

Indian Opinion

No. 5—VOL. XX. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 3RD, 1922.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper
PRICE FOURPENCE

NOTES AND NEWS

WE publish elsewhere in this issue some reports of how the policy of repression is being worked in India. From them it would appear that soldiers who having been accustomed for years to killing humanity are absolutely void of any human feelings and can be described as wild animals are engaged to perform the duties of the police and they did not hesitate to put their hands on any one whether he be a friend or foe of the Government. Volunteers who have gone out purposely to court arrest without any signs of mischief-making have been roughly handled by these semi-human-beings and they have not hesitated to put their hands even on a highly respected principal when he was in his official garb for no reason whatsoever. When such persons are brutally assaulted what must be the position of the poor ignorant and unknown masses. And yet they forbear, maintain peace and go quietly to gaol. Lord Northcliffe asks how long the Government would tolerate intimidation and murder. It should rightly be asked how long the people would tolerate intimidation on the part of Government such as mentioned above and murder such as that of the Moplahs packed in a closed van?

The Madras Provincial Government is about to undertake emergency legislation (says Reuter), to deal with the Civil disobedience campaign at Guntur, where the people are not paying taxes and the village officers are resigning. The legislation includes steps to seize and sell the property of the defaulting ryots (peasants.)

A Reuter's message from Calicut states:—

The principal leader of the Moplah rebels, Kunhamad Hadji, whose capture was recently announced by the India Office has been executed, together with six others.

A Reuter's message dated London, Jan. 25, states:—

The danger of the situation in India is emphasised by a statement which Lord Northcliffe gave in Bombay prior to his sailing for Palestine. He said he was shocked at the change in the demeanour of Indians, especially Moslems, towards whites. The Moslem segregation was much uglier than the British Press appeared to know. An immediate settlement was urgent. Moderate Mahomedans, he said, were of opinion that the restoration of tranquility was only possible if Britain changed her policy towards Turkey, including recognition of the Sultan as the head of Islam and the restoration of the sacred city of Adrianople, and the whole of Asia Minor to Turkey.

Lord Northcliffe dwelt on the extreme patience of the Indian Government, which was facing outrages similar to those which took place in 1857. He said that the Moderate Hindus and Mahomedans were asking how long the Government would tolerate intimidation and murders. It is noteworthy in this connection that Liberal opinion in England has recently been hardening against Gandhi. An instance of this

is found in an article in the *Nation*, emphasising the impossibility of Britain abandoning the responsibility of governing the peoples of India. The article also warns the leaders of the agitation that if it proves impossible to allow Gandhi to remain in India the British friends of the Indian self-government movement could not resist that course.

MR. CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

THE Indians in East Africa will have very little to rejoice at the speech delivered by Mr. Winston Churchill at the East African Dinner at London on January 27. According to the report Mr. Churchill has at first spoken highly of India's partnership within the Empire by saying: "India has entered the Empire as a partner, and we must be most careful to treat its citizens with the respect which was their due, and shape the laws of the Empire in any part in such a way, as not to needlessly inflict invidious distinction on its representatives." Mr. Churchill appealed to the settlers to take a broad Imperial view of the situation and with the same breath emphasised "that the highlands of East Africa would be reserved exclusively for European settlers." Thus the principle of segregation against which Indians have been strongly protesting has been finally laid down. He further "wished to apply as broadly, and in as comprehensive a manner as far as was practicable, the Rhodes principle of equal rights for all civilised men," the standard of civilisation "to be adopted would certainly be a matter in which the European community would be fully consulted." In our opinion, this is high talk which means nothing. Indians however high their position may be have hardly ever been considered to be civilised to that extent that they could enjoy equal rights. This is our experience in South Africa especially in Natal and the Transvaal. If the Indian is low he is looked down upon as mere dirt and is blamed for that as being a menace to the health of the public. If he rises to a higher standard he is looked down upon with jealousy. There is therefore no standard for the Indian which will enable him to enjoy equal rights so long as he is not fortunate enough to wear the same skin as the heaven-born whites. In this twentieth century the colour of the skin is veritably the thing that forms the standard.

With regard to future immigration of Indians Mr. Churchill is reported to have said that "the interests of British settlers and the Native population alike would require that the future immigration of Indians should be strictly regulated." This strictness is sure to be the same under which Indians in South Africa are suffering.

Thus there is scarcely any hope given to the

Indians in East Africa of their lot improving.

After India having suffered the most during the war and having given the largest share as compared with the Colonies put together that the reward for her service should end in mere high talk of her "achieved" high status and her equal partnership in the great Empire while her children should continually be treated even in a place like East Africa, which owes its present prosperous condition to the labour and energies of Indians, like helots is ungratefulness to the extreme on the part of the British Government that prides itself of having fought in the recent great war to end Prussianism and protect the small nations.

For Indians in East Africa and no less for Indians in South Africa there is but one course to pursue and that is Passive Resistance. When we will be able to show that we are no longer going to tolerate the humiliations we are being subjected to and that we are prepared to die rather than submit to them then only will we have reached the true standard which will enable us to live as human beings.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

* London, Jan. 27.—Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking at the East African dinner in London this evening, at which Lord Dewar presided, made an important reference to the political problems of East Africa.

Referring to the Indian difficulty in East Africa, Mr. Churchill appealed to settlers to take a broad Imperial view of the situation. India had entered the Empire as a partner, and we must be most careful to treat its citizens with the respect which was their due, and shape the laws of the Empire in any part in such a way as not to needlessly inflict invidious distinction on its representatives. Mr. Churchill proceeded to emphasise that the highlands of East Africa would be reserved exclusively for European settlers. This decision must be regarded as final, as it was not intended to depart from it. He further wished to apply as broadly, and in as comprehensive a manner as far as was practicable, the Rhodes principle of equal rights for all civilised men. This meant that Natives and Indians who had reached and conformed to a marked European standard would not be denied the fullest exercise and enjoyment of civil and political rights. The standard to be adopted would certainly be a matter in which the European community would be fully consulted.

The interests of British settlers and the Native population alike would require that future immigration of Indians should be strictly regulated, and the Rhodes principle would rule in respect of the immigration laws, all of which would be the subject of the closest consultation between the Government and the existing residents.

Mr. Churchill added, amidst cheers, that he did not contemplate any system which would prevent British East Africa from becoming, characteristically and distinctively, a British Colony, and he was looking forward to the fruition of full self-government.

Lord Delamere, who is the head of a deputation from Kenya from the European settlers, replying to Mr. Churchill, expressed pleasure at Mr. Churchill's confirmation of the constitution of Kenya as a white Colony, with gradual evolution to self-government. He hoped the control of Indian immigration would mean practical prohibition, and declared that the utmost care would be necessary to see that the Western ideals of government were not swamped by the ideals of another civilisation.—Reuter.

THE INDIAN SITUATION

MODERATES AND NON-CO-OPERATORS

The repressive policy of the Indian Government has at last opened the eyes of the so-called Moderates lately known as "Liberals." The *Leader* (Allahabad), the chief organ of "Liberal" opinion in India writes as follows on the Government's policy:—

"The general political situation in the country is heavily overcast. The news of the arrests of prominent Non-co-operation leaders and workers is coming. The list is swelling. Messrs. Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Purushottam Das Tandan and others have been arrested at Allahabad, Lala Lajpat Rai and Mr. Santanam have been arrested in the Punjab presumably because they were holding a meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee. According to the report of the *Tribune* the members of the Committee were asked to disperse and on their refusal some of them were arrested. Are the private meetings of the Congress Committee to be thus forbidden? Is it the policy of the Government to break up the entire Congress organization? If it is, this ought to be stated clearly. Then those who have to comment upon public events will know where they stand. If there must be a fight between the Congress and Government let there be no ambiguity about the position of the latter towards the former. The country should know the exact extent of the repressive campaign the Government has embarked upon with undue precipitancy and without due warning. Is it to be blind repression and is Government to stand for coercion and more coercion until the opponents give way and are crushed, or until it is exhausted and demoralized by its own excesses and has made the position of the discriminating supporters of the Government absolutely impossible? Are we to witness once more the ghastly blunders of the past in the name of law and order, or are the new measures to be adopted to be, in the words of the *Indian Social Reformer* "effectually safeguarded against operating as a check on anything except the specific evil which they are meant to combat?" We agree with the *Reformer* that "this will be no easy thing to do, but it must be done, otherwise the remedy will be worse than the disease." One thing the Government should never forget in its consciousness of power, and that is that there is a general awakening of the people, that no section of the population, whether it belongs to the category of co-operators or non-co-operators, or constitutionalists or direct actionists, is free from this stirring of heart, that behind the movement of Mr. Gandhi is the support of an overwhelming section of the population in varying degrees and that probably few will welcome the striking down of what may be described as the militant arm of Indian nationalism. Let it be controlled, guided and restrained by suitable and legitimate means. But any attempt to crush it out of existence by physical force will end in dismal failure and will recoil in a variety of ways on the head of Government. Force can overawe a people for some time, but it cannot be a lasting remedy for political ills. This is a trite observation, but its re-iteration seems necessary."

A NEGATIVE POLICY

Our contemporary continues:—

"We have ever stood for peace and goodwill all round and we have opposed the Non-co-operation movement because we felt that it was not paving the way to peace. But the acceptance in deadly earnest of its challenge of war by Government means the clash of two unreasoning forces which must lead to a great tragedy unless powerful intervention comes from some unexpected quarter and converts the challenger and counter-challenger to a hand-shake. Before the strife proceeds further a supreme effort should be made to avert the calamity that threatens the country. Let the pride of power as also of soul force be cast aside, and let peace be strenuously worked

for by the leaders as well as by the rulers in a spirit of love. But we feel that for the present it is idle to expect any yielding either on the part of the non-co-operators or Government. The former are ready to go to jail and the latter to clap them into it. It is a strange fight and if a sufficient number comes forward Government cannot but feel sick of the business. What will it do when the jails are surfeited with prisoners? What if it fails in cowing down the people? Has it any constructive policy? Or does it think, with its usual lack of imagination and foresight, that it will somehow, muddle through and restore respect or awe for law and order by adding to the jail population? We are not sanguine of the success of the present policy. It is purely a negative one and as such is bound to fail unless the people lose their balance and burst out into violence. If they do, the Government will win. But if they are self-disciplined and self-restrained, the odds are that sooner or later Government will have to reconsider its policy, and then it may have to concede a great deal more to bring about a reconciliation than at present. We pray that God may grant wisdom to the rulers as well as to those who have made defiance of authority their creed to avoid all that engenders unnecessary and lasting bitterness, so that when reason regains its sway, co-operation may be established on mutual respect and forgiveness may not be hampered by the need of forgetfulness."

Thus the *Indian Social Reformers*—

"These wholesale arrests, after the masterly passivity, of the past months, do not convey the impression of being inspired by a considered policy. They give the impression of panic on the part of Government who seem to be really at their wit's end how to deal with the situation. Sir Harcourt Butler's excited appearance at the U. P. Legislative Council and his impassioned declaration that Government was determined to see it through are hardly calculated to impart calmness and confidence to those who heard him. How different from the heroic serenity of Lord Hardinge who when the bomb burst upon him with fearful impact and he was being removed to Hospital, told his *locum tenens* "No change of policy, Wilson." Of such stuff are the builders of Empire made, not of men who allow themselves to be stampeded into opposite extremes by the circumstances of the moment. The coincidence between the passing of the Rowlatt Act on the conclusion of the Armistice, and of these arrests on the heels of the Irish Settlement, have not escaped attention."

MALTREATMENT OF ARRESTED VOLUNTEERS

STATEMENT OF MR. CHIRANJAN DAS

The following statement was made by Srijut Chiranjjan Das while he was brought into Court for trial:—

"While we, myself and seven other volunteers, were sitting in the right side of the prison van, the sergeants without asking us anything poked us and pushed us to the left side of the van. When we got down at Lal Bazar Sergeants caught the volunteers by the neck and threw them mercilessly and caught hold of my arm and twisted it so much that it fairly came to the point of breaking. We were then taken into the lock up by sergeants (soldiers were engaged as sergeants) who seemed to be tipsy and at once began beating the volunteers with their batons. I protested, when three soldiers began kicking me from three sides, and while they were going away they beat me on the head. Volunteer Tewari has got his knees hurt. Volunteer Sudhir has got a blow and nearly fainted. All the volunteers were more or less hurt by the sergeants. The Indian Police did not take part in the assaults."

ASSAULT ON CALCUTTA VOLUNTEERS

On Tuesday evening when myself and Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra went to Jorasanko Thana to see Mr. Chiranjjan Das and other volunteers who were arrested while selling Khaddar, we found the volunteers being very roughly handled by the sergeants, as they got into the prison van. Some of the volunteers were given blows and abused filthy. The volunteers were very able-bodied persons to whom the sergeants were no match, but they bore these indignities and brutal assaults with calmness and patience. Later we came to Lal Bazar, where the prison van arrived and we wanted to see Mr. Fisher one sergeant came and asked who we were. On seeing us dressed in Khaddar and knowing that we came to enquire about the volunteers, he exclaimed: "Get away, clear out, you non-co-operating people. You are trespassing. I shall arrest you at once." We offering ourselves for arrest, he did not, but closed the gate against us.

On Wednesday afternoon when myself and the leaders were dispersing the crowd in Burrabazar after the arrest of the ladies found two sergeants assaulting innocent passers-by.

Yesterday when the volunteers were being carried from Bhowanipur after arrest two volunteers were thrown from one place to another and assaulted by the European Police for shouting "Bande Mataram." This was seen by a number of respectable gentlemen of the locality.

(Sd.) HEMENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA.
Secy. Repression Advisory Board.

B. P. C. C.

Bhowanipur, 9th Dec. 1921.

A MODERATE LEADER BRUTALLY ASSAULTED

Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra while returning home from the Senate House was brutally assaulted at the crossing of Harrison Road and College Street by a soldier who was on duty there. The incident created a great sensation in the city and the public of Calcutta are greatly indignant over the matter. The facts of the case as related by Principal Maitra himself to a representative of the *Bengalee* are as follows:—

"I was returning home in the evening from the Senate House after my day's work when at the crossing of Harrison Road and College Street I saw some soldiers pursuing the people who had assembled there with their guns. The people were peaceful. They were on the pavement and there was no obstruction to public traffic. I became indignant at this and asked a soldier, "what offence they have committed that they are being thus pursued." The soldiers referred me to their officer who was on the opposite footpath. This man coming up to me I repeated the question. He gave me a rude reply—the language I do not remember. When I again repeated the question emphatically and demanded an answer he gave me such a violent push that I fell down on the pavement. Some youngmen came to my help and lifted me up. I went up to the man who assaulted me and asked his name. He made no reply.

Some of the soldiers about him said, "you won't get it." I thereupon again demanded his name and the same reply was again given to me. Then I was taken by some of the youngmen who were greatly excited to the Y.M.C.A. building and told Mr. Elliot and Dr. Patterson how I had been treated and what could be expected of these soldiers if they could treat me. I was in my official costume—choga, chapkan and pagree—and nobody could mistake me for a *nooligan* in this way. A large number of youngmen followed me into the Y.M.C.A., and at their request I related what had happened. They were very much excited and I had great difficulty in pacifying them. I said that what I wished for was not that I should be revenged on those who had assaulted me, but that my fellow

citizens should be protected from such outrages. I communicated the matter with the authorities and was assured that proper steps would be taken."

HIS OPINION

Referring to the incident, Principal Maitra told our representative:—The repressive and coercive methods that are being used now by the Government will make the situation more critical. If the Government does not change its policy and adopt more sober and conciliatory methods we do not know in what way the crisis through which we are passing will terminate. We deplore the repressive and the coercive measures all the more, because we are upholders of law and order. We feel that the present policy of the Government cannot uphold law and order and can only bring into play the forces of anarchy and disorder.

DR. P. N. BANNERJEA

Dr. Pramotha Nath Bannerjea, Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University, said that the action of the Government in bringing out the military is making the situation extremely grave. If a man like Principal Maitra can be brutally assaulted in the public street what wonder that other men are in a worse manner. The question that comes uppermost in one's mind at a time like this is—is naked force going to govern the policy of Government or is statesmanship likely to have a chance?—*The Bengalee*.

The *Bengalee* offers the following comment on the above incident:—

"What are things coming to? We have been shocked to hear of the way in which European Sergeants have begun to acquit themselves in the streets of Calcutta since Friday last. At first the attitude of the Police was admirable and elicited praise from all sides. But latterly a change has manifested itself among European Sergeants which we cannot contemplate without strong indignation and grave concern. Fancy a God's good man in the true sense of the term like Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra has been mercilessly belaboured in a public street by a sergeant, who is unworthy to unloose even the latchet of his shoes! And this man had the cheek to lay violent hands upon him, who is universally respected for his learning and character! The affair has filled our heart with the deepest pain and shame. The blows to which Principal Maitra was subjected have fallen right upon the heart of his countrymen and they share the insult and humiliation. We ask Government, are not matters being carried far, as this unfortunate incident abundantly testifies."

ARREST OF MR. PAL'S SON

Mr. Bejn Chunder Pal writes:—My son Jnanjan Pal has been arrested this afternoon. I do not know under what circumstances the arrest took place. But I know that he was not a "volunteer" and did not belong to any of the organisations that have been proclaimed, under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. And I know this also that he did not intend to join any. But this morning having read in the papers a statement of Mr. Chiranjnan Das regarding the assault said to have been committed on him and his companions by the men who took them in charge, he seems to have been completely upset, and without having any talk with me on this subject, he left home at about eleven, without his breakfast, with the resolve, as he told a friend of his, to offer to be arrested. I came to know of this at about 4 p. m. He told his friend that after this assault, it was his clear duty to share the same fate and that all differences of political opinion should be set aside in the face of these assaults on the youth of the nation. They had violated the law and the law might well be left to take its course. He was not in sympathy with this propaganda of civil dis-

obedience but the report of this outrage completely upset him. This is all that he communicated to the friend whom he saw on his way to town, and asked him to tell me all this when he came back from his college at about 3 o'clock.—*The Bengalee*.

A VOW OF SILENCE

The *Servant of Calcutta* writes:—

"We feel that our only reply to the hourly growing encroachment on our commonest rights and liberties ought to be a dignified silence. The bureaucracy has rightly decided that we must cease to have any self-expression as a nation. Perhaps our very existence is unlawful, and we are merely lumbering the earth with our futile weight. If selling khaddar is unlawful, if preaching boycott or non-co-operation is unlawful, if our very association is unlawful, if our Congress Committee meetings are unlawful, if religious assemblies are unlawful, if peaceful persuasion is unlawful, then logically and consistently all our activities should come under such a ban. Hence we do not want further to deceive ourselves that we have still any right of expression. We seem to be lying on sufferance. As non-violence is our creed, we think that our loyalty to it can be facilitated only by entering the silence of the grave. We have all along been writing with a halter around our neck. The unholy Inquisition which is sitting on our thoughts and sentiments has become simply intolerable. We have therefore decided to suspend all Editorial writings till we again feel that the interests of our cause demand it. Nor do we think that our constituents stand in need of any leisurely journalistic guidance. Things are moving so fast that local initiative can no longer wait on instructions from any central place. We believe we shall be serving them better by using our editorial skill to present national activities in an attractive and edifying form. Complaints are daily pouring in that we are not doing full justice to the multitude of news and information with which we are kept supplied. Henceforth we shall devote all our energies to an exhaustive and delectable presentation of the happenings all over the country. We feel that these facts are in themselves more eloquent than any feeble comments we can make on them. We shall be guided by this determination unless Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress authorities decide otherwise. In conclusion we earnestly hope that the step that we have taken will meet with the approval of our readers."

ARREST OF MR. HARILAL GANDHI

The *Bombay Chronicle* dated December 14, writes:—

Mr Harilal M. Gandhi, the oldest son of Mahatma Gandhi was to have left for Bombay last night and had completed his arrangements for that purpose. He was present on Saturday last at Desbandhu Chittaranjan's residence when Desbandhu was arrested. The dignified bearing of Desbandhu and the supreme immolation of his all made a deep impression on Mr. Harilal's mind. The sight of the excesses committed by the Civil Guard and the military force in the name of law and order also moved him deeply, and he now saw his way clear to the urgent duty of the hour. Yesterday, he declared himself a volunteer and offered his person for arrest at the Barabazar Thana and then again at Lalbazar but he was turned away from both places, the police refusing him admittance. He was asked to come with three or four other volunteers if he wanted to be arrested. Accordingly, at about 8 p. m. last evening he formed a batch of five other volunteers with himself at the head, and the party proceeded along the Harrison Road from the Chitpur crossing towards Barabazar. They were met by four

Sergeants who, seeing that they were volunteers, arrested them and took them to the Barabazar Thana.

Before starting on his mission Mr. Harilal Gandhi wrote the following letter to Mr. Shyam Sundar Chakravarty :—

HARILAL GANDHI'S LETTER

Dear Shyam Babu.—The arrest of Mr. Das, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others fills me with both grief and joy. My duty, I am sure, is now clear. I am offering myself for arrest this evening. I was about to leave for Bombay in a day or two to be with my dear mother and children after a long absence from them. I however, feel that in Bengal, where with my Bengali friends I have shared in their pleasures and very little in their pains and amongst whom I have earned my bread and butter, lay my duty. At this juncture therefore, I cannot leave the spot. If I am mistaken my Ba and Bapu, I have no doubt, will forgive me.

The Government say we defy them as enemies, I beg to differ. Our courting imprisonment in my humble opinion is only by way of humble protest against the manifold grievances the existence of which no one can truthfully deny.

Adieu to all my beloved friends and well-wishers.

I remain,

Ever yours sincerely,
H. M. GANDHI.

AFTER ARREST

A gentlemen from the All-India Stores (Mr. Harilal Gandhi was the Manager of this store) went to Barrabazar Thana to supply evening meal to Mr. Harilal Gandhi. But he refused to accept any food from outside. He looked very cheerful and enthusiastic.—*The Servant.*

WHAT IT WILL LEAD TO!

MR. RAZA ALI TELEGRAM TO THE VICEROY

The Hon. Mr. Raza Ali, a member of the Council of State (India) has sent the following telegram to H. E. the Viceroy :—

As one who has co-operated with the Government respectfully, I emphatically protest against your Excellency's Government's new policy. Apparently panic is setting on Government since the Bombay riots and they see nothing but danger signals all around. Indiscriminate arrests are being made in every province and by incarcerating persons like the revered Pandit Motilal Nehru, Messrs. Lajpat Rai and Jitendra Lal Banerjee and Mrs. Das Government are seeking to imprison India's soul. Unconsciously they are helping the non-co-operators to prove their claim that the only place for an honest Indian is jail, but each senseless arrest brings new followers within the Non-co-operation fold and is followed by cessations among Government's friends and well-wishers for whatever may be the differences of opinion among the Indian political parties, nobody can reconcile himself to a suppression of the Congress and the Khilafat movements. Courageous men who have not hesitated to part company with Mr. Gandhi cannot be expected to acquiesce in a reign of terror being established by Government.

People are asking whether a Government that cannot tolerate the Congress and the Khilafat volunteers will be prepared to grant responsible Government to India with her own army and navy. The irony is that Government are helping the formation of a Civil Guard in Calcutta simultaneously with the proscribing of the Congress and the Khilafat volunteers. Sir Edward Carson's Volunteer Army of 1913 is a parallel case. May we hope that Non-co-operation will not be goaded into Sinn Feinism.

I beg of your excellency to consider two things. By arresting all the leaders Government are removing the

only guarantee against mob violence and if disorders ensure it is clear where responsibility should rest. Secondly by interfering with the right of free speech and free association Government are driving discontent underground. The saddest and most objectionable part is that this policy of frightfulness has been launched when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is in our midst on a mission of peace.

MESSAGES FROM IMPRISONED LEADERS

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

To my comrades and countrymen :—

Having served you to the best of my ability while working amongst you it is now my high privilege to serve the Motherland by going to jail with my only son. What shall I say of him to you, who know him so well? I am fully confident that we shall meet again at no distant date as free men. I have only one parting word to say. Continue non-violent non-co-operation without a break until Swaraj is attained, and enlist as volunteers in your tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands. Let the March of pilgrims to the only Temple of Liberty now existing in India, which has escaped sacrilege at the hands of the bureaucracy, viz, the jail, be kept up in uninterrupted stream, swelling strength and volume as each day passes. Adieu!

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL TO HIS COLLEAGUES

"KEEP THE FLAG FLYING"

To my colleagues of the U. P. Congress Committee :—Some days ago, you did me the high honour of appointing me General Secretary of the Committee. I have not been able to serve in that capacity for long. To-day, a higher honour and a greater service awaits me; and I welcome it with the conviction that you will carry on the work of the Committee more vigorously and successfully than my co-secretaries and myself were able to do. It has pleased Providence to give this Province a chance of leading the fight for Liberty. May you, the representatives of the people, prove worthy of this high trust. The work of the Provincial Committee must on no account suffer. Workers from the districts must come to the head-quarters and keep the flag flying at the citadel. I trust that there will be a full attendance of members at the General Meeting on the 13th in Allahabad.

Theirs will be a great responsibility. May God guide their deliberations and give them strength and wisdom. One thing I would have you remember. There can be no compromise or parleying. This struggle must end and can only end in complete victory for the people. Any weakening, any giving up of the principles, will be a betrayal of the thousands who have given of their best for the cause. *Au revoir.* We meet again, I hope, as free men.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL TO THE CITIZENS OF ALLAHABAD

Friends,—I go to jail with the greatest pleasure and with the fullest conviction that therein lies the achievement of our goal. Forget not that there is a complete Hartal on the 12th instant, and that it is the duty of every man to enlist as a volunteer. The most important thing is to preserve complete peace and an atmosphere of non-violence. In your hands is the honour of Allahabad and I hope it is quite safe therein. I trust you will always be in the firing line in the battle of Swaraj and make the name of our city immortal in our annals.

I am, your friend,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

PANDIT MOHANLAL

In a short Urdu message to the citizens of Allahabad the Pandit says :—

I go to jail with the greatest pleasure. The only answer to repression is to choke up the jails. In your duty to make the hartal of the 16th an unprecedented success fail not. No gari should be plying on hire; no shop should be open.—*The Independent*.

BOOKS FOR SALE

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

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale and the Indenture System	2	0
Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education, by E. B. Havell,	3	0
The Indian National Congress, its Origin and Growth	2	6
My Indian Reminiscences by Dr. Paul	2	6
Life Irrigation	3	9
The Swadeshi Movement		9
Speeches on Indian Affairs by John Morley	3	6
Hindu Psalms and Hymns	2	0
The Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Tour in South Africa : Special INDIAN OPINION Souvenir.	2	6
The Ethics of Passive Resistance	0	3
Indian Home Rule, by M. K. Gandhi	1	6
A Book—and its Misnomer	1	0
Bhagavad Gita. Mrs. Besant's Translation	2	6
Asiatic Registration Amendment Act (1908) in English and Gujarati	0	6
Shri Madhwa Charya		6
Position of the Women in the Vedas	2	6
Hinduism, by Dr. Barnett	2	0
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	5
Speeches and Writings of Dr. Ras Behary Ghose	3	6
The Story of the Ramayana, the Epic of Rama	2	0
A Study in Indian Economics by P. Bannerji	4	6
English Traits and Representative Men, by Emerson	2	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 Ramanaiahacharya	2	6
Sri Sankarabacharya	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
Maltrey	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	6

બહાર સભા

શ્રી ટ્રાંસવાલ યુનાઇટેડ પાર્ટીદાર સોસાયટીની બહાર સભા તા. ૧૨મી ફેબ્રુઆરી ૧૯૨૨ને રવિવારે બપોરના ત્રણ વાગ્યે પાર્ટીદાર હોલમાં મળશે જે વખતે વાર્ષિક ચુંટણી અને સોસાયટીના હિસાબ રજુ કરવામાં આવશે બેહાનીસબરમ તથા રેન્ડના સરવે લાઈઓને વેળાસર પધારવા વિજ્ઞાપિત છે.

શ્રી. રજીસ્ટ્રારભાઈ ખુશાલજી પટેલ
પરજીભાઈ પરસોતમ પટેલ

ઓ. મંત્રીઓ.

૧૯૨૮ ની સાલની ડાયરીઓ અને પંચાંગ

૧૯૨૮ ની સાલની પાકા પુઠાની ગજવામાં રાખવા જેવી ડાયરી કીંમત રૂ. ૩.

નવી વરસનાં ગુજરાતી પંચાંગ કીંમત રૂ. ૧૦.૦૦
૩. ઓરડર પ્રોફેસરનારાઓએ પોસ્ટલ ઓરડર સાથે પ્રોફેસરો. વી. પી. ના. ઓરડરોને ધ્યાન રેવામાં આવશે નહીં.

મેનેજર,

'ઇન્ડિઅન ઓપીનીયન'

વેંચવાના પુસ્તકો

	શ્રી.	રૂ.
ઈંગ્લીશ-ગુજરાતી પોકેટ ડિક્શનરી	૫	૬
ગુજરાતી-ઈંગ્લીશ પોકેટ ડિક્શનરી	૫	૬
એક સત્યવીરની કથા	૧	૦
નીતિના કાવ્ય	૦	૬
સેલ્ફ ઇંગ્લીશ ટીચર ભાગ ૧ થી	૩	૩
પાઠશાળા ભાગ ૧ થી	૧	૩
" " " ૨ ભે	૧	૩
દેશીકીસાબ ભાગ ૧ થી	૧	૬
" " " ૨ ભે	૧	૦
ગુજરાતી પહેલી ચોપડી	૧	૩
બાળચોથી	૦	૬
માણસ કેટલી જમીનનો માલિક હોઈ શકે	૦	૬
મારા જેવો અનુભવ	૦	૬
" " " ભાગ ૨ ભે	૦	૬
" " " ભાગ ૩ ભે	૦	૬
આરોગ્ય વિષે સામાન્ય જ્ઞાન ભાગ ૧ થી	૦	૬
" " " " ભાગ ૨ ભે	૦	૬
જેસના કાવ્ય	૧	૬
કાવ્યા સામે થવાની ફરજ	૦	૬
સલોમી	૦	૬