

Indian Opinion

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ARREST OF PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA AND SJT. VALLABHBHAI PATEL

ON Sunday last Reuter from Bombay sent a message to the effect that six members of the Congress Executive, including Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Malaviya were arrested yesterday morning. The police refused to permit a large procession of members of the Congress to pass the police cordon and enter the European business quarter on Friday evening, whereupon the demonstrators squatted on the wet road facing the cordon. The 'stalemate' continued right through the night. The police under threat to arrest the leaders requested Vallabhbhai to disperse the procession. Patel, Malaviya and Jairamdas Doulatram, Editor of *Young India*, thereupon offered themselves for arrest, after which most of the crowd dispersed except the vanguard of 200 or 300, whom the police scattered by a lathi charge. The arrested leaders will be charged with being members of an unlawful assembly. The procession was in celebration of the memory of the Nationalist leader Tilak who died in 1920.

If the many able, active and eloquent men whom India honours most, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is undoubtedly one of them. By his unselfish work in the country's cause, his sincerity of purpose, his sobriety of thought, and independence of character he has made a niche for himself in the national temple. He has been twice elected to the Presi-

dential Chair of the Indian National Congress. He is a power with the generality of his countrymen. He is nearly 70 years of age, being born on 18th December, 1862 at Allahabad. He belongs to an ancient and much respected family of

learned Brahmins. He is a profound scholar of Sanskrit literature. He graduated B.A. at the age of 22 and took L.L.B. degree of the Allahabad University in 1892. He practised at the High Court of Allahabad as a Pleader for many years. His services in



PANDIT MADAN MOHAN
MALAVIYA.



Sjt. VALLABHBHAI PATEL
Acting President of the Congress.

the cause of India are many fold. The establishment of the Benares Hindoo University stands to his credit. He single-handed collected one crore of rupees for this great institution. He has been one of the shining lights of the constitutional movement in India. During his political career in life he believed in co-operation and worked on that principle. In last December at the Lahore Congress he moved an amendment to Mahatma Gandhi's resolution of Independence. Mahatma Gandhi has great respect for Pandit Malaviya. He addresses him as elder brother. After the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Malaviya resigned from the Legislative Council. He was preaching boycott of British goods in India and the present success of the boycott movement stands greatly to his credit.

Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel is the Acting President of the Indian National Congress and brother of the ex-Speaker of the

Assembly. He was released in June last. Pandit Motilal Nehru appointed him as the Acting President after his arrest.

Sjt. Jairamdas Doulatram is one of the leaders of Sindh. He enjoys the reputation of being one of the Mahatma's lieutenants. Some months ago he was wounded at a riot in Karachi and was lying in hospital for some time. He was editing *Young India*, Mahatma Gandhi's weekly newspaper.

INDIA RULED BY ORDINANCES

THE Simla lord has issued one after another about seven Ordinances to rule India. He is completely capitulated by the English die-hards in India. Is Lord Irwin still clinging to the foolish idea that the issue of one Ordinance after another will kill the national awakening in India? He has raised a barrage of censorship round India. For a while he might be able to prevent the outside world from getting the accurate news of the civil disobedience movement. He manages to keep Mr. Benn ill and incompletely informed by sending out official news as the whole truth about the situation. Mr. Benn on the other hand reads out the official news sent by the Viceroy before the House of Commons like a school boy. The House of Commons believes this official document knowing that it comes from the man on the spot. We read such official documents every week as Reuter sends them out. When we receive Indian Mail from India we read altogether a different version of the whole political situation in India. The enthusiasm of the people all over the country is remarkable. In spite of the ordinances the struggle goes on more rapidly. Thousands of Volunteers including ladies picket foreign cloth shops and liquor shops. The police takes the law into his own hands and charge them with lathis, as it is impossible for them to arrest so large an army of Volunteers. The Government is letting loose the criminal convicts from jails to make room for political prisoners. Many nationalist papers have been closed down through the application of the Press Ordinance. Mahatma Gandhi's *Navajivan* Press is recently confiscated. Nothing could condemn the Press Ordinance more convincingly than the forfeiture of Mahatma Gandhi's Press. This press used to publish two weekly papers *Young India* and *Nava-*

jiwan. The former was published in English and the latter in Gujarati. Even the worst enemies of Mahatma if he has any dare not contradict that both these papers were conducted on highly moral principles. They have a world wide reputation. These two papers conducted a fight that was clean and honourable. Mahatmajee has propagated the idea of truth and non violence through these papers. These papers have high ideals. They stand for truth and non-violence. Naturally when a rule of lies exists or is deliberately permitted to exist in India by the Government of India to suppress these two papers which stand for truth and non-violence. In their own interest they must do it and they have done it. Could truth be ever hidden in the world? The Simla Lord dares to do it!

WHEN WHITE IS RIGHT

A great deal has been spoken and written about a White South Africa, and we have heard and read much concerning ambitious and schemes to make South Africa "a white man's country." It is true that white stands for purity, but it should also be borne in mind that white is not a colour but rather the synthesis of the several colours of the solar spectrum. Just as in music each note of an octave has its place and value, so is it with colour, and in both each primary has its subordinate shades or tones. Humanity rightly regarded, is not very much other than a beam or ray of Light manifesting through a spectrum, and so expressing itself objectively as the several "varnas" or colours; but such differentiation is not a matter of physical colour or complexion of the skin. Rather is it colour or tone in regard to "complexions" of consciousness expressed as ideals, intellect and emotions. To the trained eye or ear the whole is a symphony of colour or sound and each note of tone a necessary contributing factor.

But the trained observer likewise detects discords are but the latter disturb the general harmony, and discords are but the effect of inadequate or insufficient expression of some of the integers or over-emphasis of some one or more of the others. Harmony results from balanced and appropriate combination; discord from its opposite. Humanity is engaged in learning the lesson of

self-knowledge, and that knowledge involves an understanding of Mankind both as a whole and in its constituent parts. Each part needs to learn its place and function in the greater whole to which it belongs and to adapt itself to the making of the particular contribution expected of it. Discords—clashes and strifes, with their inevitable concomitants of pain and suffering—will cease only with a recognition that sacrificial service of that greater self is the law of harmony in the field of human evolution and endeavour. A South Africa in which any one of the parts allow racial or class selfishness to usurp its function of contributory duty must fail to produce a white South Africa in the real sense. "White is Right" may come to express a truth, but only after Right and Righteousness will have become synonymous. The greedy scramble for so-called rights arises only because the importance and spiritual significance of Duty have been lost sight of. Someday in the history of our long climb from animal-man to human proper, we shall perceive that these so much prized rights are fictitious, are a delusion, and in very truth a snare, also. Someday when the little self-seeking "I" shall have been deposed in favour of the impersonal Self, it will be seen that the only real right to which any of us has just claim and title is that of contributing ones share of duty to the general store of well-being.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore On Indian Crisis

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore made a statement on the situation in India at the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends in London. In the course of it he said:—

Many years ago Mahatma Gandhi came to Santiniketan. I asked him to explain to me what he meant by Swaraj which he claimed for India. He did not give a direct answer to the question, but simply said that he had a genuine respect for the British people. My interpretation of this seemingly irrelevant reply is that at the time he had the idea that to sever India's political connection with this people was not absolutely necessary for the sake of her self-respect, if our relationship could be mutually set right. Evidently he was dreaming of a scheme of freedom in which the British nation could participate, so that it could become a moral triumph for both sides.

Mahatma Gandhi has lost his long-lingering faith in our Government, and according to him the path of mutual understanding is hopelessly closed. This has happened in spite of the fact that our present Viceroy is the best type of English gentleman, which according to me means the best specimen of

humanity. But the fact is that personality has very little room in Indian Government, especially when some minor pathworks in a routine system are useless and fundamental changes are necessary in order to restore the centre of gravity which is threatened.

India is being ruled by a complicated machine. The mechanics who drive it have a long training in power, but no tradition of human sympathy, which is superfluous in a workshop. They are incapable of understanding the living India owing to the paternal mentality of bureaucracy, which simplifies its task and manages an alien race from a distance through various switches and handles and wheels and hardly ever through human touch. It produces perfect results so long as the subject race meekly behaves like dead material yielding to the machine made law or order, offering no resistance when exploited. The people who is morally responsible for this flawlessly standardised rule lives across a far away sea, is satisfied at the uncomplaining silence brooding over a vast country, at a piece which is uncreative like that of a barren waste, and clings to a comfortable faith in the man on the spot and to the proud privilege of a first-class Power in the West.

Europe's Quickening Touch

In the meanwhile Europe's own quickening touch has gradually awakened the dormant life of India. But the machine manufactured over a century ago, in its stolid indifference still ignores it, and in a blind insensitive efficiency tries to make mincemeat of the newly risen humanity of India, for, alas! it knows nothing better. The expert in the engine room is indignant to find that the time honoured system does no longer produce law and order, and he becomes more and more red in the face and dangerously furious.

What Mahatmaji had tried to do was to request the expert not to identify himself completely with the machine but to remember that he is also a man.

I know at this moment there are thousands, in my country who are suffering without any chance of redress, even those who do not deserve it. For the machine government lets loose its fury of wholesale suspicion against risks which its blindness cannot define. But I hate to indulge in self-pity on an occasion like this. Conflicts between man and the machine have often happened in various shapes in human history. It is a desperate struggle, and man defeats the machine not always by his success but by his sufferings.

I deliberately use the word machine, for it is not your great people who is behind this fight. I myself have a firm faith in what is human in your nation, and the credit is yours for this very struggle for freedom that has been made possible to-day in India. The courage that has been aroused in our country, the courage to suffer, carries an unconscious admiration for your own people in its very challenge. At heart it is a moral challenge, being sure of a moral response in your mind when our claim is made real to you by our sufferings. And I dare ask you to contradict me when I say that such sufferings have won your admiration, and that you secretly feel small by the enormities that you allow to be perpetrated in a state of panic upon a people who are no match for you in their power to return your blows adequately or retaliate your insults, for you cannot belie your real nature and all that has made you great.

Being sure of it, Mahatma Gandhi had the temerity to ask you to take our side and help us to gain the greatest of all human rights, freedom and to free yourself from the one-sided relationship of exploitation, which is parasitism, surely causing gradual degeneration in your people without your knowing it.

Interdependence

There can be no absolute independence for man. Interdependence is in his nature and it is his highest goal. Let the best minds of the East and West join hands and establish a truly human bond of interdependence between England and India in which their interests may never clash, and they may gain an abiding strength of life through a spirit of mutual service without having to bear a perpetual burden of slavery on one side and that of a diseased responsibility on the other which is demoralising.

In its relation to the Eastern peoples the aspect of Western character which has come upper-most is not only insulting to us but to the West itself. Nothing could have been more unfortunate in the history of man than this. For all meetings of men should reveal some great truth which is worthy of a permanent memorial, such as, for instance, had been the case of India's meeting with China in the ancient time.

But what is most unfortunate for us in Asia is the fact that the advent of the West into our continent has been accompanied not only by science, which is truth and therefore welcome, but by an impious use of truth for the violent purpose of self-seeking which converts it into a disruptive force. It is producing in the countries with which it is in contact a diseased mentality that refuses moral ideals, considering them to be unworthy of those who aspire to be rulers of men and who must furiously cultivate their fitness to survive.

Philosophy Of Tigers

That such a philosophy of survival, fit for the world of tigers, cannot but bring a fatal catastrophe in the human world they do not see. They become violently angry at those who protest against it, fearing that such a protest might weaken in them the animal that should be allowed to survive for eternity.

Let us, the dreamers of the East and West, keep our faith firm in the life that creates and not in the machine that constructs—in the power that hides its force and blossoms in beauty, and not in the power that bares its arms and chuckles at its capacity to make itself obnoxious. Let us know that the machine is good when it helps, but not so when it exploits life.—*Manchester Guardian*

News Of Independence Struggle In India

Afridis March On Peshawar

Peshawar, Aug. 7.—Troops have moved out against the Afridis, who are 5,000 strong and are concentrating on the west of the Khajuri Plain, which is 15 miles from Peshawar.—*Reuter*.

Congress New President

Bombay, Aug. 7.—Gandhi's latest successor as head of the Civil Disobedience Movement, Maulana Abdulkalamazad, was nominated as President of the Congress before Patel himself was sent to gaol. All the women members of the Congress who were arrested during the week-end have refused to pay the fines imposed by the Magistrate, preferring prison. Patel was also sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

Four women, including a daughter of Vallabhbhai Patel, have received similar sentences.—*Reuter*.

British Money Boycott

Calcutta, Aug.—The Viceroy's decision in granting permission to the two Nehrus to go to Poona to meet Gandhi has commended itself generally to men

of goodwill. It is a great pity, therefore, that other Congress firebrands are manifesting a disposition to wreck the peace negotiations.

The latest move of Congress is its determination to have its own currency. It is reported that Congress 10 rupee gold pieces, few in number to begin with, will soon be in circulation, while smaller coins will be minted as soon as the necessary machinery, which has been ordered, arrives from abroad—probably from Germany. It is reckoned that already over 1,000,000 letters, postcards and packets bearing Congress emblems and boycott stamps, besides postal stamps, have passed through the hands of the Post Office in the last couple of months.

The Government of India's measures to suppress this form of propaganda are expected to be enforced on Saturday, after the usual notification in the Gazette of India. The measures include the grant of authority to postal officials to destroy such letters and packets.

Far-reaching Decision By Congress

Bombay, Tuesday.—The Congress Working Committee, which sat in secret last week to consider the intensification of the civil resistance campaign, has published resolutions directing the Congress organisations to boycott foreign cloth, British goods and Government loans, also to boycott the legislatures and Government officials.

The committee also orders the withdrawal of deposits from the Post Office Saving Banks and the withdrawal of support of British insurance, banking and shipping concerns.

The committee also re-affirms the resolution passed at Allahabad on June 7, recommending Indians employed in police and military forces to refuse to obey orders when dealing with the civil disobedience movement.—*Reuter*.

Criminals Set Free

Calcutta, Aug. 6.—Within the last few days the Bengal Government has released unconditionally 83 ordinary convicts from the Midnapore prison before their terms of imprisonment expired. Another 25 have been released from Jessore Gaol, and there have been releases from other gaols in the Province also.

The premature release of such convicts to make room for political prisoners is a perilous precedent, though it may be necessitated by the peculiar circumstances. Last night complete mob rule prevailed at a special meeting of the Calcutta Corporation to elect an Alderman—a factional affair—and the Corporation councillor and officials were compelled to look on helplessly while almost 1,000 rowdies rushed the gates, entered the Council Chamber, and abused and hustled the people at will.

Figures in Gandhi caps were reinforced by hundreds of men from the gallery and streets, and took possession of the councillors' vacant seats. It was one of the most amazing scenes in the history of the Calcutta Corporation, which at present is a Swarajist body.

Dr. Malan Reviled In India

Calcutta, Aug. 5.—With the tumult in Bombay over the present and only the communal riots in the towns of Sind and the United Provinces to maintain excitement, it is not surprising that, with the arrival of the South African newspapers, ardent Congress supporters and Congress organs are turning their fire on the alleged hardships to which South African Indians are being subjected by the Union Government.

According to blazing headlines and editorials in the Calcutta and Bombay and upcountry Indian Press South African Indians are in a sorry plight. The Union's attitude towards India and Indians is described as most invidious. Dr. Malan is reviled

for his Transvaal Indian Bill. When comparisons are being drawn, it is pointed out that the treatment accorded to Indians has been better on the whole in those countries where British influence predominates than where the old Dutch tradition prevails. Nobody, however, seems to realise that Natal's attitude towards Indian settlers was not always so brotherly and that it has had the grace to change its outlook.

Even *The Statesman* (Calcutta), in airing the European viewpoint, and sympathetically inclined to the South African Indians' cause, declares that the passage of Dr. Malan's measure would be unworthy of a Dominion Legislature.

Durban Municipal Elections

The following is the result of the Durban Municipal elections. The results were announced by the Mayor, the Rev. A. Lamont, as follows:—

WARD I.			
Mr. P. Osborn	...	...	1,327
Captain J. Rainnie	...	...	1,315
Mr. C. F. Peens	...	...	226
Majority	...	...	12
WARD II.			
Mr. G. Reyburn	...	...	974
Mr. S. M. Pettersen	...	...	498
Majority	...	...	476
WARD III.			
Mr. L. I. McCafferty (unopposed).			
WARD IV.			
Mrs. E. A. Benson (unopposed).			
WARD V.			
Mr. W. Wanless	...	...	1,342
Mr. H. E. Sadler	...	...	568
Majority	...	...	774
WARD VI.			
Dr. H. E. Arbuckle	...	...	1,061
Mr. W. H. J. S. Torgius	...	...	331
Majority	...	...	730

[We heartily congratulate Messrs. P. Osborn, G. Reyburn and W. Wanless who have been fortunate to win in keen contest. We requested the Durban Indian voters to vote for these three candidates. The officials of the Natal Indian Congress approached the voters and requested them to vote for these candidates. The result will gratify the voters. The elected members have a duty to perform to the Indian community. We hope they will stand by the Indian community and do justice.

Ed. I.O.]

Welcome Home

Durban Indians gave a warm welcome to Miss Gunaruthnam Naidoo (Durban) and Miss Beryle Peters (Maritzburg), two medical students from Edinburgh on leave, who arrived at Durban by the mail boat yesterday morning.

As they are the first among Natal Indian women to proceed overseas for a qualifying course in medicine their university career and progress are followed with more than ordinary interest by their compatriots throughout the Province.

Our Letter From India

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT)

Calcutta, June 26.

The Round Table Conference

Opinion is gaining ground in Simla that the authorities are determined to boycott the Congress leaders so that the personnel of the proposed Round Table Conference would be representative of non-congress political thought besides various special interests.

One would admit that the present developments in this country are due to the call of the Indian National Congress under the dictatorship of Mahatma Gandhi and "to exclude Mahatma Gandhi from the conference would be like enacting Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left-out." Munshi Iswar Saran once an enthusiastic upholder of the Round Table Conference has very truly pointed out that one may disagree with Mahatma Gandhi's politics, but it is bare honesty to admit that he is the idol of the nation. There are many eminent men in India but there is only one Gandhi. He is India's representative before the world. He is one man in India who evokes in millions of Indians, men as well as women, feelings of love and fearlessness, service and sacrifice and elevates them to a higher plane of consciousness. Truly he is the beloved of the people. He is the symbol of the national urge for freedom. With Gandhiji in internment, no Indian can have the heart to go to London to participate in the Conference. The Indian national self-respect at the time of the Simon Commission was vindicated but on this occasion it must not be pocketed. Not only Mahatma Gandhi is in internment but hundreds and hundreds of patriots are in jails. There are not a few who are being treated in hospitals for injuries received during the present campaign. Their methods may be open to objection of one kind or another but their patriotism is above reproach. India cannot send her representatives to London for the purpose of negotiation while Mahatma and other patriots are in confinement behind prison bars. The presence of foreign journalists in the country is positive proof of the fact that the eyes of the civilised world at the present moment are turned towards India. The free nations of the world will not be able to understand how a nation can send its representatives to London in the existing unhappy conditions. Furthermore, the world knows Gandhi as it knows no other Indian. What will it say of the Indians if they go to the Conference having the mightiest and sanliest living Indian in confinement?

"The time has come" says Munshi Iswar Saran in conclusion, "when every town in the country should declare that (1) the release of Mahatmaji and other political prisoners, (2) the repeal of the ordinances and the abandonment of the policy of repression and (3) an authoritative statement that a Dominion constitution suited to India will be framed at the Conference. These are the essential conditions of India's participation in it. If Government are unwilling to satisfy public opinion, we should proclaim to the world that we have no confidence in this Conference and we do not want it. We should set up such an agitation against the Conference as will arrest the attention of the world."

Even the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri who is considered to be a moderate of moderates, pointed out the other day to the members of the House of Commons that "Mr. Gandhi was undoubtedly the one leader who could truthfully be said to represent India's determined attitude to win Swaraj." Mr. Sastri believed that if only the British Government would make a frank declaration that it was intended to give India Dominion Status at the

earliest moment, Gandhiji would accept that declaration and throw in his weight and influence on the side of settlement. He would then exert himself and would be able to rally even the Extremists who were now clamouring for full and complete independence.

Mr. Sastri was also of opinion that preliminary to any serious arrangement regarding the Round Table Conference, there must be a general amnesty. Gandhiji, must be released and all others also recently arrested for participation in the civil disobedience movement.

A similar suggestion was also put forward by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, at a mass meeting at Lahore last week. Referring to reports that the Government had intended to ignore the Congress so far as representation at the Round Table Conference was concerned, Pandit Malaviya said that would be the surest way of making the Conference ineffectual. The Indian National Congress was the one organised political body which could speak for the country. It alone could deliver the goods. No solution of the constitutional problems could be final or satisfactory to which Mr. Gandhi and the National Congress were not a party.

He himself would not think of participating without Mr. Gandhi. It would be a sin for any Indian to go to the Conference in existing circumstances.

While the Liberals are busy finding a way out of the present deadlock, the extremists are not less anxious to arrive at an honourable agreement with the Government for the peaceful solution of the present impasse. Early this week, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Acting President of the Congress, in the course of a statement to a special representative of the Daily Herald, set forth the terms on which he was prepared to recommend the acceptance of the invitation to the Round Table Conference. The Pandit says that if the terms of reference are to be left open and if we are expected to go to London to argue the case for Dominion Status, I should decline. If we were made clear, however, that the Conference would meet to frame a constitution for a free India, subject to such adjustments of our mutual relations as are required by the special needs of conditions in India and our past association, I, for one, would be disposed to recommend the Congress to accept the invitation to participate in the Conference. We must be masters of our own household but we are ready to agree to reasonable terms for this period of the transfer of power from British Administration in India to responsible Indian Government. We must meet the British people to discuss these terms as a nation to nation and on equal footing.

We have no wish to interfere with the liberties of the British Parliament. Pandit Motilal told the representative. What the British Parliament does is no concern of ours. We wished them to assure us that the Government and the Viceroy were sincere in their promises.

Continuing Pandit Motilal said that if the invitation were accepted, the Congress which even the Liberals admitted to be the greatest political force in the country, must have a predominant voice in the representation of the British India as is justified by its strength and influence. He refused to admit the exaggerated claims of large numbers of mumbroom parties which appeared during the past two years which in spite of their close association with the Government had neither following nor influence in the country.

Bohning Mr. Gandhi's now famous phrase, he asked for signs of "a change of heart" on the part of the British administrators of India as an earnest of their sincerity. If these terms were conceded and a wide measure of amnesty for political prisoners were granted, he believed that a political settlement was possible.

Transvaal Indian Congress Wish God-speed To Gen. Hertzog

Johannesburg, Thursday.

The Prime Minister, General Hertzog, joined the Union Limited express train at Johannesburg this morning en route for England, where he will attend the Imperial Conference. He will travel by the Arundel Castle, which is due to leave Capetown tomorrow afternoon.

General Hertzog left his coach for a few minutes to receive a garland from the members of the Transvaal Indian Congress. The garland was presented by Mr. I. B. Patel, treasurer of the South African Indian Congress. The Prime Minister conversed with the Indians for a short time, and, after shaking each by the hand, returned to his coach to receive personal friends.

H.M. The King And The Round Table Conference

The British Parliament has been prorogued till October 28. His Majesty the King on this occasion delivered a speech. Referring to the Round Table Conference he said he prays earnestly that a spirit of mutual trust and friendship will unite all races and creeds in India and the representatives of both Britain and India in the discharge of the responsibilities which the Conference will impose upon them.

What India Thinks

Please Go Away And Let Us Live Peacefully

The Ex-Speaker Mr. V. J. Patel, addressing a great gathering at the Esplanade Maidan in Bombay denounced the rule in India by Ordinances. The British law and authority have failed in India, said he.

"India is ours," Mr. Patel went on, "The British have been here for 150 years. They have ruled and civilised us. Now we are asking them to go away and leave us alone to live peacefully."

"I had often told our people that Lord Irwin was a well-meaning and kind-hearted man, but now I must admit I was mistaken in my opinion of him. There is only one more Ordinance left for Lord Irwin. He should pass an Ordinance declaring the Congress illegal."

Mr. Patel made an appeal to students to suspend their studies for the time being and join the struggle for freedom. "This is a unique and novel battle we are waging. God is with you. Truth is with you. Justice is with you. If we do not succeed then we shall have to doubt the existence of God." (Applause.)

Bombay Congress Bulletin

The following account published in the Bombay Congress Bulletin will be read with interest by our readers who read versions from the side of the Government. An impartial reader ought to know the views of the other side also to form an opinion for himself.

"The tentacles of repression are closing round the Congress organisation. It is a matter of few days before every Congressman is declared to be an out-law. We await that moment with joy. It shall be the greatest vindication of the truth to which we have consecrated our lives. For a Government whose law is the killing of children, the molestation of women and murder of unarmed men, can only add justice to our cause and sanctity to our lives by declaring us out-laws.

"But we put it to the world whether the fishy art of sneaking cowardice can go further than the way the present Government behaves. Where it has the right to arrest, it loves to beat, to fracture arms, to break skulls and splinter ribs. Where it presumes to protect, it sends out its soldiers to kill at random and to imprison without reason and now where courage would have dictated a policy of openly declaring the Congress organisation as unlawful, they are resorting to every mean stratagem to achieve their end and yet avoid the honest and the gentlemanly course.

"There is not a Congressman who has not broken the law of the British Government in India and yet they pick and choose, arrest and assault at their erratic will. But behind it all the purpose is clear, and that is to cripple the Congress... There is hardly a village or city in the land which has not offered up at least one man for Government victimisation. And yet with every arrest the movement has gained the added momentum. And no human agency can to-day stop the onward march of the Nation to freedom. We invite the Government to do its worst as we shall offer up our best and noblest."

'Exemplary Behaviour Of The Police'

We reproduce this article from *Young India* written by Mirabai alias Miss Slade. She is one of the members of Mahatma Gandhi's Ashram:—

During these days when the authorities in Whitehall and Simla are never tired of extolling the behaviour of the police, I thought I would go and see for myself how this exemplary behaviour has affected the Satyagraha at Dharasana.

I reached Bulsar at mid-day on 6th; just as the wounded were being brought in there from the 'raid' on that morning. Many of them were being carried on stretchers, others could just struggle from the motors to the hospital wards.

"The beating and torturing has been most merciless to-day!" said the doctors and attendants. I proceeded round the rooms to visit the Satyagrahis more closely, and to take notes from the doctor as to the nature of their wounds.

Literally I felt my skin to creep and my hair to stand on end as I saw those brave men, who, but a few hours previously, had gone forth absolutely unarmed, vowed to non-violence, now lying here before me battered and beaten from head to foot.

Here was a young man with his shoulders and buttocks so beaten that he could not be on his back, yet his arms and sides were so damaged as well, that he did not know how to turn for rest. There was another gasping for breath with his chest badly battered, and nearby was a tall, strong, Mussalman lying utterly helpless.

"What are his damages?" I asked.

"He has received fearful blows on the stomach, the back and right leg," they replied. "Also his

testicles are both swollen having been badly squeezed by the police."

We went on upstairs. Here my attention was attracted by the sound of sharp drawn, whistling breathing, intermixed with heart-rending groans. It was a young man writhing in agony. He kept catching at his stomach, and at intervals he would suddenly sit up as if he were going to go mad with the pain.

"He has had a deadly blow right on the abdomen," they said; and he has been vomiting blood. He has also had his testicles severely squeezed, which has shattered his nerves."

They fetched ice, and applied it to the head and damaged parts, which gradually soothed him.

And on we went from this house to another, where we found still more and more wounded.

Everyone to whom I talked gave me the same description of fiendish beating, torturing, thrusting and dragging, and one and all spoke with burning horror of the foul abuse and unspakable blasphemy which the police and their Indian and English superiors had poured upon them.

So this is some of the exemplary behavior of the police, of which the English lords and gentlemen are so proud. Do they not know what is going on? No, that surely cannot be, for such high-placed English officials as the Commissioner N. D. and the Collector of Surat have been all along on the field of action.

What, then, has become of English honour, English justice?

No amount of argument can excuse what they have been doing at Dharasana.

The object of the Satyagrahis has been a small breach of the Salt Laws (which are universally admitted to be unjust). The Satyagrahis were ready to accept unflinchingly the legal punishment of arrest and imprisonment, but the authorities thought it preferable to employ other methods. Then, on 22nd May, perhaps to try and lend a shade of legality to their actions, the authorities brought into force Section 144, making any gathering of more than four persons an unlawful assembly.

With this emergency law in force, it might be argued, by the official world, that it is justifiable to try and disperse a collection of people by *lathi* charges, if they refuse to go away when ordered, even though the individuals are absolutely non-violent, and known not to be going to hurt a single person.

That much brutal argument one might understand from their point of view.

But nothing could excuse the manner in which they have actually dealt with the Satyagrahis.

Who could dare to uphold as a means of dispersing a non-violent gathering

1. *Lathi* blows on head, chest, stomach, joints;
2. Thrusts with *lathis* in private parts, abdominal regions, chest, etc;
3. Stripping of men naked before beating;
4. Tearing off of loin-cloth and thrusting of stick into anus;
5. Pressing and squeezing of the testicles till a man becomes unconscious;
6. Dragging of wounded men by legs or arms, often beating them the while;
7. Throwing of wounded men into thorn hedges or into salt water;
8. Riding of horses over men as they lie or sit on the ground;
9. Thrusting of pins and thorns into men's bodies sometimes even when they are unconscious; and
10. Beating of men after they had become unconscious?

And other vile things too many to relate, besides foul language and blasphemy, calculated to hurt as much as possible, the most sacred feelings of the Satyagrahis.

The whole affair is one of the most devilish, cold-blooded and unjustifiable in the history of nations. India has now realised the true nature of the British Raj, and with that realisation the Raj is doomed.

Stop Repression

Warning By Mr. Sastri And Mrs. Besant

The *Hindu* publishes the following special cable from London:—

LONDON, July 4.

Nearly a thousand attended an enthusiastic demonstration at Friends' Hall, London, to-night, organised by the Commonwealth of India League, Mr. Peter Freeman presiding.

Mr. Andrews described the horrors of the present repression and said the British people must demand that these things being done in their name should cease.

Mr. Brockway said unless steps were taken in next few weeks to arrange for a Conference with co-operation on equal terms the clash would become severer and if the Round Table Conference met at all it would be entirely unrepresentative and do more harm than good. There should be an immediate amnesty and the Government should accept the principal of full self-government as the basis of the Conference.

Sir Albion Banerji said not only was amnesty essential but Government must emphatically declare the previous promises of Dominion Status will be definitely and completely fulfilled, subject to reasonable safeguards.

Mr. Erulkar said the amnesty must include the Garhwalis, who had proved themselves true soldiers. The Conference would only be another test of gigantic jugglery if the same mentality as the Simon Commission prevailed.

While Dr. Besant was making a passionate appeal for India's freedom and quoting labour promises, Mr. MacDonald's name was received with cries, "Despicable Traitor" from a small section of the audience.

Dr. Besant said broken promises had almost destroyed India's faith in Britain's word. Unless India's demand was heeded the worst danger feared would be revolution or hunger with terrible consequences.

Mr. Marley, M. P. appealed for workers on behalf of India's cause believing it was still possible to find a peaceful solution of the present deadlock in preference to methods of violence.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri said no proposals which did not satisfy the educated classes had any chance of acceptance and any lesser scheme was foredoomed to failure. The Conference could not succeed unless it had the support of acknowledged leaders of Indian freedom. He entirely agreed with those, who demanded amnesty for political offenders and that the Conference should include men in command of Nationalist forces.

The meeting was enlivened by frequent interruptions by a group of students, who scoffed at Dominion Status and loudly demanded Independence and wanted to move a resolution.

The proceedings threatened to become disorderly but serious trouble was averted by the Chairman's tact and the overwhelming support of the audience.

Sir J. Simon's Regrets

Conservatives and Liberals joined hands during the past few days in persistent efforts to induce the Government to reverse the previous decision and appoint a member of the Simon Commission to the round-table conference in regard to India.

The efforts culminated in the House of Commons in Sir Austen Chamberlain reading a remarkable letter from Sir John Simon, expressing regret at the Government's decision, but acquiescing in it, because he declined personally to be made the subject of a wrangle.

Sir John Simon states: "I can understand by the Government's arrangement that it hoped to attract some Indian elements which otherwise might not be willing to come," and concludes: "If the conference succeeds, nobody will be more pleased than I. If it fails nobody can say I contributed to its failure. Anyway an opportunity will still remain for the members for the Commission to participate in the discussions which must follow."

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

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SUFFERING IN SILENCE.

What Many Women Endure.

"I feel utterly wretched, but I must carry on," says many a weary woman to herself. Few men realise the number of women who go through the day suffering actual pain. If a man had to endure as much, he would stay at home and let his work take care of itself. But there is nobody to do the work of the wife and mother—she is indispensable; so she works on and suffers in silence.

In nearly every case her suffering takes the form of backache and pains in the side and loins, with headache and breathlessness. She probably cares little whether she eats or not. Her blood is so thin and poor that it cannot deal with food, and therefore the stomach does not grow hungry.

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