji of Adajan, Hanifa Bibi. H. H. The Amir of Afghanistan, Mr. Kallenbach, Mr. Kallenbach as seen walking from the Tolstoy Farm to Johannesburg, Mr. Henry S. L. Polak, Picnic Party at Tolstoy Farm, The Late Mr. M. H. Nazar, Shri Gopal Lal Hindu Temple Verulam, The Late Miss Valliamah Moedakar, Sons of the Empire (Indian Soldiers), The 60 Indians Deported to India by the Transvaal Government, The Indian Monument in Johannesburg, The Late Mr. Hajee Hoozon Dawad, Indian Merchants who suffered imprisonment at Standerton, Babu Rabindranath Tagore, The late Hon. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E.