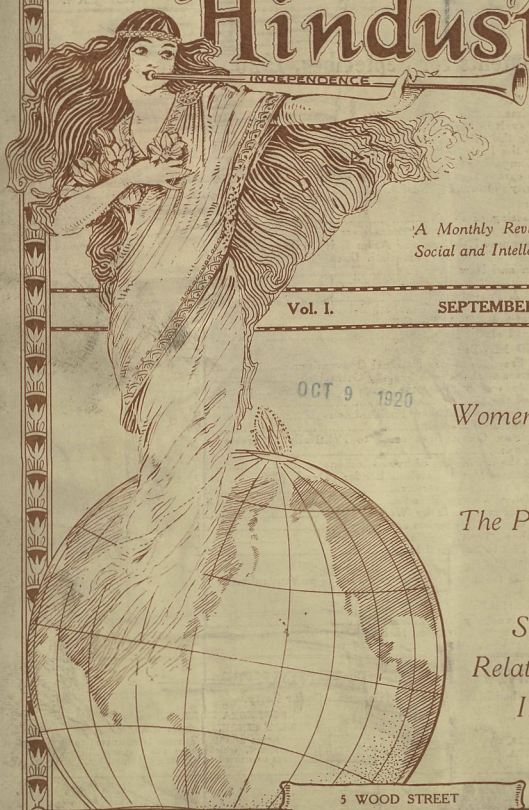


The Independent Hindustan



*A Monthly Review of Political, Economic,
Social and Intellectual Independence of India*

Vol. I.

SEPTEMBER, 1920

No. I.

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Women and New India

The Passing of Persia

*Sino-Japanese
Relations and Asian
Independence*

Two Dollars the Year

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A MONTHLY REVIEW

of Political, Economic, Social and Intellectual Independence of India.

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VOL. I.

SAN FRANCISCO, SEPTEMBER, 1920.

No. 1.

:: Editorials ::

Our Aims

ACTUATED by a definite, determined and deliberate purpose, we are before you to interpret and inform concerning revolutionary and progressive spirit which is guiding the destiny of India.

It is our sincere desire that no pains should be spared to acquaint you with the Indian affairs in a manner that will enable you to formulate your own opinion for the guidance of your own action.

Complexity and variety of problems that exist today in the world-politics are more or less connected with the question of India. Upon the sacred soil of India stands British imperialism, like an octopus, firm and resolute, in order to paralyse the process of human progress and civilisation. There it grows, sucking the blood of India, to disturb the world's peace, progress and prosperity. Far West and Far East of Europe and Asia are determinedly being destroyed and desolated. And key to the life of the British Empire is still safe in India.

Independence of India will lead to disintegration of the British Empire, upon the ruins of which will rise new nations with new hopes, new aspirations and new aims.

Breathes there a man or a woman with heart so dried and intellect so cracked who never rejoices over the prospect of a glorious day when the Banner of Freedom will be unfurled over Ireland, India, Persia, Egypt, China, Russia—over the suppressed and oppressed world?

We fully recognise the difficulty you may have to face in solving these perplexing problems. That task we have taken in our own hands. We want to be assured, however, that your source of information is not obstructed by the ensnaring trap of British propaganda, which we know you detest. And it is our earnest wish to draw your attention to the actions which may directly or indirectly contribute to perpetuate and propagate British imperialistic ideas that may threaten your own institutions.

What greater aim can we have than to enlist the co-operation of the thinking and liberty-loving people of the world in spreading ideas through the program of education and enlightenment about the equality of opportunity to the millions

who are struggling and suffering under the blood and iron regime of the British?

Appreciating the value of kinship of spirit, we express our hearty greetings to you all.

Irish Revolt in India

THE recent revolt of the Irish soldiers stationed in the Punjab, India, beckons a new era. Their example will certainly inspire confidence in the minds of the people of India that the Irish soldiers are now realising the importance of co-operation between the two great peoples who alone can break the hegemony of the British Empire.

We commend the action of the Irish soldiers who have laid down their arms in expressing their sympathy with the gallant Sinn Feiners who are sacrificing their lives for the cause of the Republic of Ireland.

Refusal to fight would have been far more effective, however, in the progress of revolutionary movements, had the Irish soldiers taken decisive action as a protest against the inhuman Punjab massacre and atrocities.

The old imperialistic game has been to set one people against another. And the sooner the imperialism-infested people understand this, the nearer will be the emancipation of their countries from alien control.

Experience proves that single-handed activities do not lead very far. A year ago Rowlatt Bills were introduced to root out the revolutionary activities in India. Latest is the Irish Coercion Bill to throttle the rising Republic of Ireland. All these will go on again and again, unless the people of the affected countries take the matter in their own hands.

What is needed is co-operation and co-ordination. We urge the Irish people to see that "shilling in a glass of beer" does not get any more Irish soldiers to shed their blood for perpetuation of the menacing imperialism. And we urge the people of India to take immediate action so that not a single Indian is sent to Ireland, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, Armenia, Persia, Afghanistan, China and Russia to fight for the British interests.

Indo-Irish entente will be an effective weapon in destroying the disturbing British imperialism.

Rousing the British Public

THERE are some good-intentioned and sincere Britishers who say that India should spend her fortune to rouse the public opinion in England. In other words, they ask the people of India to pay the penalty for being robbed and exploited by the British.

The decent type of English men and women should bear this in mind: That it is their own people who are committing unlicensed criminalities. If they are desirous of condoning their actions, let the English people who have stolen wealth out of India spend a part of it to rouse their own countrymen.

What, after all, is the effect of agitation in England on behalf of India?

The vast majority of the people in England are slaves. Caste-system and King-worshipping have saddled the vitality and intelligence of the nation. While the Kaiser is sawing wood, George R. I. (robber of India) remains the symbol of imperialism. Dyer, the cowardly murderer of unarmed men, women, and children, is yet unharnessed and hailed as a hero by the British, excepting a few radical labor elements. Such people always intentionally close their ears and shut their eyes, lest they know the truth.

The recent action of Labor in England in protesting against war may not be camouflaged diplomacy. But the fact remains that they are reactionary conservatives. They follow the path to least resistance and desire to be benefited by the experience of others. They watch, from a safe distance, Russia fight all the imperialists of the world. And if the doctrines, principles and purposes of Soviet Russia succeed, they will make an effort to make an experiment.

Not a word is uttered when the foreign departments go into the hands of those trained imperialists like Curzon, Churchill and Milner, and silent acquiescence is given to their decisions.

Until the British Labor in an organized way can seize control of the government of England by eliminating kingship and the resultant slavery, they shall be judged by the actual facts.

The British inconsistencies are indeed methodical, and can well be understood by all those who are familiar with their national psychology.

It is therefore waste of time and energy to tell about the unbearable conditions in India to a few spectators who never control the government. It must not be forgotten that British aristocracy never serves as ordinary soldiers in the army who commit murder and rapine in India, Ireland and elsewhere.

Let the people of India perfect their plans right at home and carry on extensive educational publicity in every nook and corner of the world excepting England. No alarm clock will then be needed to wake up the British public.

Paving the Path to Palestine

BEING exiles at home and abroad, we can fully appreciate the feeling of those Jewish people who have been torn asunder for centuries. They have patiently borne suffering and oppression.

The people with keen intellect and fine culture who have contributed to world-civilisation unsurpassed by any other race cannot but have legitimate aspirations to look back in finding out wherefrom they came and where they stand today.

The fact that the mother who gave birth to Jesus was a Jewess did not prevent the so-called peace-believing Christians from torturing and tyrannising the Jewish people in every clime and in every land.

Their fineness of character, sweet disposition, and warmth of feeling have shed rays of cheerfulness on many hearts. Their profound philosophers have directed the thoughts of mankind into various channels of activities.

We can not therefore but have sympathy and interest in the efforts of such people to build up a home-land of their own. But as they are planning to be under the protection of the British, we, who have been forced to associate painfully with them over one hundred and fifty years, are in a better position to say a few words of warning as to what bliss it would be to be in the shadow of Britain.

One of the three main routes to India from Europe is through Egypt and here the natural protection of exposed frontiers is new Palestine.

Extension of boundaries is necessary from strategic point of view for continuation of British rule in India. For this very reason, before blood-stained hands were washed, sovereignty of Persia and Egypt was usurped and Mesopotamia grabbed. England has intentionally created a puppet king, Hedjaj, absolutely unknown to the world, to set him against the French contention in Syria. And the same Hedjaj protected by English militarism will work against the Jews in the name of the Arabs. The British will complacently watch various racial difficulties and conflicts which are confronting the Jewish people in New Palestine, and let them guard the gate to India.

We scent also the poisonous motives in the decision of the British to seize the opportunity of the Zionist movement, which should concern all those who believe in freedom.

Theirs is a bankrupt nation. Suppression of the growing and active revolution in India and Egypt and Ireland needs money. Appealing to the idealism of the Jewish people who are dreaming of a new home, the British intend to secure sympathy so that the Jewish financiers may come

forward to dole out dollars to save the fallen Empire—the so-called protector of Palestine.

The fact that the Jewish statesmen should carefully note is that as soon as the East India Company obtained, through fraud and forgery, the fiscal administration of India, India's sovereignty was gone. Recent example is the financial and military control of Persia. What guarantee is there that sovereignty of Palestine would be restored to the Jewish people?

Dr. Max Nordau says:

"In any case British administrators will have to run the country for 15 or 20 years. Whether they will then turn it over to us in accordance with the terms of the mandate depends entirely on ourselves. We positively must show that we have courage, constructive ideas, and administrative capacity."

The Jewish people do not lack those qualities,

and withdrawal of the mandate will not depend on them. Precedent after precedent predicts that the Britishers will find ample pretexts to prove that protectorate over Palestine should permanently be retained by chauvinistic British Empire.

If Dr. Nordau thinks that financial help in building up new home-land should come from the Jews of America, where the Jewish people are far better situated and better treated, why not let America promulgate a policy that no power should disturb New Palestine and hold any mandate over her?

Besides, if the successes of the Soviet Russia continue as the press dispatches indicate, there would hardly be any necessity for mandatory power over a Jewish State. Because, whatever might be the philosophy of Lenin and Trotsky, it could be expected that they would extend cordial hands to New Palestine founded on progressive principles.

Bala Gangadhar Tilak

WE ANNOUNCE with the deepest regret the sudden death of Lokmanya Bala Gangadhar Tilak, the leading Nationalist and Statesman of India.

In him India, during this period of national awakening and upheaval, has lost a guiding spirit, who with his keen intellect, clear vision and constructive ability could unify and forge the forces to attain National Freedom. His loss cannot be measured in words.



MR. BALA GANGADHAR TILAK

Mr. Tilak for over forty years had been sacrificing and giving services with unflinching devotion for the cause of education, industry and

freedom. He was the idol of the masses. No other person had been able to command the universal respect and honor from all classes of people that he did. Since the days of Sivaji the Great, he was the first to consolidate the Mahratta forces.

Mr. Tilak was a founder of and professor in the Fergusson College, Poona, India, and a founder and editor of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, the two leading national weeklies in the Bombay Presidency. He established *Paisa Fund*, i. e., funds to be raised by contribution of one cent in order that every man, woman, and child may feel that they are part and parcel of the national movement. With this fund which amounts to thousands of dollars at present, various activities of national importance have been carried on.

Because of his political activities, he was subjected to inhuman treatment at the hands of the British and sent to rigorous imprisonment for three terms, ranging from three to six years in each term. Hardships and cruelties impaired his health and hastened his death at the age of 64.

He was the brain of the All-India Home Rule League, and unquestionably the most revolutionary in the left wing of the Constitutionalists, represented in the Indian National Congress. Recently he organized the Congress Democratic Party in order to establish democratic principles in all fields of Indian life, and to oppose British domination in every conceivable manner. He never compromised with the British imperialism.

We can console ourselves in his loss with this thought alone: that Mr. Tilak's example may inspire many of our countrymen how to fight for Freedom according to the trend of the times.

We wish to extend our sincere condolence and sympathy to the bereaved family.

Cablegram Threatens the Safety of the British Empire

BECAUSE safety of the British Empire is threatened, a cablegram from San Francisco, California, reporting the action of the Hindustanees in America in supporting the boycott movement inaugurated in India, has been suppressed by the British government in Bombay.

The Western Union Telegraph Company from New York intimates that the British Government in Bombay resorted to the right to stop transmission of the message by virtue of Article 7 of the international convention made between various nations. A part of the article stipulates that "the high contracting parties reserve to themselves the right to stop the transmission of any telegram which may appear dangerous to the security of the State."

The cablegram, as it was sent, reads thus:

"Gandhi

"Young India

"Ahmedabad

"Hindustanees America Mass Meeting California support Non-co-operation urge Indian soldiers not fight people withhold help imperialistic aggression." (For full text of the resolution see the notes and news of this issue.)

What a scare! John Bull sees red everywhere. A few weeks ago Archbishop Mannix of Australia, who was given freedom of cities in various parts of the United States, was shanghaied to London so that the fearless and truth-intoxicated Archbishop could not tell to the struggling Irish people what the world thinks about British rule in Ireland.

It seems that the British government is fearfully nervous over the sentiments expressed in the outside world. The Indians in America have merely enlisted their moral support to what the vast majority of the people of India are already doing.

Boycott or non-co-operation movement has been initiated by the people themselves. And they have every right to see that the functioning of the British governmental machinery is entirely paralysed, and Indian men and money are not used to perpetuate British imperialism.

Boycott movement is spreading like wild-fire throughout the length and breadth of the country. As the news of the Punjab massacre and atrocities was not allowed to reach outside world for about nine months, we shall have to be extremely patient in watching the march of events in India.

Cablegrams may be suppressed, and the British Bureaucrats may nervously try to save the dilapidated and deviled empire, but the power of an idea which rocks the very foundation of the Almighty none can resist.

Solidarity Through Khilafat

During the present century the three most important events have brought the various communities together in India—these are: Partition of Bengal, Punjab massacre and atrocities, and Khilafat question.

The Partition of Bengal gave birth to the modern revolutionary spirit which is taking an actual and concrete shape into the Khilafat movement, which expresses universal opposition to dismemberment of Turkey.

Through unjust treaties of the Allies, partition of Turkey is going to be a settled fact. And every one who is familiar with the Near Eastern problem knows that England from behind is pulling the wire to abolish the caliphate and place Muslim holy places under direct or indirect British domination. Caliphate and Catholic Papacy occupies the similar position in religious world. So, it can easily be imagined what would be the attitude of the Muslims throughout the world.

Treachery of the British has awakened the 190,000,000 Muhammedans of the world, and various plans are being perfected in which the British scent the danger that hastens the doom of their imperialism. It is for this reason alone, Lloyd George is flirting with Soviet Russia even at the cost of Friendship of France.

Khilafat question is no longer merely a religious question. The people of India recognize the fact that the British intend to dismember Turkey in order to dominate the countries in the Near East so that security of the control over India is maintained.

The Indians irrespective of caste or creed have therefore revived the 1905 boycott movement, absolute non-co-operation with the British, having the program as follows:

First, the return of all titles and decorations received from the British government;

Second, the resignation of positions occupied by Indians in the British administration;

Third, the resignation of all Indian soldiers and policemen, which would prevent British occupation of Mesopotamia, Palestine, Persia and other countries;

Fourth, refusal to pay taxes;

Fifth, the boycott of sham reform councils;

Sixth, non-participation in loans floated by the British Indian government for military purposes;

Seventh, the boycott of the British courts, and settlement of disputes between Indians by private arbitration;

Eighth, the boycott of government schools by Indian parents, and promotion of national education exclusively under national control.

Ninth, non-participation in government social functions and durbars;

Tenth, revival of Swadeshi movement—development of Indian industry and commerce, and use of country-made goods only.

We are buoyantly hopeful of emancipation of India through this new National Solidarity. It is up to England to accept the challenge of the Indian people. Whether counsel of conciliation or force will prevail can only be determined by the attitude that will be taken by the British bureaucracy in march of movements.

The Passing of Persia

WHILE the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate had been considering the Constitution of the proposed League of Nations, Sovereignty of Persia met a tragic fate. Slowly, surely, and systematically Kismet of the land of love and light has forever been sealed.

In accordance with the principles and purposes with which America sacrificed its precious blood to destroy imperialism and autocracy, we would have been assured that henceforth nations could live their own lives peacefully and happily. But the conditions as are reported in the daily dispatches to have been happening in Egypt, Persia, India and Ireland convince us that the last war has paved the way for the perpetuation of imperialism, which has become a menace to the healthy growth of good understanding between the nations.

The other day, Anglo-Persian treaty was concluded. England is one of the signatory members of the League of Nations, and the way Persia is tied with English justice and fair play simply proves that everyone is trying to make the best bargain before the League becomes a reality, so that the privilege of being a member will help safeguard the ante-bellum interest.

Contest of Persia has been of long duration. Czarist Russia and England both played the diplomatic and military game in such a way that Young Persians sensed the danger which threatened their very existence.

The Young Persians got busy in setting their home aright. On December 30, 1906, the Persian Constitution was adopted. The Constitution, though not perfect, is an effort to make the Government responsive to the people. "Each individual member of the State," says the preamble, "has a right to take part in the superintendence and decision of public affairs." With this object in view, two important articles were incorporated, in order to safeguard its Foreign Relations, which, it must be remembered, vitally concern the existence of Persia as a Sovereign power. They read thus:

Article XXII. Whenever a part of the revenue or property of the Government or State is to be sold, or a change of frontier or border becomes necessary, it will be done with the approval of the National Assembly.

Article XXIII. Without the approval of the National Assembly no concession whatever for the formation of companies or associations shall be granted by the Government.

National Assembly, composed of 160 to 200 members, elected by popular votes, reserved this right ostensibly for the protection of the country from being bartered away by the Shah and other corrupted officials.

The entire trouble with the Persian problem rested with finance. While Persia intended to straighten out the financial conditions, she found that she could not do so without hurting the interest of the foreign powers—and those interests were nothing but the exploitation of Persia herself.

Persia took a loan from Czarist Russia of \$11,000,000 in 1900, to whom she already owed a debt of \$20,000,000, which pressed sorely on her. In 1908 Seni-ed-Dowleh, the then Minister of Finance, presented his budget by which he hoped to pay up the debts and develop the country. He recommended a tax on town property, and for an increase of the import duties on tea and sugar, the proceeds of which he desired to devote to the re-establishment of public order, the making of roads and for educational purposes. Diplomatic Agent of England Marling stood against this arrangement.

In August 31, 1907, England and Czarist Russia signed the well-known treaty which divided Persia into two spheres of interest and neutral zone.

A joint note was sent to Persia on April 7, 1910, by England and Czarist Russia to the effect that they should have their veto against every foreign loan which implied concessions on the ground of political or strategical interests. Within a month from that date Persia was forced to comply to an agreement that no railway concessions must be granted to any other power but England and Russia.

It is simply a matter of common knowledge that England, without the co-operation of Czarist Russia, could not strengthen her imperial interest in Persia. Czarist Russia being cooped up in the frozen waters of the White Sea, had been shrewdly hatching plans to have an outlet. The Dardanelles, owing to Turkish insistency, did not give any satisfactory result. She was therefore determined to extend the Merv-Kushk Railway to Herat. Foreign relations of Afghanistan being under British control, her desire would be thwarted unless she would get the co-operation of the British.

The British, in a marvelous diplomatic stroke, left Northern Persia to be controlled by Czarist Russia, while they retained the southern part, which is the gateway to India.

"If these two powers (Czarist Russia and England)," wrote Hablu'l-Matin, principal daily paper published in Teheran, on September 10, 1906, "really desired the continuance of Persia's sovereignty, there would have been no need of such a treaty. . . . For it is evident that the danger which threatened Persia is precisely from these two powers, and, if they cherish no covetous designs, what necessity was there for such a treaty and agreement?"

Young Persia's immediate task was then to solidify and strengthen her economic and political forces. Effort of Morgan Shuster in this direction is well known in this country.

Imperialism knows how to reach its desired end. Shah was played in the hands of the two aggressive, greedy powers, and ambitious and adventurous chiefs were incited by the agents of the British. So, when trouble began to set in within the sphere of influence, an ultimatum was sent to the Persian Government with a threat that peace must be established within a certain period of time. If it was not done, England would send a military expedition—please remember—to keep the domestic tranquillity. It means Persia would again be compelled to accept heavy loans and to meet all the expenses which, of course, had to be paid by concessions given to all these "disinterested" powers. Shah abolished the National Council. Consequently, insurrection broke out in many places, and the Nationalists triumphantly entered Teheran July 13, 1909, when Shah fled to the Russian legation. Czarist Russia, in direct violation of protocol of 1909, gave refuge to the Shah.

Mirza Mehdi Khan wrote September 16, 1911, to Sir Edward Grey: "Should the ex-Shah be afforded an asylum, either in Russia or on board a Russian vessel, this will produce the very worst impression throughout Persia. Moreover, it will encourage the rebels and weaken the hands of the Government, and it will enable the ex-Shah to re-commence his intrigues against the Persian government, with the assurance that he will always, when hard pressed, find a refuge in Russia." Sir Edward Grey, supporting Czarist Russia's action, on October 26, 1911, sent this dispatch to the British Embassy at St. Petersburg:

"Persia's independence cannot, I agree, be allowed to be marked by unfriendliness, either to Great Britain or to Czarist Russia, and it is obvious that, in view of the geographical situation, no government which refused to respect interest of Russia could be tolerated by the latter at Teheran. This we shall certainly impress upon Shuster when the occasion arises, and I need hardly point out that our refusal to let Major Stokes resign was already practically a declaration in this sense."

It is clear then, that the British imperialism was doing all that was possible to protect autocracy and disordered government at Teheran, which the Nationalists endeavored to be substituted for democracy.

Pursuing her usual policy England, on October 16, 1910, sent an ultimatum that unless by three months from then order had been restored to the satisfaction of H. M.'s Government, on the southern commercial highroads, England would take this task in hand with troops of 1000 to 1200 men under the command of British officers. The expense entailed by these troops would have to be met by an increase of 10% on the import duties of the southern ports and from the revenues of the province of Fars. In plain

language it means to say, that Sovereign State of Persia is compelled to pay out of her own revenue for the formation, equipment and maintenance of a police troop, under the British command merely for the commerce of England.

More demands followed. Another ultimatum was sent November 29, 1911, to the effect that Shuster had to be dismissed; Persia was prohibited from taking non-Persians into its service without Anglo-Russian consent; indemnity in money had to be paid for the ordering of Russian troops.

Novoje Vremia, a Czarist Russian paper, wrote: "True humanity requires cruelty." This can help us to measure the mentality of these imperialists.

With the overthrow of the Czar, the Czaristic aggression is forever gone. Soviet Russia has long ago renounced the sphere of influence in Northern Persia. Unhindered and unhindered, England is achieving her ends which she had been scheming for years.

The recent Anglo-Persian treaty is the culmination of the final strangling of Persia, and an effort to strengthen British control over India.

Lord Curzon on October 19, 1909, at the Philosophical Institute at Edinburgh, said: "On the west, India must exercise a predominant influence over the destinies of Persia and Afghanistan." He reiterated, "India must have the Euphrates as her boundary." The cordon drawn around India, the Crown Jewel, had been extended farther. Having secured control of the Suez Canal by the purchase of the majority of shares and having occupied Egypt, England has established bases for her fleet at the entrance to the Red Sea.

The Persian Gulf has long been a British Lake. It may be that, were it not for the fact that Persia controls the route to India, England would have been slow to crush the Sovereignty of Persia. Speaking of the strategic importance, Admiral Mahan said: "Lack of military and political control in Persian Gulf will imperil Great Britain's naval situation in the Farther East, her political position in India, her commercial interests in both, and the imperial tie between herself and Australia."

To the English diplomatists, Persia as a gate to India is much more important than the commercial possibilities.

Masket, Bahrein (famous for pearl fishery), Koweit, Muhammerah, at the northeastern head of the Gulf, and Basra, and the whole Gulf Coast from Bushire to Bunder Abbas, have been in the control of the British.

The British have exercised since 1901 exclusive right over the Maidani-Napthun oil fields, which lie within 140 miles northeast of Muhammerah.

Now, control of all these places presents strong barriers against co-operation between Hindu revolutionists and the outside countries. The Hindu revolutionists are perfecting plans with determination and scientific precision to overthrow British rule in India. The British being wide awake to

scent the danger which is clouding their domination in India, they will do all that lies in their power to throttle the lands bordering on India.

Masakat, for instance, was the scene of foreign intrigues. In accordance with the provisions of the Anglo-French treaty of 1862, France claimed freedom of trade with Masakat, and established a consulate there. The British became irritated over the French entrance into the frontier of India. There was carried on for years a lucrative arms traffic with the Gulf, rifles and ammunitions being shipped from Europe to Masakat, and thence distributed all over the littoral and north-

Gulf by any other power as a very grave menace to British interests (in India), which we should certainly resist with all the means at our disposal."

The Pioneer, an English paper published in India, jubilantly wrote February 22, 1915: "A glance into the future shows us Basrah as the terminus of the Bagdad Railway, the completion of which is now no longer in German hands."

As I have noted before, England looked upon the project of Russian Railway with suspicion. Lord Hardinge sent from Delhi January 22, 1914, a confidential dispatch to Downing Street. He wrote among other things:



Persian Nationalists, Including Honorable Sikat-ul-Islam, hanged by the British Government

west frontier of India. The British Government intervened and made every effort to stop the traffic. The French Government refused to yield one jot of the treaty rights. Arrangements, however, were made in 1914 to regulate the traffic in arms and ammunitions, and compensation was made by the British Government to those French merchants whose stocks were rendered valueless by the regulations.

It will be evident, just glancing over the map, why Lord Lansdowne, the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said in 1903 in the House of Lords: "We should regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified port in the Persian

"We entirely agree as to the desirability of taking all reasonable steps to facilitate and encourage trade from the south on the Bushire-Shiraz Ispahan line, not only in the interests of Indian (British) commerce, but on political grounds, as a safeguard against the extension of Russian trade, and thereby of Russian influence from the north.

"It is becoming increasingly evident, especially in view of the activity that Russia is now showing in regard to the construction of railway lines from the north, that the only really effective means of safeguarding and promoting British trade in Persia is the simultaneous construction of

railway lines into Persia from the South coast."

In accordance with the policy of domination and exploitation of India with great facility, British Government has penetrated into Persia with a genuine spirit of staying there permanently.

Persia has a system of telegraphs consisting of 6,312 miles of lines, with 10,754 miles of wire, and 131 stations. 1,706 miles of line with 5,318 miles of wire are worked by an English staff, and the Indo-European Telegraph Department in Persia, was established by the British Government in virtue of a number of conventions from 1863 to 1901 between the British and Persian Governments. The last convention was for the construction and working by the British Government of a three-wire line from Kashan to British Beluchistan via Yazd Kerman and Bam. Telegraphic communication with India was effected in May, 1904. 457 miles of line with three wires, 1,371 miles of wire between Teheran and Julfa on the Russo-Persian frontier, are worked by the Indo-European Telegraph Company, Limited, according to concession of 1868.

Telegraphic lines are the nerve-center of strategic importance, and the British control more than 50% of it.

Again, the British policy is trade protected by the political power. Of the total trade, Russia was enjoying 56%, and the British Empire 34%. The British Empire is now, evidently, trying to get control of the rest of the 56%. In 1918 the United Kingdom exported to Persia the commodities to the value of \$6,384,515, while she imported from Persia \$1,063,875. Trade possibilities are, however, of secondary importance from the standpoint of Indo-British politics.

The total debt of the Persian Government to the British Government till January 1, 1916, was \$3,889,010, and if we add the debt of 1918, which is \$2,600,000, it amounts to \$6,489,010.

The only way the British would contend, to insure payment of the loan, is to have the control over finance and military.

It recalls to our mind the historical precedent the British established in subjugating India. The first step the East India Company did in the middle of the eighteenth century in India, was to secure Diwani-Khash (Fiscal Administration) over Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The natural consequence was the transplantation of British rule in India. They went and stayed there permanently. That is precisely what the British will accomplish by the Anglo-Persian treaty.

The present treaty makes these provisions:

According to the first agreement, Great Britain agrees in the most categorical manner to respect the integrity and independence of Persia, to supply expert advisers for the Persian administration to be engaged on contract, and endowed with adequate powers, to supply, at Persia's cost, such officers, munitions and equipment as might be adjudged necessary by a joint Anglo-Persian commission of military experts for a uniformed Persian force to preserve order, to prescribe a loan for these purposes, to co-operate with the

Persian Government in railway construction and other forms of transport, and finally both governments agree that immediate appointment of a joint committee to examine and revise the existing customs tariff.

The second agreement relates to a loan of \$10,000,000 at 7%, redeemable in twenty years, and to be secured on the revenues and customs reserved and assigned for the repayment of 1911 loan. Should these prove insufficient, Persia, under the agreement, is to make good the difference from other sources of revenue.

Very clear indeed is the strangling of Persia. What assurance does the respect for political integrity amount to when finance and military power goes into the hands of a foreign power? A nation without having freedom of foreign relations is nothing but pure and simple dependency.

Constitutionally, the treaty which is alleged to have been made "secretly" by some seven persons who lacked constitutional powers to so act, the fundamental laws of the country requiring that treaties and covenants be ratified by the Persian parliament, is invalid. It matters, however, very little. The Persian parliament will be compelled to accede to the demands of the British Government, unless any disinterested power takes a hand for the sake of world-peace. Incidents after incidents tell us eloquently of such possibility.

Senator McCormack, of Illinois, truly said in the Senate on August 18th, "Great Britain made, consummated, and ratified a treaty with Persia, which establishes what is in substance a protectorate over that country." "Since Persia," says *Le Temps*, "promises to confine its army only to British officers and its finances only to British specialists, it has no longer force or resources to exercise its sovereignty." Mochaver-Al-Memelic, head of the Persian delegation at Paris, said despondently, "We can consider only that country as a master which interferes in another country's financial affairs. What use is there," he concluded, "in President Wilson defending Article X of the League of Nations, if Egypt, India and Persia are not accorded their independence?"

Mr. Morgan Shuster, American citizen, who was retained by the Persian Government as Treasurer-General from May, 1911, to January, 1912, caught the thread of the imperialistic games. He wrote, after he was forced to leave the country, not by Persia but by another power, in his book, "Strangling of Persia:"

"With a knowledge of the facts of Persia's downfall, the scales will drop from the eyes of the most incredulous, and it is clear that Persia was the helpless victim of the wretched game of cards which a few European powers, with the skill of centuries' practice still play with the weaker nations as the stake and the lives, honor and progress of whole races as the forfeit." Eight years have elapsed since he has written the book.

Imperialism has forever been crushed, we are told, in the last war. And while the League of

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Sino-Japanese Relations and Asian Independence

THE destruction of the independence of Egypt, the dismemberment of Turkey, the creation of the kingdom of Hedjaz under British patronage, the establishment of a virtual protectorate over Persia and Tibet by Great Britain, the refusal of the Peace Conference to recognize "racial equality" for which the Japanese fought so valiantly, and the extension of the sphere of discrimination against the people of Asia from the German islands, annexed by Great Britain and held by an Australian mandate, are the few important results of the world war and the so-called peace settlement.

These are all decidedly opposed to the cause of Asian independence. But the expulsion of Germany from Shantung, and elimination of German and Austrian spheres of influence in Asia, Russia's renunciation of the claims of sphere of influence in China and Persia, and Russia's general attitude—that all Asia should be free and imperialisms of the world should be destroyed—are the distinct gains to the cause of Asian Independence.

The elimination of the German sphere of influence in Shantung, and the action of Japan in extracting from China special concessions in Shantung, have become a source of serious misunderstanding between China and Japan. This Sino-Japanese misunderstanding not only endangers Chinese and Japanese interest in the world-politics, but it menaces the cause of Asian Independence. This misunderstanding has furnished a splendid opportunity for the western powers which have built up their world position by exploitation of Asia, to play China against Japan.

The concessions in Shantung extracted from China by Japan were acquired by Germany long before the European War. Japan justifies her position on the ground that if she did not take these steps, then the vast raw materials of Shantung and the means of transportation in the province might have passed into the hands of some power potentially hostile to Japan, as was the case in Tibet.

Japan's attitude is the attitude of self-defense from a western power or from a combination of several of them, which might have entrenched in Shantung and menaced both Japan and China. But Shantung is a part of China, as California is a part of the United States of America. Japan never can dream of taking possession of California, nor has she any right to violate Chinese sovereignty in Shantung. Chinese sentiment has been enflamed, and it is up to Japan to see that Sino-Japanese friendly relations are re-established.

Some Japanese statesmen are flushed with their present position in world-politics, achieved

through temporary support of some of the western powers. Unwisely they pay no heed to the claims of China. Some Chinese statesmen are so deeply incensed over the Japanese attitude that they are talking of an Anglo-American-Chinese alliance against Japan.

Every Japanese statesman should know that Great Britain is doing her best to play China against Japan. British intrigue is now playing a tremendous part in the development of anti-Japanese agitation in China and in America. There is no doubt that the life of the Anglo-Japanese alliance will be very short if Great Britain can bring about an Anglo-American alliance or some other powerful combination instead. Great Britain's ultimate policy towards Japan is to isolate the latter in world-politics.

Every Chinese statesman knows that to-day Great Britain holds more than 27% of the Chinese territory under spheres of influence, and is planning to hold the Yangtze valley for herself. Her steady encroachment in China from the side of Tibet, Burma, Hongkong, and Shanghai leaves little doubt about her ulterior designs. That Great Britain, which fought two opium wars to force a deadly drug upon China, and wresting the most strategic positions, can never be a true friend of China. Any combination of China with Britain is no less dangerous than a deer entering into a lion's den.

It is of great importance then that both China and Japan should cultivate friendship. The basis of this friendship should not be American support against either Japan or against China. But the basis should be in securing American support against British and other imperialisms in Asia. If western powers ever succeed in playing China against Japan, then it will surely end in destruction of both powers, particularly Japan. Anything that weakens any of the Asian powers weakens the cause of Asian Independence. And for the purpose of cementing Sino-Japanese friendship, it is desirable that there should be a Sino-Japanese alliance. Such an alliance is not the goal in itself, but it is the foundation upon which various other understandings, such as Sino-Japanese Russian understanding and Sino-Japanese American understanding, Sino-Japanese Russian understanding and Sino-Japanese Indian understanding could be built to further the cause of Asian Independence. We advocate independence of Asia because there can be no world peace without it.

Responsibility for the achievement of a Sino-Japanese alliance lies more heavily upon Japan than upon China. So far, Japanese statesmanship has failed miserably because Japanese actions towards China, instead of inspiring confidence,

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Women and New India

(An Interview With Mrs. Lila Singh, a Suffragist of India.)

"THE women of India are part and parcel of Hindustan; they retain the traditions and customs of India, and they are the greatest potential forces in the struggle for freedom through which India must and is passing."

These are the words of Mrs. Lila Singh, of Behar, India, who toured the United States in company with her husband, Mr. Deep Narayan Singh. While in this country Mrs. Singh carefully studied the activities of American women. She met women of every walk of life, and by her own charming personality, her perfect command of English and her strong and determined character, made a good many friends.

Mrs. Lila Singh was the first woman student in a college exclusively meant for men. She obtained the degree of Master of Arts in Philosophy and Literature with honors from the Calcutta University. Her father, Mr. T. N. Palit, before his death bequeathed his entire fortune for the promotion of education. He founded Bengal Technical Institute affiliated with the National Council of Education, and College of Science affiliated with the Calcutta University. Her husband, Mr. Deep Narayan Singh, is a publicist and promoter of education. He is the founder of T. N. College at Bhagalpur, Behar, India.

Speaking at greater length upon the women of India, Mrs. Singh declared that although education is available to but a few, yet everywhere and with almost all Indian women, there is a vague, or a more clearly-defined unrest because of their lack of opportunity, and because of their suffering.

"Those who are more conscious of India's position in the world," she continued, "realise that at the bottom of these evils is the denial of education to the people in general, and to women more particularly. The reasons for that denial are

deeper and more fundamental still; they are political and economic in origin.

"I admit our social evils. I am not one of those persons who would build a plea upon falsehoods. But the very fact that the social evils exist is the strongest possible argument for a complete political and economic change, because these conditions are but effects of a system. The same situation existed in Europe and America up to a

short time ago, comparatively speaking. And the women of Europe and America would be in the same position as the women of India if the same political and economic system prevailed in those countries.

"I will give but one example, without comment, to show what I mean. I will quote cold figures, which are not of my own composition. These figures are of military expenditure in India, and of money spent on education by the present government:

"In 1915-16, \$132,000,000 was spent on the military.

"In 1916-17, \$148,000,000 was spent on the military.

"In 1917-18, \$180,000,000 was spent on the military.

"In 1919-20, \$346,000,000 was spent on the military.

"In 1920, the same year when \$346,00,000 was spent on militarism

from the revenues of the Indian people, we tried to secure an appropriation for \$76,000,000 for primary education—education just for the first few grades. No money could be found! India was poor—the budget did not provide for it! Yet, in that same year, an extra \$80,000,000 was needed for additional military expenditure to carry on a war with Afghanistan and in the Near East. And immediately the \$80,000,000 was forthcoming!

"Of the entire Indian budget, 63% is spent on military expenditures, and but 6% on education.



MRS. LILA SINGH

"We would be beyond human if, under such circumstances, our women were not ignorant and superstitious, not to mention poverty-stricken.

"Our isolation from the world has been the other great reason for our position. The ideals available to you have not been available to us.

"I find that among the women of India, while their political consciousness is not fully developed, yet there is widespread dissatisfaction with things which they are powerless to control. They desire education for their daughters—yet how can they get it?

"But wherever women have broken away from custom, or wherever they have braved the storm of public life, the men have put no obstacles in their way, and they do not suffer the calumny which pioneer women of Europe and America have suffered.

"Our women have gone into professions hitherto closed to them, yet they meet with the greatest courtesy and respect from the Indian men. There have been exceptions to this rule, but not many. It is for this reason that I have great hope for the future activities of women in India. This tolerance in the Indian mind, imbred for centuries, will find expression in the future in social life, just as it has ruled in the religious field in the past. With such tolerance as a foundation, the rapid rise of women in all lines of endeavor is assured.

"Some of the most prominent national examples of this are, of course, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the poetess, publicist and lecturer, and Mrs. Sarala Devi Chandhurani, who has been active in the nationalist movement all her life. It was Sarala Devi who revived the national festival and physical training among the boys in Bengal, and who helped revive the industries in the Punjab. Her efforts also contributed to the revival of home industries among the women; these in-

dustries not only aided India nationally, but they made the women self-supporting.

"Mrs. Hazrat Mohani, the wife of an editor who was deported because of his political activities, is known for her educational work. Mrs. Hirabai A. Tata, Miss Mithibai A. Tata, and Mrs. Mrinalini Sen are nationally known for their leading part in suffrage movement. Mrs. Svarnamayee Ghosal is well known as a journalist and novelist. She was the first editor of the powerful Bengali monthly, *The Bharati*.

"Besides there could be mentioned the names of many women throughout India, such as Mrs. Justice Ranade and Mrs. Parvatibai Arthavale, noted for their educational works among the widows. Mrs. Arthavale is now in America, studying settlement work.

"The part women have played in famine relief, in education, in social reform, in the revival of industries, in literature and art, not to mention in politics in the past, has been great.

"Today those of us who are principally interested in the advancement of women demand that men and women be given equal and free educational opportunities.

"The rate at which India is advancing politically and economically is automatically affecting women. But that rate would be accelerated a hundred fold if women could take an active part in it. I advocate actual action in public life, side by side with the men. Because when the women of India undertake a thing they finish it. Furthermore, India is closer to them and they to India than many of the men.

"We demand the right to walk side by side with the men of our country, and shape the destiny of our beloved Motherland unhampered by any alien interference. We wish no other status. And this status must be real, not theoretical."

—AGNES SMEDLEY.

The Passing of Persia

(Continued from Page 8.)

Nations is in the process of making, Persia's sovereignty is crushed for the retention of British imperialistic domination over Asia.

This tragic event in the world politics must be viewed from the standpoint of India's place in imperialism. India is the life of Asian politics which whispers the coming war. England has staked all its resources to retain the dependency of India. Fate of the countries bordering on India is therefore shadowed by dark clouds. The passing of Persia is simply an appendage of the traditional policy of British imperialism, hegemony of which is held by India.

The Liberte, published in Paris, clearly points out that "it is to guard India that Great Britain went to Egypt and stays there, that she protects Afghanistan, installs herself in Mesopotamia, in-

tends to keep Palestine; and disputes with us over Syria, which, nevertheless, was assured to us by the treaty of 1916."

Persia has been sacrificed definitely and determinedly as a matter of strategic importance. The Hindu revolutionists will no doubt test the strength of the rearrangement of boundaries around India and meet all the exigencies. So, if anxiety is expressed in regard to solution of the problems which are present in the political affairs of Asia and world peace, vital interest has to be awakened in the question of India's complete independence, and from that standpoint alone the Persian question must be considered, remembering that a Free India frees all the countries of Asia.

—SURENDRA KARR.

Plight of Indian Labor in Fiji

SENSATIONAL and startling accounts of British hooliganism in Fiji have recently been revealed. It is a sad story—story of outrage and murder committed by the English planters and their hired English soldiers.

It is a well-known fact that the English hold vast lands in all parts of the world for speculative purposes. Fiji is one of those islands in Australian groups where the English planters amass large fortunes at the expense of thousands of men, women and children, who barter their body and soul for a little crumb of bread.

In order to cultivate and develop these holdings, a vast army of laborers is required. The recruiting place is in India, where the Britisher can do anything he pleases.

The English planter hires a few of the cunning agents who go among the poverty-stricken people and entice them with the temptation for better days. The moment these unsuspicious and simple people fall prey to the captivating trap so carefully placed, they are taken to big cities and kept in virtual custody, cutting them off from outside communication. In the meanwhile those agents secure thumb impression or signature upon regular printed forms, the contents of which are not known to these innocent people.

They thus become indentured labor, binding themselves by contract to English planter at whose mercy their body and soul are placed.

In this way, thousands of Indians—men, women and children, known as Coolies, are shipped from India to distant parts of the world for the benefit of the Britishers.

The picture of Uncle Tom's Cabin will pale into insignificance in comparing with the privations, sufferings, miseries, oppression and persecution of these Indians. It would be a remote possibility for soul of a Lincoln to rise in the midst of the death-grip of British imperialism.

The people at home knew so little about what has been happening to their countrymen. Disclosures of the conditions under which the indentured laborers live roused their indignation and they started to carry on agitation in stopping this pernicious system.

Efforts of Mahatma M. K. Gandhi in South Africa will gratefully be remembered by all liberty-loving people. Problem of Africa is yet unsolved.

In Fiji, through the efforts of Mr. Manilal Doctor, M. A., LL. B., who with his heroic wife consecrated to the services of their countrymen, the indentured system was abolished in last December.

The Indian laborers, who were serving as free labor in different plantations, owing to high cost of living, demanded higher wages. They were, however, curtly refused. Mr. Manilal writes thus: "Whilst articles have risen 200 and 300 per

cent in price, my countrymen have been receiving only 2 shillings (50c.) daily wage, which is entirely insufficient to keep body and soul together. My countrymen have been denying themselves the decencies of life, and the moral leprosy, that has taken a strong hold on their lives, is the direct result of low wages. The Colonial Sugar Refining Co. is directly interested in their labor. Instead of taking a lead, they have only been throwing sops at the Indians."

"The moment every Indian in the colony," writes "M." in the *Modern Review* for July, "was free to work or not, he asked for a living wage of 5 shillings a day as things have risen in price enormously, and went on strike. His past employers played all sorts of tricks—tricks, promises, inducements, in fact everything—to break up the strike."

The Women Urge Strike.

"The moral force behind them appears to have been," he continues, "greatly augmented by the active sympathy and co-operation of their women." He then describes how the women taunted and induced the men to give up their work. "It was to some extent an appeal," he says, "to the sense of shame of men that they threatened them with pulling out their whiskers or throwing dirt on them. They began to picket men on the streets."

Strike was thus launched. "The Mayor of Suva," he continues, "found it difficult to get on with his roads and sanitary services were poorly performed by Fijian substitutes. The Government overseers of the public works department found their work at a standstill. The strike spread as far as Rewa and Navua districts by contagion of Suva reports; and Levuka followed suit. In Navua there already had been an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with the sugar company's rates for canes, and the idea of strike appears to have been hailed with joy. The exploiters of Indian labor, for whose benefit the government exists, were approached by a deputation from the Indian Women's Association and the Governor played the old game of promising a commission of inquiry.

"The president (of the commission) seemed to have a pet theory to sponsor. He had theoretically a perfect idea of an Indian laborer, for whom the statutory rations sufficed, who was able-bodied and did hard labor on prison diet, which he characterised as scientifically infallible. . . . It showed at once that there was not much to be expected from this commission."

In the meantime it was reported that Mrs. Manilal had been arrested. The women at once held a meeting to consider the steps to be taken up. The colonial boys planned and started to break up their meeting by force. They did unspeakable atrocities upon these women.

The English Assault Indian Women.

"A special English constable, Reay, went to the meeting-place," says *The Bombay Chronicle*, "which was a private enclosure, and began to put some questions to an Indian Woman named Mrs. Rahiman. Mrs. Rahiman answered the questions in a straight forward manner. **Reay got excited and beat Mrs. Rahiman with baton.** Some other women came to the rescue of Mrs. Rahiman, but **they were also beaten by other constables** who had now arrived."

When the women were brutally assaulted and indecently treated, the men could not stand motionless, and arming themselves with sticks of firewood they attacked the English strike-breakers, who called for further help.

"The fight went strong and only the work of rifles and machine-guns seems to have impressed the strikers, who even then refused to retire unless they could be assured that Mrs. Manilal had not been arrested."

"The Fiji Government," writes Mr. Manilal, "has used its powers to crush the Indian strikers by depriving them of their sticks, legislating against their moving in groups of more than five, or living more than seven 'in one family,' and, finally, by making it penal for every Indian man or woman to stir out of their homes without a permit, which in many cases was not granted without a promise to go back to work on the old rates of pay. Every English colonial and half-castes were provided with batons to beat Indians and the savage Fijians (who three generations ago were cannibals) were reinspired to delight in torture and cruelty. Returned sailors and soldiers (who fought side by side with the brave Indians in the last war) were patrolling streets and guarding street corners, and it was the game of the English capitalists to provoke and draw Indian women into a disturbance where the sight of Indian women assaulted by their brutal overseers (of the days of slavery) excited the Indian mob into riots."

"Large reinforcements were to have," writes "M." in the *"Modern Review,"* "come from Naisu and even Rewa, but the crowds were intercepted and controlled at Nausori. There were several other skirmishes and many casualties. But still the strikers were not cowed down to return to work. The Government of Fiji, or those who have a say in it, devised other ways and means on simple charges of riotous behaviour which could have been summarily disposed of the very next morning; at first 3 days' remand was obtained, and then 8 days in addition, refusing bail in all cases. Those who took part in the violence of the riots escaped unnoticed, and sightseers and sympathisers were caught on the spot and locked up. Over 230 persons, including more than 30 women, had been placed in custody.

"Most of the women and men were beaten and tortured by the English constables. . . .

The excesses committed by them are past description. . . . The Bombay tailors were terrorised by T. Horne and Telford, and they did havoc with the poor defenceless Indians at Toorak. Even women were not spared."

It is reported in the British Parliament concerning Fiji Island disturbances, that Mr. and Mrs. Manilal, Harapal Mahraj, and Fazil Khan have been deported from the islands. Lt.-Col. Amery stated that, on the whole, the strike was conducted in an orderly manner and he saw no reason for interference.

"Every effort was made," says Rev. C. F. Andrews in the *Times of India*, "to drive the Indians back to work at the old rates of pay. Many respectable Indians were deported; troops were hurried across from New Zealand, and gun boats were summoned. There is some further news about the imprisonment of Indian women."

"One planter in war time," continues Mr. Andrews, presenting another side of the picture, "had paid up the capital cost of his estate in a single year out of the profits he had made. Yet up till August, 1917 (when he was there), not a single penny of these huge profits had been passed on to the coolie. Three years after the war had begun, while prices had been rising in every direction, the indentured laborer himself was obtaining exactly the same wages as before the war. The average savings sent to India by indentured laborers did not amount to more than six shillings per head per annum."

Such are the conditions of the Indian laborers in the Fiji Islands under the benign influence of the British colonists. When we remember that these colonies have been built up with Indian blood, the task of giving advice, asking them to return to India, is not very simple, though it may be the just desire that the Indians should go back to their home-land. We can fully appreciate the feelings of "M." when he writes: "The cup of their sufferings is now full and bitter enough, and God certainly will listen to the call of the poor, the humble, and the down-trodden. In the meanwhile hundreds of Indians are yearning or panting to see a ship to go back to India and leave this hell on earth created by greed and avarice of the English planters and their Fiji government."

But where are those sweet homes that would receive them? Those also have been ravaged and ruined by the British. People without a country indeed! Let the Indians understand this thoroughly well, without being deceived by pinning their faith upon British fairplay and justice, that unless and until India becomes absolutely free and independent, there is no peace, prosperity, and happiness for Indians anywhere in the world. Let also the liberty-loving people of the world who are working to bring about a change in political and economic order of society know what a plight the Indians have in the hands of the British—the successful coloniser!

National Debt of India

THE history of the national Debt of India is a sad reading. Generally speaking, "national debt" is no creation of wealth. At best, it can only be adductive and give greater energy to production, provided it is used in assisting the creation of fresh wealth. Where the "debt" serves merely some other purpose which is not conducive to economic production, then there is so far a loss of national power. Non-economic expenditure ought to be primarily met out of income and unless it can be so dealt with, it ought not to be incurred at all. These are the essential principles to be scrupulously observed by finance ministers wishing well of their country. But unfortunately all these principles are set at naught by those who are responsible for the management of Indian Finances.

Under the year 1792, the East India Company's public debt did not exceed 7 millions sterling. The Mysore-Maratha was added some 14 millions to it, and when Lord William Bentinck took up the reins of government, it bordered on 30 millions. Through his persistent economy it was reduced to 27. Then followed the record of "foreign policy," and foreign wars were undertaken which ended in disasters. Thus the first Afghan War added some 15 millions to the debt. The Sikh Wars made a further addition of 15 and so the total stood at nearly 60 millions before the break-out of the War of Independence in 1857.

Lord Roberts had once expressed his opinion that "if there ever was a justifiable excuse for a mutiny, there clearly was one for the Sepoy-mutiny. Thus though the mutiny was caused by the sad mistakes committed by British officers, both civil and military, India was saddled with the burden of expenses incurred at putting the mutiny down and thus Indian debt rose up to 70 millions at a stretch. This was followed by a greater injustice. By the Act of 1858 the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the British Crown and thus, India the brightest jewel in the British Crown became the so-called property of the British nation. *But who paid the price of the jewel? Not the British Nation, but through the sad irony of fate India herself was made to pay the price of her own purchase! The entire capital stock and debts of the East India Company were added to the public debt of India which now swelled to the enormous sum of one hundred million sterling.*"

This payment of the Company's stock at India's expense introduced one more dangerous feature to the inequity of the Act. And that is this. Up until now the major portion of the public debt was a "Rupee Loan" and it was held in India alone. Consequently the drain by way of payment of interest in England was negligible. But now since the Company's stock was bought out of borrowings in England, the sterling debt in

that country jumped up to 32 millions. This was followed by a period of comparative economy; and in the year 1869, the rupee Debt stood at 50 crores in India and 75 in England, while the sterling debt in England was 35 millions. A change however followed. In 1869, the Government of India abandoned its policy of "Guarantee System" of Railways and began to borrow capital in England for the building up of Railways in India. (For strategic purposes.—Ed.) Henceforth the tide gradually continued to rise. In 1879, the rupee debt stood at 78.83 crores, while the sterling debt had risen to 59 millions. But things were not to stop there. The imperialistic policy of Lord Bacsfield involved India in the disastrous second Afghan War and India's burden was augmented by ten crores "rupee debt" and ten millions "sterling debt." It was only at this juncture that through the strenuous efforts of Mr. Fawcett, nicknamed as the "Member for India," a Committee was appointed to suggest some check to the Indian expenditure which was rising by leaps and bounds. But the efforts of this Committee ended in smoke. At one time the maximum limit of two and a half millions was set down for the program of borrowing in England, but without any effective control either in England or in India. The Secretary of State for India, then the sole master of Indian destinies, was not bound to observe the rule and so the drain continued.

The Burma War was responsible for the addition of some 10 millions more, and the continuous borrowing for railways, and the exchange compensation muddle raised the "rupee debt" to 103 crores and the "sterling debt" to 115 millions.

The famines and scarcities between 1896 and 1905 added considerable sums to the national debt. But even in these dire days the railway borrowings remained unchecked. Nay, the Secretary of State for India allowed himself with a light heart, to be committed to the program of twelve and a half millions sterling to be spent every year on Railways. Besides the construction of new lines, some old lines were to be bought up from the Companies already owning them, and which threw an additional burden on the Indian taxpayer by way of annuities. The State Secretary did not think of buying up the railways when any amount of money could be had at two and a half p. c. in London, but now chose this inopportune time which made the burden of the annuities unnecessarily heavy and taxing.

The position on 31st March, 1916, was as follows:—Rupee debt 153.89 crores, sterling debt 182.63 millions; interest payable in India 5.89 crores and that in England 6.092 millions and the amount of annuities to be paid in England 3.35 millions. Besides these regular payments, the Government had occasionally to pay interest

on sums deposited by Companies but a serious matter since the charge under this head was nearly 3 millions. Thus, in all, poor India had to pay, by way of interest and annuities and other miscellaneous charges in one single year (1916), twenty-three and a half crores of rupees. Out of this big sum only some six crores were paid in India, while the rest, nearly 18 crores were a regular drain. But even this whole of the paltry sum of six crores paid by way of interest in India does not enter the pockets of the Indian Bankers, because the Englishmen residing in India held nearly a moiety of the "rupee debt," thus claiming nearly 3 crores of rupees as interest. In this way out of the total sum of nearly 24 crores, charged against Indian revenues as "interest on sums borrowed," nearly 21 crores were absorbed by the Englishmen while only 3 crores fell to the poor lot of Indians!

Indian liabilities expressed in terms of national debt, amounted to 426 crores on 31st March, 1916. The big war-loans have been advisedly omitted for obvious reasons, as that subject requires separate treatment which will be done some other time. But now what is there on the credit side so as to counter-balance the debit side? Those who hold a brief for the Government, proudly point out to the Railways on which a capital outlay of 547 crores of rupees has been incurred and on the irrigation works resulting from the capital outlay of 64 crores. Thus the assets, they say, amount to 611 crores while the liabilities i. e. the National debt amounts only to 426.84 crores! A capital phenomenon indeed, if the railways worth 547 crores and the irrigation works worth 64 crores had been built purely out of a separate account of national debt. If the railways had been a paying concern from the beginning a part of the debt incurred could have been discharged through the net earnings. But the fact is that up to the year 1910, the Railway account showed a deficit of nearly 40 crores from the beginning and even now the whole of the deficit has not yet been wiped off. So the solution of the conundrum does not lie that way. Evidently the sums spent on Railways and Irrigation as capital outlay must have been appropriated out of revenue surpluses and the Famine Trust Funds. For a short time even the profit on coinage was diverted from Gold Standard reserve to the Railway and Irrigation outlay. Thus, the Railways which even after the period of 60 years are yet unable to show a clean slate, have burdened the tax-payer with a huge national debt besides appropriating to themselves all the revenue surpluses and a portion of the Famine Trust Fund.

While dealing with the question of assets and liabilities, another point to be noted is, what are the Railways and Irrigation Works worth today? There has been no separate depreciation account to enable us to arrive at their exact worth now. But since a large amount of Railway capital is

necessarily swallowed up by the rolling stock and such other things which depreciate in value more than any kind of machinery in mills, the value of the capital outlay must have been reduced by a large percentage of the original outlay. Thus, the national debt goes on *appreciating*, while the assets continue to *depreciate*.

And so in conclusion, our chief points of complaints against the national debt may be summarised as follows:—

- (a) India is unjustly saddled with the burden of paying off the Capital Stock of the East India Company and the amount spent in checking the mutiny caused by the folly of the company's officers.
- (b) The expenses of the wars fought outside the borders of India as a part and parcel of the imperialistic policy of British statesmen, have been unjustly charged against the Indian Treasury, thus causing an unjust rise of the national debt.
- (c) The building up of Railways has in many cases been undertaken without an adequate consideration being paid to the economic side of the project and sustaining resources of the country. Hence the poor tax-payer in India is maintaining the "white elephant" such as the great N. W. Railway which has shown a deficit of 25 crores up till last year.
- (d) The policy of raising sterling loans in England without attempting to raise western rupee loan in India, has made the burden doubly burdensome on account of the regular "drain" in the shape of interest and assets.
- (e) In many cases loans have been raised in England, not when the money-market was easy but quite the opposite of it.
- (f) No provision has been made for the "Sinking Fund," nor has any attempt been seriously made to reduce the national debt. England which started with a public debt of 815 millions after the Napoleonic wars, found it possible to reduce the debt by merely 200 millions (the State debts and loans incurred during this European War have not been taken into consideration). India which at the beginning of the 19th century had practically no national debt is now groaning under the huge debt amounting to nearly 300 millions. And yet there is never heard any complaint in England that England lacks railways!

What a striking contrast and what a sad comment this on the financial policy of the British Government in India!—L. A. in *Young India*, published in Ahmedabad, India.

* One crore equals 10 millions.

* One Rupee equals 33½ cents (approximately).

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India
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Hail to Thee India,
Mother of the Race,
High Priestess of Philosophy.

As in the days of old, when brothers of Jacob, sold him into bondage,
So have we seen our Hindi brothers bound into bondage.
But their cries of suffering, suffering that has been endured long enough, has been heard.
The lovers of Liberty shall never cease, until they see India, Free.

Whom the Gods destroy, they first make mad (or shall we say greedy)?
In the days of unrest, India,
You have for solace, the Wisdom of the ages;
Unselfishly, you have saved these inspired sayings;
Sacrificed your nearest and dearest that these jewels might not be lost.
Oh, may we pause long enough to find out what we are trying to learn?
Surely there is an easier way,
If we are all of the same essence, this, in itself, should be a basis for human understanding.

India, you are the one who can answer;
You with your priceless store of knowledge, the half of which has never yet been told;
Oppressed, almost to the limit of physical endurance,
Have faith.
You have been misrepresented to the world, but your cries have encircled the globe,
They must, and shall be heard.

Rejoice in your tears,
India.
Gather up those poor, suffering, underfed, but precious bits of humanity,
Fill them with hope.
They shall be used for nobler ends.
Rejoice in your tears,
India.

—M. ELIZABETH DeLACY.

Sino-Japanese Relations and Asian Independence

(Continued from Page 9.)

have given more than ample opportunity for harboring suspicion. Chinese statesmanship is no less to blame because it has intrigued against Japan with some of the western powers. There is a great deal of difficulty in bringing about such an alliance, but those who believe in the cause of Asian Independence should not be disheartened.

It is the proud privilege of all, particularly of Young Japan, Young China and Young India, nay, Young Asia, to work unceasingly for bringing about a Sino-Japanese understanding as the first and foremost requisite for Asian Independence.

—TARAKNATH DAS.



Notes and News

India's Freedom Before National Conventions

THAT the American people should speak out their minds through their various national parties in advocating complete and absolute independence of India was urged by the Hindustan Gadar Party and the Friends of Freedom for India, New York.

At the Democratic National Convention, held in San Francisco, California, the Hindustan Gadar Party sent a delegation consisting of Bishan Singh, Puran Singh, Santokh Singh and Surendra Karr to present the case of India's complete independence.

Mr. Karr on behalf of the delegation spoke before the Resolutions Committee. "If Turkish misrule could make Armenia fit for independence, why then not India should be free after enjoying the good rule (?) of the British?" said Mr. Karr. "If the Democratic Party can after eighteen years advocate to restore the sovereignty of the Filipinos, can it not be expected that the time has arrived when India—cultured and intelligent India—after one hundred and sixty years' painful association with the British should completely separate from the British Empire?" he continued. After describing oppression, atrocities, and failure of the British rule—politically, economically and intellectually, Mr. Karr urged the Democratic Party to adopt a plank, advocating complete independence of India. "The Hindustan Gadar Party is," he concluded, "working to the same ends and ideals for which your forefathers fought."

In Chicago, before National Conventions of the Committee of Forty-Eight and American Labor Party, Mr. Taraknath Das, Executive Secretary of the Friends of Freedom for India, representing that organization, presented eloquently the case of India's complete independence. Mr. Das was accorded a hearty reception and response. His scholarly presentation convinced the audience what an important position India holds in world-politics.

The Hindustan Gadar Party sent the following telegrams of greeting to the same conventions:

"To those who have assembled to formulate plans and policies guided by the Declaration of Independence and the spirit of the Constitution of the United States, the Hindustan Gadar Party sends cordial greetings.

"India is anxious to be co-worker with all nations in ushering a new era in political and economic world. She can do so only when she can have her unrestricted Freedom.

"We earnestly urge you to adopt planks ad-

vocating absolute and complete independence of India, and condemning perpetuation of autocracy and imperialism.

"Your message of hope will inspire millions who are fighting for Freedom.

(Signed) Gopal Singh, Secretary."

The Farmer-Labor Party has adopted planks sympathising with aims and aspirations of the people of India, and advocating complete independence of India.

Similar planks have also been adopted by the American Socialist Party in its National Convention, held in New York City, where Mr. Das made an impassioned plea in presenting the case of India's Independence.

Supporters of the British Rule Socially Ostracised

IN its momentous meeting held in Fozlabad, Punjab, India, the Sikh Political League, representing 5,000,000 Sikhs, passed unanimously the following resolutions:

"I. That because of their financial and moral aid to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, ex-Lieut. Governor of the Punjab, and moral and financial help to the O'Dwyer memorial fund committee of which they have consented to become members, Sundar Singh Majithia, Hon. Gajjan Singh, and Maharaja of Patiala be excommunicated from the Order of the Brotherhood of the Sikhs;

"II. That no taxes be paid to the British Government;

"III. That funds be raised to give assistance to the Political Prisoners and their relatives;

"IV. That no Sikh should serve in the British army until independence of Turkey is guaranteed."

We most heartily congratulate the determined decision of the Sikh Political League in excommunicating those disloyalists to India who support tyranny, oppression, and British rule, and in urging the people not to pay any taxes and not to serve in the British army. Their decision to give aid to the political prisoners and their relatives will greatly be appreciated by all the liberty-loving people of the world—not to speak of India only. Their sympathy and interest in Turkey will make the enemy understand that India stands united to-day in bringing about a new conception in National Renaissance.

If other organizations in India take similar actions such as boycotting the British in every conceivable manner, it will not take long to change the present state of affairs in India.

Confessions of Missionaries

"A S a missionary," writes Rev. A. G. Fraser to the *Indian Social Reformer*, "may I say how thoroughly I believe we deserve not the gentle criticism you have meted out to us, but the severest condemnation for our moral iniquity in the matter of the Punjab atrocities. Once General Dyer had given his evidence, the crime of massacre was proved up to the hilt, whether it was he or the civil authorities that were guilty. But we should have known it from the beginning if we were living amongst the people, for the sake of the people, and should have proclaimed the facts as seen. We have lost, and deservedly lost, the confidence of the people by our contemptible ignorance and inaction. And we are blood-guilty in that we have by our silence condoned the crimes committed in the Punjab...."

"Our body was silent as against machine-gunning villagers, thrashing school boys chosen at random, and worst, insults to women. I cannot conceive how any missionary living near a district in which such things were done could avoid his duty of making inquiries and protesting against such crimes, especially if he belonged to a free nation himself."

"I believe our silence in this matter has crucified the Son of God afresh and put Him, through us, to an open shame," he concluded.

"The Punjab happenings have given missionaries grave searchings of heart," says Rev. J. Thompson, writing from Bankura, India. "Whatever the Hunter report may say, some things have become clear. Massacre is the only word in English tongue which fits what occurred at Amritsar; its callous sequel of maimed humanity left untended and unthought for will distress many of us as long as memory remains."

Contrary to these confessions the Archbishop of Simla eulogises, writing an epistle to *The Times*, "the courageous action" of the Dyers and O'Dwyers, who massacred hundreds of unarmed and unarmored people of India. He writes: "If the present tendency to make a scapegoat of the English soldier succeeds, the military authorities in future will hesitate to act, and hesitation will have consequences which no Englishman cares to contemplate."

The Archbishop's maintenance is provided by the British Government from the revenue exacted from the persecuted, oppressed, and poverty-stricken people of India; while the above-mentioned missionaries are supported by their own people. Consequently, this heathen-saver Archbishop's soul is eager to uphold British militarism so that his comfort is insured and invocation for perpetuation of British imperialism may be continued uninterrupted.

Views of the Filipino Statesman

"A SIA must absolutely be free and independent, and it should be made safe for the Asians themselves, if peace and progress of humanity have to be promoted," so de-

clared Mr. Jaime C. DeVeyra, Resident Commissioner from the Philippines in the U.S. Congress in an interview with our correspondent. Mr. DeVeyra is a statesman, scholar, and a perfect gentleman. In his suite at the Palace Hotel, San Francisco, he received our correspondent with genial hospitality, and courteously answered every question that he was asked.

"What do the Filipinos want?" asked our correspondent.

"Decidedly absolute independence," he replied with determination.

"Why should you not be satisfied with a relation to the United States somewhat similar to that of Canada and Australia to the British Empire?" he was asked.

"There are several reasons why our situation is not analogous to that of either the great dominion or the great commonwealth. Those two branches of the British Empire are peopled by Anglo-Saxon stock, with Anglo-Saxon culture and traditions. They evolved naturally as off-shoots of British stock. We are not still Anglo-Saxon, you know."

"Those of the Indians who are crying for home-rule are wasting their time and energy upon false theory. India and the Philippines must make every effort to make their countries free from foreign rule. Sovereignty of the people can never be surrendered."

In regard to Japan's position, Mr. DeVeyra said:

"The Japanese have never shown even scant desire for annexation of the Philippines. We were astonished when a census taken only a short time ago showed more than 6,000 Japanese residents in the islands. Under Filipino government the Japanese would be free to carry on business with and in the islands, without having to incur the precarious obligations of enforced rulership, and, for many reasons, they would prefer to deal with the Philippines independently. Japan would have more to lose than to gain by acquiring the Philippines."

"We had a culture of our own even before the Spanish came," he continued, "to our shores more than three hundred years ago. The bulk of the Filipinos have been civilised for centuries. In fact, we have in Manila a university that is older than the Harvard University."

In conclusion Mr. DeVeyra said:

"The vast majority of the people of the United States are opposed to the extension of imperialistic rule over any other country. Democratic Party has committed itself to Filipino independence. And I am sure sovereignty of the people of the Philippines will soon be restored. But freedom of Asia entirely depends upon India's complete independence. Such a great country like India to whom world owes so much should wake up, and her wonderful culture and civilisation, and potential intelligence and strength should be utilised so that imperialism becomes an impossibility in the world."

Disillusionment of the Indian Pusillanimous

HOW the Indian Constitutionalists are disillusioned about the British imperialistic methods is revealed in a letter written to *The Bombay Chronicle*, June 17, 1920, by Mr. Barjorji Framji Barucha. He has cited seven reasons for the disillusionment:

"1. First came the Rowlatt Acts, endangering sacred liberty;

"2. Then came the Martial Law enchainning and harassing the innocent;

"3. Then followed the summary trials which resulted in the imprisonment and executions of the Indians without a fair and open trial;

"4. Then was ushered in the Indemnity Act exonerating the oppressors of the Punjab during April, 1919;

"5. Then was pursued a currency policy inflating the Exchange and selling Reserve Councils, and thus embarrassing Indian Traders and emptying the Indian money-market;

"6. Now is proposed to Turkey a peace of partition and exploitation estranging Moslem sympathy in India, in the Empire, and in the world;

"7. And, lastly we have the verdict of the Imperial Government on the Punjab episode, which has astounded all India and affected their faith in the sense of British Justice in India."

It is refreshing to witness a change of spirit in India. The Indian constitutionalists are not constitutionalists in the juristic sense. For, the laws are made for and not by the people of India. Sooner they realize that the British, can never be trusted and understand the legality of the right of revolution, the speedier will be the advent of a new era. With the disillusionment of the faint-hearted constitutionalists will come a day for the establishment of the Republic of the United States of India.

Franco-Indian Entente

"INDIA was destined to contribute as in the past to the general progress of humanity while fulfilling her own destiny, and France must show her warm interest in India's welfare," declared Professor Larnaud, Dean of the Faculty of Law of the University of Paris, who presided at a meeting held at the Amphitheatre de l'Institut Oceanographique, Paris, under the patronage of the Minister of Public Instruction. There was a large and distinguished audience, comprising professors, savants, artists, members of the faculty of the University of Paris, and many foreign residents from different parts of the world.

The meeting was organized to inaugurate a new movement of closer intellectual cooperation between France and India.

Mr. Suyd Hossain of India, who delivered the principal address, said in part as follows:

"European critics and historians in majority of the cases tended to lay stress upon diversity of Indian life while ignoring its essential and unbroken unity of ideals and achievements. It would have been surprising, if so vast a region as India did not offer many contrasting racial types and phases of intellectual development, but the really remarkable thing is the community of spiritual outlook which has informed and inspired her creative national achievement through the ages. India is not only a geographical but also a historical and cultural unity. . . . India's creative contributions in the domains of Science, Art, Poetry, Philosophy and Religion have been uninterrupted through many centuries until India became prey to European domination. It is a significant fact that only during the last one hundred and fifty years (i. e. during the period of British rule—Ed.) has India really ceased to be originally creative. . . . Fortunately it is possible to regard this phase as merely an interregnum, and indications are not lacking that in not far distant future India will regain that national emancipation and freedom from cramping conditions of foreign control which are essential to her resumption of a complete, fruitful and harmonious national life.

"The most vital and hopeful thing is the unprecedented national solidarity of all Indian peoples. A new synthesis of Indian unity with definite goal of national freedom is at work welding Hindus, Moslems, and all the other Indian communities into a new nation bound together by identity of sentiment and of interests."

Afghanistan Offers Free Land to Politically Oppressed Indians

THE following firman has been issued by the government of Afghanistan in connection with the immigration of refugees from India who find it impossible to live in their motherland because of the tyranny of the British rule there:

"1. Whosoever desires to immigrate into Afghanistan should either get himself registered as an Afghan national or obtain the permit to enter Afghanistan at Peshawar or at the Afghan Frontier Outpost. The moment he sets his foot on Afghan soil he shall be entitled to all rights and privileges of an Afghan citizen and shall be considered to have placed himself under the law of the Sheriat and of Afghanistan.

"2. Those who enter Afghanistan and offer their allegiance to the Government of Afghanistan will get six jareeb (about four acres) of arable land for their maintenance if they be unmarried and eight jareeb if they be married. Boys who have not reached the age of puberty and unmarried girls will not be given any land.

"3. Until the crops are ready for harvest every adult will be given five kabuli seers of flour per month, and every child, from the age of six till he or she reaches puberty, will be given three kabuli seers of flour every month as allowance for

guests. Their allowance will cease in the case of adults when the harvest is gathered.

"4. Those who are granted land will also receive in the first year six seers of wheat per jareeb as seed and also five repees per jareeb for buying agricultural implements as taqavi (advance). The amount of the taqavi so advanced will be realized from them in suitable installments in the fourth, fifth and sixth years.

"5. No revenue will be charged for lands granted to Indian immigrants for the first three years. The rules of the land revenue code will apply to them from the fourth year.

"6. Indian immigrants shall not carry on any political activities without consulting the interests of Afghanistan.

"7. Those among the immigrants who have received good education or are skilled in some art or handicraft will be employed in Afghan service suitable to their qualifications and will receive salaries for such service provided that the Afghan Government is in need of their services. Those who do not join Government service will be at liberty to follow any trade or profession they like.

"8. An office will be opened at Jabalus Siraj for one month or more as need be to arrange for the housing and to render general assistance to Indian immigrants. After this the immigrants will be given lands and settled in parts of Afghanistan that suit the necessities and requirements of the Afghan Government. They will be housed in Government buildings and will be given accommodation suitable to their wants. In cases where a Government building is not available new buildings will be erected for their accommodation."

Boycott the British Urged by the Indians

OVER five hundred Hindustanees being assembled in a mass meeting held in Sacramento, California, August 8, 1920, unanimously passed the following resolution, and cabled to India:

Whereas, the people of India unitedly have condemned the action of the British Government to carry its unlawful warfare and to massacre the unarmed people of India, have registered their opposition to destruction of Independence of India, Persia, Egypt, and Ireland, to dismemberment of Turkey, and to extension of British imperialism in various parts of the world;

Be it resolved, that the Hindustanees residing in America assembled in a mass meeting held in Sacramento, California, August 8, 1920, do hereby declare that they subscribe their hearty support to the program of non-cooperation inaugurated by the people of India through various representative organizations;

Be it also resolved, that we urge the people of India, home and abroad, to exert every effort to discourage the Indian soldiers to serve under the

British Government and carry on any aggressive warfare against any nation;

Be it further resolved, that we urge the people of India not to help carry arms, ammunitions, and military forces to be used against Persia, Egypt, Ireland, Afghanistan, Turkey, Russia, China, and other countries.

Similar resolutions have been passed in New York and other places. The latest dispatch from India states that movements to boycott the British—army, government, courts, industry and commerce—are being carried on with vigor and determination.

Note: The British Government in Bombay has stopped transmission of this message. See Editorial.

Hindustanees Mourn Patriotic Leader's Death

THE following resolutions were unanimously passed at a meeting held in Sacramento, California, August 8, 1920, and cabled to Mrs. Tilak:

I. That the Hindustanees residing in America assembled in a mass meeting held in Sacramento, California, August 8, 1920, express their deep sorrow and grief at the sudden death of Lokmanya Bala Gangadhar Tilak, the leading Statesman, Patriot, and Nationalist of India. In him India, during this period of awakening and transformation, has sustained an irreparable loss.

II. That this meeting sends sincere condolence and sympathy to the bereaved family.

III. That copies of these resolutions be sent to Mrs. Tilak and the Press.

Indian Women's University

REALIZING the importance of education of women in national development, Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, who recently toured through the United States, has donated \$500,000.00 to the founding of an Indian Women's University. Mr. Dulai Gulsher Khan, a public-spirited business man in New York, has also contributed \$200.00 to this cause.

In the course of a letter to Professor Kharve, organizer of the Women's University, Sir Vithaldas says:

"Nothing will give me greater pleasure than that the University should be developed into a vigorous and comprehensive All-India Body, striving for the secondary and high education of our women in different parts of our country and in different directions."

He believes that women of India should be given such training which will enable them to live an independent life without depending upon men for their maintenance.

Commenting on this donation, the *Lahore Tribune* says:

"India stands to-day at the threshold of a great national awakening—political, industrial

and social. But if the dawn of that glorious day is to be speeded and if in its turn that dawn is to expand to the full glory of that noon-day sun, we should place in the fore-front of our national program, the development on right lines of education, both of boys and girls. Indeed, the education of girls is, in a sense, even more important than that of boys, for, it has been truly said: Educate a boy and you educate an individual, educate a girl and you educate an entire family. And this being so, every movement that makes for the education of our women, should have the support of every well-wisher of India."

We strongly advocate co-education, and spirit of differentiation of sex, be it in politics or in education, should be discouraged. But as the conditions are so different, and opportunities are limited in India, any effort to spread education is commendable. Our hearty congratulations to the organizers of the Indian Women's University.

Voice from Women of India

"THE women of India have already voiced their thought to determine how their sons and daughters they have borne should live or die," said Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the suffragist and world-famed poet, at a great meeting held in London under the chairmanship of Mr. George Lansbury.

Mrs. Naidu gave a message, a challenge, a warning, and a prophecy of the spirit of India, focussed in one statement of the indivisible destiny of the people of India in life and in death. She said:

"Let not England think that we have only the courage of despair, but we have the courage of right on our side. Death of a kind may leave a legacy of stainless pride to future generations. . . . The Brahmins and Muslims are reconciled into unity—welded in the flame of a common agony and a common patriotism. Their demand is not that of a slave people for concessions nor for magnanimity in staying their hands when Britain lies in peril of annihilation. They ask only for justice. What right had Britain or any race to settle the destiny of another race because it has lost by the accident of battle?

"The lonely camel driver of the desert was the only true begetter of modern democracy. Islam has added dynamic force to faith and brought art and literature into Europe. Let India settle her own destiny and the Mussulmans settle their own quarrels, deposing themselves as unworthy if they so choose; but for a British nation to dictate to the world of Islam—was that for a Welshman from a little Celtic village?

"Better die," she concluded, "than live as knaves, traitors, cowards or fools. India will stand true to the pledge she has made to the world, and will rekindle a world in ashes by her truth and devotion."

Swadeshi Propaganda by Women

SWADESHI or use of country-made goods and revival of cottage industry are being urged by women of India. Shrimati Sarala Devi Chaudhurani and Mrs. Hazrat Mohani are going from place to place and convincing the women as well as men to adopt hand-spinning and hand-weaving during the leisure hours. Many women are taking Swadeshi vow. Utility of this pledge is evident from the fact that annual drain of millions of dollars by the English Cloth Manufacturers will be stopped. Signs are abundant to indicate that boycott of the British goods will bring about silent but effective revolution ere long, and the women are to be congratulated for their leading part.

Indian Women Suffragists at Geneva

"THE men of India are throughout on the side of their women, and consequently women of India will not find it difficult to get their rights recognised," said Mrs. Hirabai A. Tata, reviewing a short history of the suffrage movement in India, in the Conference of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance held at Geneva in the month of June.

There were ten delegates, clad in beautifully draped Sari, present. Three addressed the conference.

"We have met here as women above everything, to deal with the questions of the women," said Mrs. Mrinalini Sen. "The differences of the East and the West or the questions of different nationalities are unimportant," she reiterated.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the great poetess, inspired the audience with her usual eloquence and poetic touch. She compared the Eastern delegation to the men of the East who had come to pay their gifts to the child born a thousand years ago at Bethlehem. "The women of the East," she said, "and the women of the West have gathered together to pay their offerings to the rising star—the star of Liberty. I am pleased to see that the West is coming round to the same point of view as the East in recognising and emphasising the rights of motherhood. A country is not great by its physical riches or by its territorial possessions, but that country is greatest which recognises the rights of motherhood."

The Labor Revolt in India

IN his splendidly written pamphlet—the Labor Revolt in India published by the Friends of Freedom of India, 7 East 15th Street, New York, Mr. Basanta Koomar Roy, Editor of the India News Service, shows what a wonderful progress the Indian Labor has made within a short period. "Lo! the British have already been seeing spectres of 'Bolshevism'," says he, "in the labor revolt in India. They see in the revolt of the

Indian proletariat the doom of their imperialism and the collapse of the world-wide empire."

Mr. Roy describes the progress of the movement thus:

"Since last January, i. e., in the first six months of the year 1920, there have been at least one hundred strikes involving more than 1,000,000 men, women and children wage earners. And such is the spirit of brotherhood amongst the workers of India that they scarcely lose a strike, though they have just begun to form unions. Heretofore trade guilds and caste systems used to protect the workingman. Now on account of the pressure of poverty the workmen are being forced to change their trades. So trade guilds are disintegrating. And on account of the rapid growth of the revolutionary movement the caste system is fast becoming a thing of the past. A new social order is taking the place of the old. And in this period of reconstruction the workingman realizes the need of industrial organizations. Even the Indian National Congress has voted for the formation of unions. So unions are rapidly growing in number and influence. To name a few such unions that have recently been formed in India: Textile Workers' Union of Bombay, Bombay Millhands' Union, Postmen's Unions in the larger cities, Dockmen's Unions, Bombay United Labor League, Bombay Baroda and Central Railway Employee's Union, Teachers' Unions, Barbers' Unions, Madras Labor Unions, Trolleyman's Union in different cities, Madras Rickshawmen's Union, Railway Workshop Unions, Workmen's Union at Jamsedpur, Calcutta United Association of Masons, Telegraph Operators' Union, etc, etc.

"Not only the railwaymen, the longshoremen and the textile weavers, but even the sweepers and scavengers, and the British slaves in the tea gardens of Assam are in revolt against the present system, and are going on strike and triumphantly winning their victories. To mention a few strikes in India since the beginning of the year: In the general strike in Bombay 200,000 were out. It began in the cotton mills and soon extended to longshoremen, clerks, workers in municipal offices, employees of the petroleum company. Woolen mills at Cawnpore and Bombay, 20,000 out; Railway workshop workers at Jamalpur, 20,000 out; workers in the jute mills of Calcutta, 35,000 out; masons, bricklayers and unskilled workers in the building industries in Calcutta, 20,000 out; Rangoon mills, 22,000 out; Madras trolley workers, 2,000 out; Pioneer Press of Allahabad, 700 out; Madras cotton mill workers, 5,000 out; Calcutta taxi drivers, 2,000 out; Calcutta sweepers, 5,000 out; Karachi port workers, 600 out; Madras cotton mill workers, 17,000 out; gun carriage factory workers at Jubbulpore, 3,500 out; Tata Iron Works at Jamsedpur, 40,000 out; North Western Railway strike including signallers and clerks and managers offices, 70,000 out; tailors in Bombay, 10,000 out; Great Indian Peninsula Railway, 12,000 out; Allahabad Postal and Railway mail service workers; United Provinces government printing shop workers; the

printing press of Civil and Military Gazette; Krishna and Edward mills of Beawar; the spinners of a group of mills at Ahmedabad; second strike in Bombay and Madras cotton mills; Bengal iron and steel workers; Eastern Chemical Co.; Empire Engineering Co.; Angus Engineering Works; Cooper-Allen Tannery of Bombay; Printing Press of the Times of India; etc., etc., etc.

"The tyrannical attitude of the British Indian government in suppressing strikes in India may be told by the story of the Calcutta postmen's strike: The Calcutta postal peons respectfully represented to the British government that their families were starving on \$5.00 a month salary, and that unless they were given \$6.66 a month they would go on strike. The British officials did not think it worth while even to consider such a proposition. The postmen went on strike, 'with the result that one man got twenty days' imprisonment with hard labor for being the treasurer of the strike fund, five others were condemned to three weeks' imprisonment with hard labor for being the leaders, eight others were fined, some dismissed, and the rest pardoned and kept on the old salary of \$5.00 a month,' when the cost of living increased by 150 per cent."

Significance of the strikes and unions in India lies in the fact that the realization of the potential strength of the workmen will be a great boon to the progress of the proletariat movement in the world. The Indian workers are determined to win their rights, and are working hand in hand with the rest of the people in bringing about a system in which everybody will have the equality of opportunity. Revolutionary Nationalists and labor see a new vision in their national life, consummation of which can only be possible in destruction of British imperialism.

British Plot to Shanghai Hindus

THE disclosure of the fact that the British Shipping interests supported by British Consulate in New York have been plotting to shanghai Hindu laborers in the East Coast has stirred up the U. S. Department of Labor at Washington, D. C.

There are not over 100 Hindu laborers scattered in the Eastern States. Most of them can prove their legal entry into this country, and no question can be raised of their right to go about their business. Some of them have married and settled down here for the last several years.

Yet, nearly eighty have been arrested during the last month. "Thirty-nine Hindus were siezed," says The Nation, August 21, 'at a factory gate in South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on July 26. They were taken to the police station, locked up overnight, and shipped to Ellis Island the next morning. No warrants were shown them, and none had then been issued. A British sea captain went to Ellis Island on July 31—the record does

not say who told him they were there—and pressed the Hindus to ship with him at pay, five to seven dollars a month. They refused to go with him, but were told by Ellis Island officials that if they did not sign they would get six months in jail, whereupon some of them did sign. The British sea captain had told a Syrian who makes a business of securing seamen for ships that he would need very few men this trip because the Ellis Island officials were sending him forty Hindus. This Syrian understood that the British Consulate in New York systematically denounced Hindus in this country to agents of the Department of Labor, who arrested them and then turned them over to British sea captains as cheap crews."

The Department of Labor is surprised that subordinate immigration officers are not only violating the laws entrusted to them, but also doing Britain's dirty work. Their action is reflecting on the character of the Administration of this Country.

Through the efforts of the Friends of Freedom for India, New York City, and American Civil Liberties Union the affair is being vigorously investigated, and Mr. Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, has taken the matter in his own hands.

In our next issue we shall have the opportunity of writing more about the British conspiracy to deport the Hindus.

Our Correspondence

Free India From English Pirates

Plea of an Australian

EXPRESSING his sympathy and interest in the independence movement of India, Mr. Arthur Thomson of Australia writes from Los Angeles:

Oppressed and persecuted India is the concern of all lovers of freedom and justice. India under British rule is a story of slavery, brutality, famine, and degradation never equaled even in the days of the Roman Empire.

India is struggling—struggling to be free from the heavy, life-sapping yoke of the English imperialism.

It may stagger the imagination to think that over 315 million people of India are kept in bondage in order to satisfy the economic lust of English imperialists—who neither toil nor till nor spin. Famine stalks through the land, claiming millions of victims—famine that is entirely due to British exploitation is absolutely preventable. Half the population live in a state of semi-starvation in a land where one State alone can feed the rest of the country at

least for two years. And the worst of it all is that upon the economic slavery of Indian masses the "glory" and riches of British imperialism thrive.

The people, the workers, of Britain are enslaved by the same gang of imperialistic pirates and are slaves of the same economic and social system that enslaves the people, the workers, of India.

As an Australian I raise my voice against the colossal injustice of British rule in India and pray for the day when India shall be absolutely free and her people no longer in bondage to rulers, domestic or foreign. I appeal to all friends and disciples of liberty, equality, and fraternity to rally and support the cause of the Indian people. This is the day of the People! The workers of brain and brawn of the world are marching on to full freedom, co-operation and fellowship. Do not forget that India has 300 millions of souls to bear the torch of liberty.

(Signed) ARTHUR THOMSON.

Los Angeles, August 6, 1920.



Our Book-Shelf

The Opium Monopoly, by Ellen N. LaMotte. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920.)

How political dominance secured through drugging a nation is accomplished is revealed by Ellen LaMotte in her book, the Opium Monopoly.

Miss LaMotte has not tried to write a dissertation. She presents facts and figures clearly and concisely arranged from official documents so that the reader may definitely estimate the character of the Opium Monopolist.

The subject is not new, but the public who is disillusioned by debasing propaganda carried on for years may be awakened by the startling facts.

That the Indian revolutionary nationalists desire to eradicate evils from their society is evident from the fact that it was a young man of India who drew the attention of Miss LaMotte to this subject. She writes thus:

"Of all phases of British rule in India, it was this policy (Opium trade by British government) which excited him most, and which caused him most ardently to wish that India had self-government, so that the country could protect from this evil."

The British government controls and manages, and maintains the monopoly of source, supply and distribution of opium in every part of the world.

How opium is cultivated and manufactured is shown from the British Blue Books: "The cultivator of opium in the monopoly districts receives a license, and is **granted advances** to enable him to prepare the land for the crop, and he is required to deliver the whole of the product at a fixed price to opium agents (of British government), by whom it is dispatched to the government factories at Patna Ghazipur (India).

"The money advanced to the cultivator bears no interest. The British Indian government lends money without interest in no other cases."

That the British government has intentionally compelled the people to be addicted to drug-habit is proven from the fact that in Straits Settlements, the local British government derives from forty to fifty per cent of its revenue from opium.

In Hongkong, the British government conducts an opium factory and maintains a *dépôt* for importation of opium from India. Hongkong, by the way, is a Chinese territory forcibly taken from China as a result of the first opium war—"a war of protest on the part of China against Great Britain's insistence on her right to deluge China with opium. China's resistance was in vain—her efforts to stem the tide of opium were fruitless—the might, majesty, dominion and power of the British Empire triumphed, and China was beaten."

Miss LaMotte describes how China in 1906, in spite of gigantic handicap, decided to free herself from the opium vice. But "she has no control over the extra-territorial holdings of European powers where opium may be procured. Opium shops licensed by foreign governments are always ready to supply her with forbidden drug."

In India alone, she tells us that the British government collects revenue, over which the people have no control, over \$15,000,000 directly from opium. Besides, the government receives \$50,000,000 from the sale of opium under excise department which includes opium and liquors.

The British government is increasing poppy cultivation in every year. According to a statement by E. S. Montague, Secretary of State for India in British Parliament, in 1913-14, 144,561 acres of land were under poppy cultivation; in 1916-17, 204,186 acres. The output was in 1913-14, 1,991,944 lbs., and in 1916-17, 2,634,168 lbs. The increase in production between 1913 and 1917 was more than 642,224 pounds, and the area of land taken up for cultivation augmented by 59,625 acres. That British monopoly is not ended does, perhaps, require no further proof.

"A nation that can subjugate," says Miss LaMotte, "300,000,000 helpless people and then turn them into drug addicts—for the sake of revenue—is a nation which commits a cold-blooded atrocity unparalleled by any atrocities committed in the rage and heat of war. The Blue Book shows no horror at these figures. Complacent approval greets the increase of 44 per cent of opium consumption, and the increase of 67 per cent in the use of other habit-forming drugs. Approval, and a shrewd appreciation of the possibilities for more revenue from 'progressively higher rates of duty,' knowing well that drug addicts will sell soul and body in order to procure their supply."

Very clearly indeed Miss LaMotte points out that none of the countries like the British Isles, Canada, Australia, New Zealand do not permit traffic. "Is it because the white race is worth preserving, worth protecting, and subject nations are fair game for exploitation of any kind?" she asks. Wherever the British flag is unfurled over the non-British people, the opium traffic is carried on. Japan is the only Oriental nation which has been able to maintain its sovereignty, where "men and women are not deliberately debauched" by forcing drug-habit.

It will not take more than half an hour to read the book, but the wealth of information that it contains will enable the reader to understand what is being done in the name of Christianity, civilisation, and successful colonisation.

OUR PLAN

As the importance of India in world-politics is being recognized and appreciated, there has long been felt the necessity of having an Organ to voice the progressive and revolutionary spirit that is manifest in every phase of the life of India.

To meet this just and timely demand, the Hindustan Gadar Party has decided to publish a Monthly Review—"The Independent Hindustan."

Being fully conscious of the difficulty in fulfilling grandiose promises, "The Independent Hindustan" is planned to discuss:

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Pulse of the Press, in order to understand adequately the public opinion of India.

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Review of Books.

Our chief aim is to show what absolute and complete Political, Economic, Social, and Intellectual Independence of India means to us, to Asia, and to the World.

In the crisp pages of "The Independent Hindustan" you will find something unique and interesting each month—something different from what you find in other Journals.

We want to serve you in the best possible manner. Our service and success depend entirely upon your cordial co-operation. We therefore ask you:

First—To send in your subscriptions.

Second—To send us names and addresses of your friends and acquaintances who are interested already, and who are likely to be interested in India, Asia and Ireland. There are persons among your friends whom you want to inform about British imperialism. Let us have their names and addresses; we would consider it a great privilege to be of service to you.

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No One Usurps The Sovereignty of Other Nations

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That is precisely what the British are doing in all parts of the world. You must know the truth. We, the American citizens, have organized

The Friends of Freedom For India

with a view: To maintain the right of asylum for political refugees from India.
To present the case for the independence of India.

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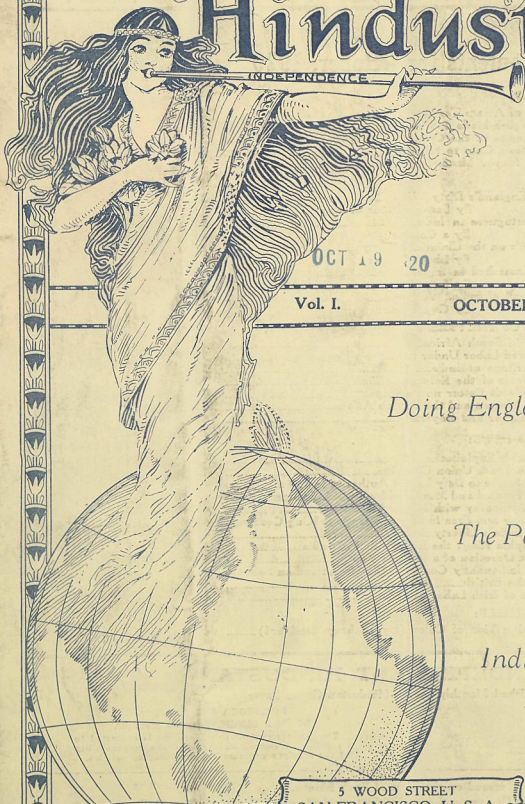
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7 East Fifteenth Street

NEW YORK CITY, U. S. A.

The Independent Hindustan



*A Monthly Review of
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Social and Intellectual
Independence of India*

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No. 2

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The Portuguese in India

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VOL. I.

SAN FRANCISCO, OCTOBER, 1920.

No. 2.

:: Editorials ::

A Tale of Assam Tea

TRAGEDY and travesty of justice which tinge the color of every petal of tea is revealed in a shooting case which quite often occurs in the Assam tea-gardens.

Assam is in North East part of India and a very thinly populated province. There grows the best kind of black tea which society sips not only to gossip but to solve the social problems as well.

Large tracts of land are being cultivated there, and the English planter fattens at the expense of the Coolie labor. There he lives and amasses his large fortune, unchecked and unrestrained. He does not toil nor till, but he recruits a vast army of labor from the famished and famine-stricken territories of India, and through his agents tempts and inveigles the poverty-stricken hungry men, women and children. These bonded slaves are then shipped to Assam tea-plantation where they live at the mercy of the English tea-planters.

It is the English planter who decides and dictates what kind of moral code and what physical comfort the Coolie will have. No superior authority has any jurisdiction over the autocratic régime of the English politico-economical plantation.

To safeguard the power of the planter, the British Government introduces intoxicating liquor to the Coolies so that the oppressed peoples may forget the sufferings and hardships of plantation life. Intoxicated as they become, the morale of the labor force is utterly undermined.

Heroic spirit of the chivalrous Englishmen and women is aroused by the wanton cruelties that they perpetrate upon helpless Coolies. The Coolie has no power to offer resistance. His agony echoes and re-echoes within the vast expanse of the Assam Hills. There he, his wife, his sons and daughters are being hunted by these Britishers who are saturated with indecent instinct.

Recently an Englishman by the name of Reed was taken to the court in connection with a case—known as Khoreal Shooting Case.

This case reveals not only the character of the English planter but also explains eloquently that the English subjects of King George can do no wrong.

Reed, an English planter, was fanned into flaming passion by the spring-balmy-breeze. One day as he was riding in the tea-garden, he happened to see "Heera," daughter of Gangadhar Goala, a Coolie, in his garden. As long as they work in the plantation, Reed thought he had both material and immaterial right over all of them. So he approached and made an immoral proposal to Heera. Heera became indignant, and on returning from the work, told her parents.

The parents, helpless as they were to counteract the wrath of the master of the plantation, told a few neighbours.

In the meantime, Reed sent his men who were ejected from Gangadhar's house.

Impatient became he and went in the evening to bring Heera by force. As he was opposed, he began to fire upon the crowds, wounding fatally many.

Reed was subsequently arrested and tried before a judge and jury entirely composed of the Englishmen.

The line of defense taken by Reed was that he had been out deer hunting with a pistol and had lost his way. Suddenly he found his way just near Heera's house and exclaimed, "Here road." The Coolies misunderstood his words, Reed said, and thought he was calling "Heera." What an imperfect mechanism of the auditory nerve of the Coolie! So on they came armed with stones and began pelting him.

Heera in her evidence in court said in part thus:

"About a month ago, on Tuesday, I was engaged in 'plucking' on a tillah. Reed told me, 'Come and live with me?' I said, 'That cannot be. On my return home I will inform my parents.' I did so. The same night Reed came to us with Jaleshwar Chowkidar (a police constable) and asked my parents to make me over to him. My father resentfully rejected this proposal, and Reed went away.

"Next day at about nine or ten p. m. Reed sent a boy named Nochib Ali to fetch me. After Nochib Ali had left, Reed came to our house. He had one foot on the verandah and one outside it. He called out my name. We were in the house but did not utter a single word. My mother sent my brother Nepal to my father. We saw Reed firing shots and ran away up to Garib's

door. At that time my father arrived and Reed fired at him."

According to the testimony of Gangadhar, father of Heera, one bullet struck him in the hand and another in the stomach.

The English Judge and English Jury, of course, acquitted Reed.

It is evident from the facts submitted in the case, that Reed was eyeing Heera and to satisfy his vile temptation he adopted an extreme course.

The armless people had no way of defending the honor of Gangadhar's daughter.

Such is the way India's labor is being treated in the tea-plantations.

Let the reformists remember those Indian laborers in English tea-plantations where sighs have been blended with tea, and now soar with the steam of tea-kettle.

The English-Made Independence for Egypt

AFTER robbing the people of their birth-right, the British Government's anxiety to dictate a form of freedom for the oppressed and persecuted nation is not a new plan in the crafty and cunning statesmanship of Britain. If the facts have the vitality enough to pierce through the screened fancies and fictions, it may be possible for us to know the truth about the reported plans of freeing Egypt by the British Government.

In so far the announcement published in the *London Times* can be taken authoritative, the agreement reached between the Milner Commission and the Egyptian delegates is a qualified one. The chief points of the declaration are:

"Egypt will recognize Great Britain's privileged position in the valley of the Nile and agree, in case of war, to afford every facility for access to Egyptian territory. Great Britain will maintain a garrison in Egypt in the Canal Zone. Egypt regains control of foreign relations subject to her not making treaties contrary to British policy, and will have the right to maintain certain diplomatic representatives abroad. Capitulations will be abolished. British officials will be represented on, if they do not wholly control, the Public Debt Commission. Further negotiations will cover the Sudan problem."

In analysis of the provisions, it will appear that Egypt's sovereignty and independence will largely depend upon the dictation of England. Finance, military and foreign relations could not function independently of England.

Representation of the British officials in Public Debt Commission will mean that England directly and indirectly will control the financial policy of Egypt. It should be remembered that the financial control over India and Persia paved the way to usurpation of the sovereignty of those countries by Britain.

Secondly, the maintenance of military garrison in Egyptian territory will simply prove that Egypt would be used to further the military and imperialistic schemes of England, which include the military aggrandisement against the Arabs, Persians, Indians, and other peoples. Such action is considered as violation of the sovereignty of a State in accordance with the International Law.

Thirdly, Egypt is not allowed to negotiate with foreign powers contrary to the policy of the British Government. In other words, Egypt will be told not to do so and so, so and so, and when so and so will be deducted there will be very little left for her independence. Very clear indeed is the capitulation.

It is not "Cuban" independence for Egypt, as many of the publicists presuppose. Egypt does not occupy the same position as Cuba does to the territories of the United States. No power can carry on a military expedition against England by having the control over Egypt. But Egypt being at the cross-roads, it is possible for England to continue her imperialistic aggrandisement. England wants to control Egypt in order to safeguard her imperial interests in the Near and Middle East. As Egypt will have no independent movement, England will be rewarded with all that she is planning to possess. We are convinced that in accordance with the test of International Law, Egypt's sovereignty is a fiction, and a State without sovereignty is not independent.

The Italian paper, *Il Giornale d'Italia*, publishes an interview with an Egyptian delegate in Rome in which the latter says:

"You ask what Egypt wants. She wants independence, complete, unqualified independence. We merely want our country to be our own."

There is a wide difference between this statement and the agreements reached. It is inconceivable that the intelligence of the Egyptian people has been prostituted, when we remember how Britain took control over Egypt.

In 1882, when the people were struggling to establish a popular Government, Great Britain, conspiring with the Khedive, occupied Egypt over the protest of the Egyptians.

Up to that time, Egypt had the original ruling power, under the protection of Turkey. The Government of Egypt could maintain an army, contract loans, and make commercial treaties and enter into international agreements. For all practical purposes, Egypt was independent.

Gladstone on June 23rd, 1884, stated: "We pledge ourselves not to prolong our military occupation in Egypt beyond the first of January, 1888."

And just on December 18, 1914, Great Britain proclaimed protectorate over Egypt.

As the pledges were being violated in every instance, the people elected a commission to present the case of independence of Egypt before the Peace Conference. Great Britain arrested four of the leading citizens of Egypt, who had been selected by the Egyptian people to go to

Paris, and deported them to Malta where they were thrown into a military prison.

The Egyptians rose in revolt, and their claim for liberty was met with machine-guns, bombs, armored cars and aeroplanes. Still, the British Embassy at Washington on September 2, 1919, declared: "Great Britain has carefully avoided destroying the sovereignty of Egypt."

In the light of the agreements that have been made, it is remarkably clear that England wants to use Egypt as her base of operation against the nations of the East. Her false promises made in bad faith can not smooth the smoldering fire. We are sure the Egyptian nationalists will stand as firm and resolute as the Sinn Feiners and the Indian Revolutionaries.

The British Empire is on the verge of collapse, and almost like a bankrupt person, the English are trying to make pledges, the mendacity of which is so well known.

Ireland, India, Persia, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Young Turkey, Georgia, Azerbeizan, Afghanistan, in fact all the East and the Near East, including Russia, are practically unanimous in directing their united efforts for the destruction of the British imperialism. If Egypt is tempted to make any concession and compromise, it will be tantamount to the status of Belgium, if she would have allowed Germany to make military operations from her territories against England and France. Egypt recognizes this fact thoroughly well. It is therefore a futile attempt on the part of the British to push a clever piece of propaganda to begot the real motives by deceiving words.

The League of the Oppressed Peoples

NEVER before in the history of the world has there been such unity of thought and purpose as prevailed among the oppressed peoples assembled in Moscow in the latter part of July to discuss the ways and means as to how to obtain economic and political emancipation.

It was a Congress of the people who desired to bring about a conscious change in the social order. Over three hundred delegates from every part of the world were present. The Congress not only became a forum, but also the instrument through which the will of the oppressed peoples was explicitly expressed.

The question of imperialism-infested subject countries received the most intimate attention. The importance of it will be evident from the fact that for three days—sixteen hours per day—the subject was discussed from every angle.

The Third International, as the Congress is called, had a decidedly definite and distinct outlook in regard particularly to colonial policy of the imperialistic countries. It has rectified the

gross blunder that was made by the Second International.

"Dominated as it was," says a keen and intelligent observer of the world-forces, "by a group of politicians, permeated with bourgeois culture, the Second International failed to appreciate the importance of the colonial question. For them, the world did not exist outside of Europe. They could not see the necessity of co-ordinating the revolutionary movements in Europe with those in the non-European countries."

Without subscribing to the views ventilated in the proceedings of the Congress, it is worth while for the students on Economics and International Relations to ponder over the different theses submitted by various delegates so that the world-relations may be scientifically adjusted.

How the colonial system is maintained even in those countries where labor-forces are gaining strength every day is made clear by the following theses submitted by M. N. Roy of India:

"Super-profit gained in the colonies is the mainstay of modern capitalism, and as long as the latter is not deprived of this source of super-profit, it will not be easy for the European working-class to change the capitalistic order. Due to the possibility of the extensive and intensive exploitation of the human labor and natural resources of the colonies, the capitalist nations of Europe are trying, not without success, to recuperate their present bankruptcy. By exploiting the masses in the colonies, European imperialism will be in a position to give concession after concession to the labor aristocracy at home. Whilst on the one hand, European imperialism seeks to lower the standard of living of the home-proletariat by bringing into competition the productions of the poorly paid workers in subject countries, on the other hand it will not hesitate to go to the extent of sacrificing the entire surplus value in the home country, so long as it continues in the position to gain its huge super-profit in the colonies.

"Foreign imperialism, imposed on the Eastern peoples, prevented them from the economic and social development along with their fellow workers in Europe and America. Owing to the imperialistic policy which arrested the industrial development in the colonies, a proletarian class in the strictest sense of the term could not come into existence there until recently. The indigenous craft industries were destroyed to make room for the products of the centralized industries in the imperialistic countries. Consequently a majority of the population was driven to the land to produce food grains and raw materials for export to foreign countries. On the other hand, there followed a rapid concentration of land in the hands of the big land owners or financial capitalists or the state, thus creating a huge landless peasantry. The great bulk of the population was kept in a state of illiteracy. As a result of this policy, the spirit of revolt latent in every subject people found expression only through the small, educated middle class.

"Foreign domination has obstructed the free development of the social forces, therefore its overthrow is the first step towards the revolution in the colonies. So, to help overthrow foreign rule in the colonies is not to endorse nationalistic aspirations of the native bourgeoisie, but to open the way to the smothered proletariat there."

It is clear that the collective bargaining with labor aristocracy may be resorted to by the imperialistic country in order to keep the vast majority of the people of the earth under subjugation. The first step towards political, economic, social and intellectual independence is to break up the colonial imperialism. What is then needed is to strengthen the solidarity of the exploited and oppressed peoples through the formation of a league under a government where it may have the surest security.

The Prince Goes to His Pa

SENTING the danger that was awaiting him in India, the prince of Wales, a son of George of England, hurried back from Australia to his papa. Travelling abroad, at the expense of the taxpayers' money, he has learnt the truth of the maxim: *Ya palāyati, Sa jibatī*—Safety first.

While he was in Australia, the news came that the people of India were no longer going to tolerate the nonsensical semblance of kingship. The Punjab massacre is still fresh in memory, loaded with the bitter cry, sighs and agonies of the innocent men, women and children. How the people's pocket is squeezed out on each occasion of the visit of such parasitic prince is very well remembered by poverty-stricken millions. They, therefore, told in plain language through the press and platforms that the prince would be an unwelcome guest. And in a time when revolutionary activities are gaining strength and plans to inaugurate "Boycott the British" are being perfected, no body can foretell about the fate of the forced hospitality. The prince and his retinue of slaves got the hint and ran for the Downing Street by way of the Panama Canal.

For the first time in the history of the British imperialism, its symbol has determinedly been defied. The incident signifies the moral defeat of the English sovereignty and proves beyond any doubt that India, Ireland and other countries are not going to coddle any longer these puppet princes and kings. Such a defiant attitude as the Indian people have shown should be hailed as a signal to confine king-sheep within the British Isles.

Martyr Mayor MacSwiney

THE position is that I am Lord Mayor of Cork and Chief Magistrate of this city. And I declare this court illegal and those who take part in it are liable to arrest under the laws of the Irish Republic," so declared Mayor

Terence MacSwiney, when he was being tried before the English military tribunal.

"You have got to realize," said he to the president of the court, "and will have to realize it before long, that the Irish Republic is really existing. I want to remind you of the fact that the gravest offense that can be committed by any individual is an offense against the head of a State. The offense is relatively less great when committed against the head of a City, and the illegality is very much more when in addition to seizing that person, his building and private room is violated and his papers taken."

Mayor MacSwiney makes the charges against the British government very clear. It is the British who are violating the laws of the Republic of Ireland. Though simply and solely by virtue of her superior brute force, England is holding on to Ireland, the time is not far off when she will have to pay the penalty of her crimes. The moral consciousness of the world is awakened and the people everywhere are alive to see that the menacing British imperialism is heading to imperil the human liberty throughout the world.

By the stand which Mayor MacSwiney has taken, he asks whether Ireland, India and other nations will be allowed to control their own affairs without any interference from outside. Are the people of Ireland, India and other countries to be murdered to sustain British rule? How long will the blood of the liberty-loving people be spilled to quench the thirst of John Bull? These are the questions raised by the martyred sons of Erin.

The world must be made to feel that the struggle of Ireland is not isolated. The same tyranny and the same trampling of human rights are going on everywhere—in India, Egypt, Persia, China and other countries. Behind Mayor MacSwiney and his comrades remains the moral force of the world. By their death—death which detests to be polluted by the soiled hands of the British—the new lives will be created to hasten the doom of the British imperialism. Let us assure Mayor MacSwiney that we shall not forget the immortal lines in his "Battle Cry":

"Yea, reckon up the price for us, however great it be,
We'll paint in our best of blood for Ireland's liberty."

And may we add: Human Liberty.

Have You Forgotten
to Subscribe?

Doing England's Dirty Work

DOES America still cherish justice and human liberty as she did? Does America still hope to retain her former prestige as an asylum for the oppressed of the world? Is America calamitously precipitating the downward path of what constitutes a British dependency? Are we living in India or Ireland? It is shockingly painful that such questions can have the least occasion to agitate the minds of the Hindusthanes in America. But it can not be truthfully denied that such questions are in their minds and on their lips, for in more instances than one they have been persecuted in this "land of the free and the home of the brave" by American officials at the sweet biddings of the minions of His Britannic Majesty.

Recently thirty-nine Indian workers of the Bethlehem Steel Company were arrested without warrants at the gates of the factories at Bethlehem, Pa. They were not even allowed to go to their bunk-houses to get their clothes; they were kept in police custody and were taken to Ellis Island the next morning. At this gate of America they were lodged in filthy cells full of vermin. Anything but decent food and human treatment was meted out to them. They were studiously kept away from any communication with newspaper reporters. Even a reporter of the *New York Evening Post* was denied the privilege of an interview with these hapless Hindus. Without any formal charges and without any hearing they were ordered to leave the American shores at once. The men were puzzled beyond comprehension at such an undemocratic act of the Democratic officials in Democratic America.

Of a sudden the British Captain of the *Lucerus* appeared on the scene and the Hindusthanes were summarily ordered to follow him to the boat, and there work as seamen. But when they came to know that it was a British ship on which they were asked to work, they flatly refused to obey the order. Asked the reason, they said that to work on board a British ship was worse than working in "hell," for it was a living torture. Insufficient food, miserable wages, unclean clothing, brutal flogging and kicking were things of daily occurrence to Indian seamen on British boats. In reply to their pathetic appeals the Federal Immigration authorities threatened them with six months' imprisonment in jail if they delayed to obey the order. Thirty were forced to sign papers that they were willing to work on the *Lucerus*, and they were readily shipped off to the British boat. But nine defiantly refused to obey such arbitrary orders; for one of them was a naturalised American. He demanded the privileges of an American citizen. Things became complex. The immigration authorities began to think.

In the meantime the Friends of Freedom for India took the entire charge of the cases and

retained attorneys for the deportees, and in co-operation with the Civil Liberties Union secured writs of habeas corpus. Thus a part of the conspiracy to deal in human slavery was stopped. The cases were transferred to the Pennsylvania Immigration Station at Gloucester, N. J., for formal hearing. Mr. Walter Nelles and Mr. Murray Bernays ably defended the cases. Tarak Nath Das and Miss Agnes Smedley, the Secretaries of the Friends of Freedom for India, helped the lawyers in the case. In the course of his investigations, Mr. Nelles discovered a gigantic conspiracy between powerful British shipping interests and certain American immigration authorities to shanghai Indian workers out of this country to serve British interests, to the detriment of America's well-being. Thus reads a report in the *New York World*:

"Mr. Nelles charges that Abdul Jabbar and thirty-eight other Hindus were arrested in South Bethlehem, Pa., about two weeks ago and forced to sign their consent to ship on the British steamship *Lucerus*, going to India. Mr. Nelles's charges, which he said had been accompanied by sustaining evidence, allege that on or before July 28th, 1920, Commissioner General of Immigration Caminetti, Deputy Commissioner Uhl of Ellis Island, with other persons, some of whom were connected with the British consular service and with certain British steamship companies, entered into combination and conspiracy to commit a fraud upon the Constitution and laws of the United States by coercing or shanghaiing alien herein (Abdul Jabbar) and certain other aliens into involuntary servitude as seamen on board the British steamer *Lucerus*, then lying off Staten Island in New York Harbor. The complaint further alleges that the arrest of these aliens was unlawful and deportation warrants against them were obtained without justifying evidence. Nelles asserted that Uhl and Immigration Inspector Augustus Schell of Ellis Island had refused him permission to consult with the aliens, thus denying them their legal rights to counsel. He said that Schell had even threatened him with disbarment because of what the immigration man referred to as his "interference in deportation cases."

During the hearing which was held *in camera*, many interesting points regarding the high-handed methods came out. It became known that when these men were arrested at Bethlehem, some of them asked why they were being arrested. The police told them, "We have nothing to do with these arrests, it is the British that want you." One day Immigration Commissioner J. J. Hughes, of Gloucester, was on the witness

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The Portuguese in India

THERE are two other powers besides the British still clinging to small territorial possessions in India. One is the French on the east coast, and the other is the Portuguese on the west coast. Though in the colonial conflicts the British became more successful, they have not found the means of eliminating these two neighbours from the spheres of their imperial influence.

The Portuguese possessions in India comprise the three small colonies of Goa, Damaun and Diu, having an area of about 1100 square miles, and a population of about 400,000. Until recently these colonies were governed from Portugal. In 1918, autonomy, however, was granted to them by means of a Constitutional Charter, in accordance with provisions of which the people now enjoy many more privileges than their brothers under British rule.

It is interesting to observe the great difference between the Portuguese rule and the British rule in India. Long before the people had begun to demand their rights Portugal had thrown open to her Indian citizens all government offices. The army and the navy, the civil service and the judiciary, in fact, there was not a position to which a Hindu could not be elevated. This handful of people sent from India two senators and two deputies to Portugal, elected by a fairly large suffrage, and this was under the monarchy. Now, since the establishment of the Republic, the people enjoy universal manhood suffrage, and vote even for the President of the Portuguese Republic.

The people had to put up a strenuous fight to obtain the reforms. And one great result of the long period of agitation was the rousing of the masses to a sense of nationalism. The political campaign has brought about a radical change in the relations between Portugal and her possessions in India. The people are no longer like pawns on a chess board, to be juggled with from Lisbon. The news of the struggles of their fellow countrymen under the British rule are eagerly followed; and needless to add, that the people no longer consider themselves as in any way separated from the rest of India, be it under the British or the French or the Portuguese rule.

To some it is incomprehensible as to why these people should at all be eager to throw off the foreign yoke, when Portugal has left them practically to themselves. But the fact is overlooked that these colonies are an integral part of India, fighting for freedom and liberty. Closer bonds are being forged between all parts of India, and no kind of foreign rule can effectively keep India from making a united effort to regain her rights.

It was not, to be sure, anything strange that led Portugal to admit her Indian citizens in the government of the country. It was only a recognition of the fact that the Hindus could fill any

position just as well as anyone else. As far back as 1885 one Hindu had risen to the highest post in the colonies, that of Viceroy. In Portugal itself several of those who went as senators or deputies rose to ministerial positions; and just before the proclamation of the Republic one Hindu ably held the portfolio of finance in the Ministry.

The reasons for the development of the Hindus under the Portuguese are not far off to seek. In the first place, it was the opportunity, and, secondly, the educational facilities that are responsible for the results. Education, elementary as well as secondary, has always been free in Portuguese India, and since 1911 elementary education has been made compulsory. There are schools not only for the teaching of Portuguese, but also several schools for the teaching of the vernacular languages, the languages of India. What a contrast between this system and the system prevailing in British India!

So much is heard in these days about the Anglo-Saxon colonial successes all over the world, and so little about the other nations that it would be interesting to compare the different colonial policies and systems. Suffice it for the present to say, however, that there is a great difference between the Portuguese and the British colonial policies and their results. The former, like the other Latin colonial powers, has created in India a distinct type of people, while the latter undoubtedly came very near destroying all sense of civic liberty in the people.

It should not be supposed that the people in Portuguese India are contented. Though they have good educational facilities, and for all purposes have equal civic rights with their Portuguese fellow citizens, and last but not least, they have a fairly large share in the government of their country, yet they aspire for complete freedom for their country. It should not be imagined that these small coast provinces could forever remain separated from the rest of India. The people are not satisfied. They are only preparing themselves, and awaiting an opportunity to take their place in the United States of India.

The activities of the nationalists have begun to frighten the small group of imperialists in Portugal. In their first fright, aggravated by the news from British India, these imperialists attempted to put a check to the movement by curtailing the liberties granted in the Constitutional Charter. But soon they found out that the time had gone by when such a step could be taken with impunity and without the least opposition; and despite the foreign pressure brought on the Government in Portugal to revoke the autonomy, the Government was forced to reconsider its action in view of the united front shown by

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The Tolls on the Claim of Liberty

"THE government against which the claim of liberty is tantamount to high treason is a government to which submission is equivalent to slavery," said Edmund Burke.

It is the claims of liberty for their suffering and bleeding Motherland, Indians are sent to perish in prisons and to be annihilated on the gallows. The fiendish British Government hopes thereby to overawe the people by devilish display of brute force. Atrocities, which are not only shocking, but nauseating in the extreme, are daily being perpetrated on the defenseless, innocent population. The massacre at Amritsar simply shows the machinations of a troubled conscience. The Indians are practically forced to become serfs in their own country. The "perfidious Albion" faithfully following the detestable policy of "Divide and rule" has amply shown his native traits of "might is right" by trampling under his feet many a peace-loving, righteous nation. He is the self-styled carrier of the "Burdens of Civilisation" and an interpreter of Western culture.

What a civilisation! The most refined and productive method of gathering "almighty dollar" by hook or crook. What a fool! who builds his hopes on the sands of this Maya (deceptive delusion) where money is the master, and ideals are to fool the masses. Their "money bags" justify the filthiest trick to fill their coffers, to win the money-markets of the world. Nothing is sacred to them. The civilised British Government of India, true to the very letter, has squeezed and wrung the people dry. The so-called famines in India are actually famines of money. Nature has ever been very bountiful to Hindustan. It has been estimated that one State alone could feed the rest of the country by a single harvest (if properly cultivated) for a period of two years and six months.

The wholesale destruction of educational institutions, industries and commerce of India has ever been the pious act of the English, since their advent into India.

Fabulous amounts of savings and surplus incomes from India to Britain are taken away every year in the name of civilisation. The people also enjoy that wonderful bliss of over-taxation in a very enormous scale.

There is a stern opposition to the utilization by the Indian people of the economic resources of their country, to economic development and social improvements. The recent strikes amply verify these statements. No other country has ever been so much exploited by the English capitalists or any capitalist cliques in all the ages as India.

The people are wide awake now. No further attempt on fomentation of religious animosities will have any effect, whatever. A monster evil

system of police rule with its highly organised espionage system is rigidly maintained to keep the people under her thumb. A constant censorship is kept on the press and over publications generally. Printing offices are invaded and dismantled. The military and the police confiscate the property and do the generally accepted functions of civilisation—flogging, killing, and looting ruthlessly.

Sad is our plight, but the invader by wanton destruction and devastation has not succeeded in exterminating us as well as he intended. Our weakness as well as our strength lies in our number. The days of our feebleness are gone and our strength is now telling heavily on the foul invader, and he is in a difficult predicament.

It is self-evident that he measures his greatness by our sighs, and by his envies and hatreds. His gross iniquities have undermined and emasculated our people to a great extent. There is a limit, however; farther than that he cannot go.

The English capitalist clique is no friend of her own laboring and struggling masses. Poor Mr. — Smith in Manchester is as much a slave as the Hindus on the Ganges, and the Negroes on the Congo.

The British liberty is a negation of liberty, a myth. There is a vast difference between their theory and practice. They are not glad in the gladness of others; they do not realise the tragedy of the cheapness of man, for compelling others to remain low, they can not for a long time remain high. Every country contaminated by their foul touch is bereft of all honor, honesty, necessities of life, education, and sanitation. The touch indeed is marvelously miraculous in making the entire people of Aryan parentage at once an inferior, degenerated and heterogeneous mass of ignoramuses.

That human document American Declaration of Independence holds that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed." British domination in India is nothing but the negation of those principles. It behooves, then, American citizens to stand manfully against all forms of autocracy. Those who compromise with autocracy are traitors to the progress of humanity.

Mark Twain says: "I bring you the stately nation named Christendom, returning bedraggled, besmirched and dishonored from pirate raids in Kia Chau, Manchuria, South Africa and the Philippines (I may add India) with her soul full of meanness, her pocket full of boodle, and her

mouth full of pious hypocracies. Give her soap and towel, but hide the looking glass." If the Christians are true to their principles they must see what is being done in the name of Christianity.

Every selfish aim will fail. Liberal spirits everywhere will gasp at the manifest mendacity of British assertions of liberty and democracy. It is not indulgence in personal tantrums, when we say British domination is a curse to India and the world at large. The combined condemnation by the world of the curse will bring the demise of this moribund body quicker. We must build

on its ruin nations in which people will live in brotherly feeling.

We stand for liberty, and the British Government thinks it tantamount to high treason. We are determined not to submit to slavery, hence we are called rebels, anarchists, bolshevists, and the like.

Let them bray and bark. We, with high hopes before us, with moral forces of the world behind us, with pure and unselfish thought within us shall march onward and onward until India is free.

BHAGAT SINGH.

Doing England's Dirty Work

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stand for three hours. After the hearing, Walter Nelles charged him with "gross evasion" and said in part: "Commissioner Hughes was out to protect Commissioner General of Immigration Anthony Caminetti and if gross evasion can be called successful, he succeeded. I would ask him a question and he would make a speech about something else. He would not admit that the lawless arrest and shipment of the Hindus to Ellis Island was pursuant to Caminetti's instructions. Last Friday, there was a letter to this official which said so. But to-day, when I tried to put it in evidence, it was missing. The commissioner said that it was a letter which I ought not to see—which from the point of view of the shanghai ring, is undoubtedly correct."

At the very beginning of these cases, the Friends of Freedom for India (7 East 15th Street, New York City) wrote to Mr. Louis F. Post, the Assistant Secretary of Labor, drawing his attention to such flagrant injustice done to the Hindusthanes in question. Mr. Post ordered a "thorough investigation." In the course of the investigation Mr. Post has begun a complete reorganization of the Bureau of Immigration, and Mr. Caminetti has been shorn of all authority which he has exercised for some time past of making recommendations in appeal and warrant cases. Mr. Frederick A. Wallis, the Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, was summoned to Washington to report on the Indian cases. Even the Department of Justice has been drawn into the suction of this searching inquiry, and it is being patent that the Department, where people naturally should seek for justice, has been illegally harassing the Hindus in America, only to cater to the criminal caprices of the Briton. According to the press reports, "twenty special" agents in the New York office of the Department of Justice have been discharged. Officials high in position have also been discharged. It is astounding. Why? What did they do to merit such fate? The fullest answer is yet to come, but we hope the liberty-loving and justice-seeking Americans will demand a satisfactory answer and trace the crime to its source.

It now transpires that shortly before these cases another group of twenty-seven Hindusthanee workers in America were impressed on

the British ships by the American immigration authorities. During the hearings Immigration Inspector Harold M. Rhoades admitted that since last June between eighty and one hundred East Indians have been impressed into the British service by the action of the Immigration Department.

The British Government has launched a tremendous campaign to humiliate America in the eyes of the world. The solvency and the ever-increasing prosperity of America have become an eyesore of bankrupt England. So she seeks to hurt American industries by unscrupulously forcing Indian laborers out of them, and then she seeks to injure American shipping by employing these men on British ships at the forced salary of from five to seven dollars a month. And again, America's trade in India is increasing by leaps and bounds. England is losing her trade in India. So England seeks to hurt the American trade by creating an animosity between India and America. Apart from any material consideration and without mentioning the details of the drift of international politics, is it wise and just for America to wound the susceptibilities of 315,000,000 of the people of India who are about to be liberated from the thralldom of British despotism?

Be that as it may, Commissioner Wallis has returned to Ellis Island with an awakened conscience and a cleaner conception of duty. Like Mr. Post, he too, is anxious for a complete reorganization of the Ellis Island. "There will be changes," he said, "in the positions here. I do not know how many people will be dropped. I have not yet worked out the entire scheme. There will be improvements and changes at all costs. I am in full charge and from this time on, I shall take all responsibility for conditions on Ellis Island. Ellis Island is the doorstep to our Nation. If the doorstep is not clean, what can we expect of conditions inside the Nation itself?" Mr. Wallis wants to humanize the Ellis Island. If such a stupendous feat is accomplished it will be of immense advantage to peoples of all nations and races the world over. And we will have the satisfaction of the consolation that the Hindus did not suffer in vain.

BASANTA KOOMAR ROY.

India Enmeshed in Imperialism

What is Europe? A puny state.
A so-called Continent—would-be great;
A part of the Earth? Why, so is a stone—
But in my eyes, it is none.

Where India sweats 'neath the lash of the Briton,
That's the spot for the world-ruling spider to
sit on.

There my eagles shall go—please note my
candor—

There uniting the power of Charlemagne and
Alexander.

—HAUPTMAN in the *Masque*.

WHEN the European nations emerged from medieval darkness, a throbbing passion of a new awakening was urging them to co-ordinate forces and factors in building up a new nationalism that was to dominate the spirit of Europe, and India's position in the World-politics has been a very important factor in contribution to the growth of that nationalism.

The rise and growth of this nationalism was due to various forces. With the increase of population a desire naturally is awakened to see that the food supply is insured for the growing population. Secondly, they try to develop the productive capacity of the community by (a) intensive cultivation, and (b) by expansion. Thirdly, a time comes when they want to increase the wealth by extensive trade and commerce, profits from which can be secured through the control of trade routes. Modern nationalism, then, has been the product of all these forces—namely, (a) insurance of food supply, (b) development of productive capacity, (c) control of trade routes.

The most important of all these forces is the control of trade routes around which have been staged severe struggles.

In the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, the Mohammedans closed the land route to India after the conquest of Constantinople. This led to the discovery of the New World by Columbus, who was impelled by a desire to find a water route "to shake the pagoda tree of India."

This begins a new era in the colonial system in which nationalism was nurtured. Modern nationalism has three characteristic stages—first, protection of industry; second, competition of the markets of the world, i. e. export of goods; third, the export of capital, which brought about the last inevitable war.

It is then evident that the war was caused by the opportunity of exploitation of the industrially backward countries by the ruthless and extreme system of imperialism whose main pillar is capitalism.

Possibility of India's markets for the British goods was one of the main factors in industrial revolution in England. England became free-

trader after she built up her industrial system through protection. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the arguments of the Cobdenian School of Manchester, it is certain that England adopted the system of free-trade when she found it to her best interest, after having wrested a large part of her world empire from her competitors.

The English went to India first to trade. From trade they have secured the power of administration, when India, during the period of transition, was making an effort toward the reorganization of the political system. With the help of political control, which is a story of intrigue, fraud and forgery, the English have built up on a solid basis their own trade, commerce and industry. British policy in India is avowedly British trade.

"And so well is England's position," says Dr. Reinsch, "entrenched on account of the fact that all threads of the commercial system are in the hands of the British merchants, that it will be impossible for any other nation to supersede British trade to any appreciable amount, so long as the industries of Great Britain and her commercial organisation retain their efficiency."

What an important position India occupies in the economic life of England will be evident from the declaration by Lord Curzon, the Foreign Secretary, who says:

"One-tenth of the entire trade of the British Empire passes through the seaports of India; and this sea-borne trade is more than one-third of the trade of the Empire outside the United Kingdom. It is greater than that of Australia and Canada combined, and within the Empire Indian sea-borne trade is second only to that of the United Kingdom. India has become the largest producer of food and raw materials in the Empire and the principal granary of Great Britain, the imports into the United Kingdom of wheat, meal and flour from India exceeding those of Canada, and being double that of Australia."

India thus is the strongest pillar upon which the British Empire rests, and from the standpoint of India, the imperial policy to a great extent is formulated.

"India has," says Prince Lazarovich-Hrebelia-novich of Serbia in his "The Orient Questions,"

"created the British Empire." Without India, England might be only the United Kingdom with some colonies in the Americas. But India and the protection of India, forced England to acquire Malta, Cyprus and Egypt; to seek the hegemony of the Eastern Mediterranean and its coasts, Suez and Red Sea; to acquire the Cape of Good Hope, the islands on the west coast of Africa, the islands and coast-line of the east coast of Africa; to acquire possessions in the East Indian Archipelago, Burma, Singapore, Hongkong—to extend her dominion and colonies Australia and New Zealand. Without India, England would not have gone into the Southern Pacific, where, to-day, she watches with keen eyes the development around and at the Panama Canal."

It is due to India, Great Britain is able to control, rule, and exert spheres of influence over the following territories in Asia and near Asia:

(a) Union of South Africa, German East Africa and Egypt (consummation of the idea of Cape to Cairo and Cairo to Calcutta Railroad thereby becomes a possibility); (b) Hedjas, a newly created independent Kingdom, under the mandate of Great Britain. This includes most of the French zone given by the Sykes-Picot treaty of 1916; (c) Mesopotamia; (d) Persia (Soviet Russia has long since renounced its interest in Northern Persia); (e) Beluchistan; (f) India; (g) Thibet; (h) Burma; (i) Malay Peninsula; (j) the Szechuen and Yunnan Provinces and the Kwantung region forming the littoral of Canton, China; (k) Hongkong; (l) Wei-Hai-Wei.

To safeguard the interests of these territories, Britain maintains strong strategic positions which encircle the globe.

The Southern or Cape Route to the east is well fortified. The stations of Cape Town are Sierra Leone, St. Helena and Mauritius. Along the principal route of the Far East, there are heavily fortified stations, Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Bombay, Calcutta, Trincomabe, Singapore, Hongkong and Wei-Hai-Wei. In Oceania there are also fortifications at King George's Sound, Thursday Island, Melbourne, Sydney, Auckland, Hobart, Adelaide, Wellington and other places.

Thence eastward across the Pacific are more stations—Vancouver and Esquimalt in the Northern Pacific. Crossing the American continent there is Halifax on the North Atlantic and southward the Bermudas and St. Lucia, Jamaica and other stations in the West Indies. In the South-western Atlantic, the Falkland Islands are held by the British.

The Indian Ocean is a point of strategy for naval action in the Western Pacific, in the South Atlantic and the Mediterranean. It thus has a direct influence over the defense of Canada, Australia and South Africa. South Africa, India and Australia are at the three corners of the triangular Indian Ocean and India is at the vertex.

India is the connecting link of all these fortresses, and she holds the thread of hegemony of the British Empire.

While the Nations have been debating on the League of Nations, Great Britain is strengthening her control over Asia. Dismemberment of Turkey gives her an opportunity of extending the boundaries of India. And there is no one to dispute England's mastery over the territories extended from Cape to Cairo and Cairo to Calcutta. Such an expansion of imperialism is only possible by perpetuating the rule over India.

In order to thwart the throttling of the Nations by exploitative imperialism, the only recourse is co-operation among all those people who believe in economic freedom.

The ruling classes of England will always compromise with their labor aristocracy as long as they have undisputed foreign markets and fields of exploitation. The concession and compromise with the people at home will not be detrimental to the economic interests of Great Britain.

The only hope for the Nations in Asia and rank and file in the West lies in the perfection of plans in breaking up the hegemony of the British Empire.

India is the place where attention has to be directed and forces concentrated. It must be remembered that the enormous man-power of India has been a great asset to the extension of the British domination. In accordance with the Census of India of 1911 (Vol. 1, Part 2, Page 44), men of fighting age, between 18 and 51, in India number 73,818,558. A portion of this huge man-power is even today used against Mesopotamia and Persia.

A little reflection will give a very clear idea as to the forces that are flowing in the scheme of Nations. These are: (a) imperialism and autocracy; and (b) anti-imperialism and democracy. The people will have to choose between the two. There is no half-way house.

With the complete independence of India, British imperialism collapses, and the countries of Asia will have free air to breathe.

The Japanese imperialism is largely dependent upon the British. The elimination of the British spheres of influence and control will give China an opportunity of developing and consolidating her resources and forces. Anti-imperialist as she is bound to be, China will naturally throw herself on the side of India, near East, and Eastern Europe. Japan cannot afford to lose sight of this situation.

The crux of the colonialism, therefore, lies in India. India holds like the fairy tale the life of the British Empire in her hands. If India is lost to England, her imperial integrity will be threatened with disruption. India thus becomes the apex of democracy, and the anvil upon which the forces of freedom have to be forged.

SURENDRA KARR.

The Blood of India

Slowly pressed there drops
 The blood of India,
 By tyrant power crushed and bruised.
 India, we have not forgotten the lessons
 Of the Rishis
 And the depth of philosophies.
 The blood of India
 Gave color to the world thought;
 Gave peace to the weary world;
 Came the commercial greed of
 Perfidious Albion,
 Youthful and barbarous civilisation,
 Placing the yoke of bondage,
 Crushing, grinding,
 So the blood of India
 Oozed and trickled from golden Juggernaut.
 On Europe's battle fields there mingled
 With carrion of Britain's fallen
 The blood of India,
 While back home in chained impotence
 Liberty gazed upon the spectacle
 By ignorance staged of
 The blood of India.
 Sadly, Albion, have you judged!
 Sowing to the wind,
 Prepare for the whirlwind
 Tearing your far-flung colonies
 From fetid chains of guilt.
 Your hollow mockery of the little centuries
 Outlived shall be
 By India's eternal blood.
 Oh Asia, cradle of Europe's spawn,
 What havoc these youthful races wrought!
 Oh India, storehouse of peace and understanding,
 Tear aside the bonds that strangle
 And in free veins let flow
 The blood of India.

GUY BOGART.

The Portuguese in India

(Continued from Page 30.)

the people with the result that the Charter was left untouched.

In regard to the Portuguese rule in India two facts stand out: First, that the people all over India are striving towards one and the same goal—absolute independence of India; and, second, that half-way measures, like home-rule and the

like, cannot and will not satisfy the people. The Hindus are not begging on their knees for crumbs from their masters' table, but they are on their feet to demand their rights, and the sooner the imperialists realise this the speedier will be the establishment of peace in the world.

A COLONIST.

The Pulse of the Press

Indians in South Africa

IN his book "Imperial Unity and the Dominions" (P. 27-8), Mr. A. B. Keith speaks about the relation between India and the self-governing colonies thus:

"... it is true that in practice the self-governing dominion of the union of South Africa treats British-Indians **worse than any foreign possession**, and that they were less harassed in German possessions in Africa than in Natal, to the prosperity of which they have contributed so greatly."

The same thing is corroborated by Rev. C. F. Andrews, an Englishman who has traveled extensively in the Colonies and obtained first-hand information in regard to the treatment accorded to the Indians. He writes a very illuminating article in the "*Modern Review*" for July on Indian Settlers in Africa.

He incorporates a statement from a man—"simple, religious, free from the least touch of racial bias, perfectly frank and open, and essentially truthful."

A part of the statement is as follows:

"My own experiences during the war were chiefly in what is now the conquered territory of German East Africa. I was there shortly before the war. Though the Indians were not treated in the same way as Europeans by the Germans, they were treated in a civilised manner. There was no segregation of races of any kind whatsoever. I am speaking of my experience at Muanza, the chief German port of Lake Victoria Nyanza. Germans, Greeks, Arabs, Indians, Somalis, and others resided side by side in the same street on quite friendly terms and without any segregation restrictions. The women of one nation often passed their afternoons with their sisters of another nation in friendly talks. Children of all races played together in the streets and open spaces, their medium of talk being Swahili. The bare-footed German children of my neighbour would enter my house and take food with my children, enjoying our Indian roti. Indians had always full and free access to German Government officers without any ceremony. They could talk frankly with them, even on controversial subjects. Officers would take heed to any reasonable talk of Arabs, Indians, or natives."

"I will give some definite examples to prove the nature of the treatment given to Indians by the German Government."

"(1). I was out of employment during the war time. I had my wife and two children with me and a relative, who also was out of employment. I had no current means of maintaining my family, and I feared that what little I had in store would be consumed in a very short time, if I

earned nothing. This was in war time, as I have related, and so I went to the German commanding officer and asked for permission to open a class to teach students English and Mathematics; for I had been a teacher. The German Government being at war with the English, the commanding officer at first took objection to my application; but when I explained to him that I had no other means to maintain my wife and children, together with my relative and myself, he gave me permission and I continued to teach all the while the Germans were in possession of the town.

"(2). Towards the end of the campaign on the borders of Lake Victoria Nyanza silver coins were getting very scarce. The German Government needed silver very badly, and all payments to the Government were required to be strictly in silver. I had to pay three rupees poll-tax to the Government, but I had no silver. I explained my position to the officer who saw my distress. He told me I should be forced to pay; but when I was just going away, he called me back and put three rupees, in silver, into my hand and told me to use it to pay the tax. He took it from his own pocket."

"(3). Indians, who kept oil mills, used sometimes to burn their oil cakes at night. There being no means of export, they had no use for these cakes. This happened one night; and it was reported that an Indian was signalling to the enemy, and he was arrested. We went to the Magistrate and explained the whole matter to his satisfaction. He promised to release the man arrested on the next day—that day being Sunday. We pleaded that the guilty could be kept in prison on Sundays, but the innocent should not be allowed to stay in prison for a single moment. The man was released."

"(4). An Indian was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for a political offence. On appeal, the Governor reduced the sentence to six months and passed a general rule that *no political prisoner should be sentenced to more than six months by any local official*. In case of a serious offence, the matter should be referred to the Governor."

"(5). A German officer caused the death of his native servant by beating him. He was arrested and put under trial. He was in prison, when Muanza came into the hands of the British."

"(6). Indian prisoners, even in criminal cases, were treated quite respectfully. They were never required to wear prison uniform. Food, if sent by their families, was allowed them. They were not required to labor in public, outside the prison compounds, but were taught tailoring, shoe-making, etc., indoors."

"(7). During the war, there was, of course, control over food; but there was no distinction

made between Europeans and Indians in this matter. Law-abiding people were not harassed in any way, whatever might be their nationality.

"(8). When the British forces bombarded Bukoba, where there were many British Indian subjects with their wives and children, the Germans gave protection to Indians in a camp eleven miles off, built specially for them. Again, when the Germans left Muanza they kept fifty native soldiers in the town up to the last moment to protect the Indians.

"I shall now write down, as they come into my mind, some general considerations about the treatment of Indians in German East Africa, and then proceed to speak of Uganda and the East Africa Protectorate.

"Before the war, the question of Indian immigration into German East Africa came up for settlement. A Royal Commission from Berlin was appointed, and after making full inquiries they decided that Indians were desirable, and that the country could not be developed without them. After that, the Indians had no restrictions about entering German East Africa.

"The natives in German East Africa were not subject to any segregation measures. They were able to reside within the towns, if they so wished, in the Muanza district. Since there was very little color prejudice, the German took the Indian

to be his fellow-citizen, and the Indian in his turn took the native to be his fellow-citizen. But I must say the Germans liked only law-abiding people; and so they did not desire the presence of any mischievous and wild people, like the Masais. They drove them away from their territory, back to the British East Africa. They did not like 'reserves,' such as the 'Masai Reserve,' in British East Africa. They did not govern on that principle at all, as far as I could see. Of course, I am only speaking of the district which I knew, near Lake Victoria Nyanza.

"The Government had an Educational Department for native children. They engaged a German headmaster, on Rs. 375 per month, and they had some six or seven teachers at the Muanza School. German, Swahili, and Mathematics were the chief subjects taught. Each boy received five cents for food every day and free clothing every six months, and also free lodging in a boarding house attached to the school, if he were a boarder. I myself attended that school for about six months, in 1916.

"I can say this, that the natives were far better treated in German East Africa than those on the Congo. Concerning morality, I am quite sorry to say that the lower strata, both of Indians and Europeans, kept native women in their houses."

Indentured Labor Under the British Flag

How military expedition was sent from New Zealand to compel the East Indians, who have been inveigled into the sugar plantations in the Fiji Islands, to obey their masters has been revealed by *Walsh's Magazine*, published in Auckland, New Zealand:

TORYISM in New Zealand has despatched a secret military expedition to Fiji; at least, it was to be secret, but the secret leaked out. For six months this Fiji stunt has been preparing, and now the stage is set.

Briefly, the history of the trouble is that the sugar companies (mostly it is the Colonial Sugar Company that so artfully fleeces the New Zealand people) have for years employed slave labor in Fiji. They got the Fiji Government, which in effect is themselves under another guise, to empower the introduction of indentured labor; the proposal at first was Chinese, but a patriot thought it would be better to enslave British subjects, as no complications with Foreign Governments would arise—so Indian labor was decided on.

The practice has been for "recruiters" to go to India and "trap" Indians; official investigations proved that nearly 90 per cent of the Indians did not know the conditions of the contracts. These Indians labor in the fields from 5:30 A. M. for 1s per day (women 5½d), and are housed under shocking conditions. The kindly Fiji Government made all women common property—even if a married man brought his wife, she became common property, too—and fixed the ratio at one

woman to five men. The murders, suicides, and unmentionable evils accruing may be guessed. Later the ratio was changed to one woman to four men; the plantation bosses reckon that "the women lose too much time breeding," and object to woman labor.

The horrors of the system were gradually made known in India, and the Indian women, for the first time in history, took the platform, irrespective of caste or creed, in an appeal on behalf of their ill-treated sisters in Fiji. Finally, the Indian Government stopped recruiting; but after much wire-pulling the date was extended to November, 1919. In that month advertisements appeared asking for returned soldiers ("They are used to murder," said a plantation owner) at second lieutenant's rate of pay "for an undisclosed service."

Other preparations were made. Women and children were sent away by English planters, and in January, 1920, the Governor, "acting on the advice of the sugar growers," cancelled all the Indians' indentures. Under the terms of their engagement the sugar growers were to repatriate the Indians on expiry of their terms; now they cancelled them. Then, as the Indians lived on

sugar growers' property, they were prosecuted for trespass; most of them had no money to move away, so that they had to submit to fines for trespass and pay rent; then to get food they had to work at the bosses' terms, and because they objected, William Massey says they are striking and menacing 4000 English people. The English people are menacing the Indians with the threat of starvation; forcing them to work for sugar growers whose profits defy calculation. Every arrangement was made for a cool, cold-blooded massacre of the Indians, after the example of General Dyer. The Indian is peaceful if fed even reasonably well, but terrorized as he is in Fiji he may well strike; but he cannot beat the machine-guns of the sugar growers.

Fiji is not part of New Zealand; the evil deeds of the sugar growers may not directly affect us or be laid at our door, but it is dragging New Zealand's name in the mud for the Government (Massey & Co.) to send armed forces at New Zealand's expense to help do the dirty work of the sugar companies. If, as alleged, the sugar companies are paying, then it is worse still; to say that a gang of men who were fined heavily for defying the laws of New Zealand can pay the New Zealand Government to do its dirty work is enough to sicken every New Zealander. If the sugar company can pay for strike-breaking, white terrors, and subsidize every anti-labor campaign in Fiji, Australia and New Zealand (it paid £50,000 in one lump to fight the Australian Referendum), it can afford to pay its slaves a living wage.

The Massey Government may be willing to drag our Dominion's name in the mire, but the public should object vigorously.

Quite recently a press campaign was run in New Zealand to "prepare" the people for this stunt. We had pictures of Indian life in Fiji, showing the Indians in Paradise; other people were wondering whether the Indians would not some day massacre the English, and Dr. Twitchell, Bishop of Melanesia, who is heading a "recruiting" expedition for the growers, made a lot of statements proving how nice it was for the Indians to slave in Fiji.

Walsh's Magazine, Auckland, New Zealand.

The Heritage of India

DR. J. N. FARQUHAR, speaking before the Indian Society of Oriental Art, said about "The Heritage of India" in part as follows:

"In India, as in other lands, the most important parts of the civilisation sprang directly from religion. Here, as elsewhere, religion has been the teeming mother from whom philosophy, literature, music, education, the fine arts and many of the sciences sprang. We can also say that specialists in the study of religion give them (religions of India) a very high place among the religions of the world.

"One of the most characteristic and valuable elements in the Heritage is the *philosophy*. The

care and attention with which it is being studied by Western thinkers is the best proof of its high qualities. Hinduism has six orthodox philosophies, Buddhism four, and Jainism one.

"Perhaps the greatest and most precious of all the parts of the Heritage is the *literature*. It is recognized on all hands that Indian literature is of very varying quality, but that it contains a great deal of material that is of high value and extreme interest."

The speaker then went on to dwell on India's science, arts, etc., as the elements of her ancient civilisation.

"*Indian art* is a fairyland of pleasure and profit. To know even a little about Indian architecture and sculpture is to double the pleasures of travelling in India. If you wish to realize what Indian art in stone can be, go to Benares and drive to Sarnath and see the lion-capital there. It is the capital of a stone pillar erected by the great Asoka, and is a splendid sculptured group, the supreme member of which is three lions standing back to back. The work is as fresh today as it was when it was cut, and the art is worthy of one of the great Greek sculptors. So, even a little study of Indian painting will bring a great deal of pleasure and will help to draw into sympathy with the mind of India. Then there is wood-carving, art work in metals, coinage, jewelry. In studying Indian coinage the other day, I was greatly interested to find that only three countries in all the world have independently invented coins. The three are China, Greece, and India. Here is one of the clearest evidences possible of the original genius of the early Indian people. The date of the invention must be about 500 B. C.

"*Indian music* is now recognised by musical specialists as being very different from European music, but of great beauty and interest, well worthy of more careful cultivation than it receives in India today.

"Of Indian science I am unable to speak: perhaps Language, including Grammar, Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, are its chief forms. In connection with Mathematics, we may notice another striking fact. The figures which we use in our accounts every day are called Arabic numerals, because they came to Europe through the Arabs; but they are not Arabic in origin. They are an Indian invention, another proof of the originality of the Indian mind. Thus India has given her numerals to the world.

"Of the industrial arts I am also unable to speak: the chief are Agriculture, Mining, Metal-working, Weaving, Pottery. In weaving India seems to have led the world for centuries.

"Besides these, we ought to notice as elements of the heritage, the history of India and her peoples and also the ancient education.

"I would remind you first of the very remarkable influence which Indian culture has exercised in most parts of Asia since the early centuries of the Christian era."

In answering the question whether Indian civilisation deserves to be called great or is

merely one of many mediocre cultures of the world, the speaker reminded his audience of "the very remarkable influence which Indian culture has exercised in most parts of Asia since the early centuries of the Christian era.

"Travel where you will—in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Tibet, or further east in China, Korea and Japan—everywhere your eyes welcome innumerable traces of the Indian genius still visible in the architecture, sculpture, painting and worship of the people. Now this far-flung influence is very remarkable. That China, old and hoary and learned long before India made her mark amongst nations, should have welcomed Indian religion and almost every element of her culture with eager avidity, and that the civilisation of Japan should have sprung almost altogether from the vitalizing touch of India as carried by Buddhism; these are most arresting facts. Clearly, we shall fail to express the truth unless we acknowledge that for many centuries India was the university of Asia, as Greece was of ancient Europe."

Quoted from *Modern Review*.

The Sweets of the Reforms

THE reforms, though pronounced to be inadequate and disappointing by our countrymen, have brought and promise to bring many blessings in their train.

Blessing No. 1 is the substantial increment of the pay, allowances, etc., of the members of the heaven-born service, we mean, the so-called Indian services. What a terrible addition has it been to the mill-stone of a foreign service around the neck of India will appear from the following statement of Mr. Montagu in reply to the question of Mr. Lunn in the House of Commons regarding the recent increases of pay:

Indian Civil Service.....	£ 360,000
Indian Police Service.....	£ 130,000
Indian Educational Service....	£ 100,000
British officers of the Indian army and of British troops in India.....	£1,700,000
Indian Medical Service.....	£ 250,000
Total	£2,540,000

In other words, over 25 crores of rupees have been added in the shape of salaries to this most pampered service in the world in the poorest country. Before the advent of the reforms our countrymen had been agitating for the reduction of the cost of administration, particularly of the Imperial services. But their mouths are now shut. Because, have they not got the reforms *laddu*? The majority of the civil service men were up in arms against the reforms. They considered it derogatory to serve under Indian ministers and threatened to resign in a body. What could the benevolent Government do but to do the *man bhanjan*, to appease their wrath by putting more money into their pockets? So the status and

independence of the civil service had to be guaranteed to them and their payments had to be increased before the reform came into operation.

Blessing No. 2 is the prospect of additional and heavy taxation. The reserved subjects and the transferred subjects which water the mouths of many of our countrymen will come very handy in the hands of the bureaucracy to increase taxation. Under existing arrangements the latter could not venture to increase the taxation in the face of the growing poverty of the people. But the reforms have offered the easiest solution. The lion's share of the proceeds of taxation will be appropriated for the reserved subjects and the *deshi* ministers will be left the crumbs to manage their own departments, so long wofully neglected and with which the well-being of the Nation are bound up, as best as they might. They will find that without fresh taxation they could not do anything. So they are very nicely and cleverly placed between the two horns of a dilemma or rather, between Scylla and Charybdis. They will sink either at the Scylla of inability to show any change for the better in the sanitary and educational condition of the people or the Charybdis of unpopularity in trying to levy fresh taxation which the people are unable to bear. In either case, the bureaucracy is freed from the odium involved in either course. Their police, administration of justice and other measures of "good government" will prosper as merrily as ever. How clever and just like, as the Bengali adage goes, catching the fish without touching the water. No unpopularity, yet plenty of money for the reserved subjects!

Blessing No. 3 is the numberless division that the reforms propose to create among us. Provincial jealousy is already rampant on the financial re-adjustment proposed by the Meston Committee. Before the reforms a consciousness of Indian nationhood in which the Madrasis, the Bengalees, the Mahrattas, the Punjabis were learning to subordinate themselves, was growing. But now the very touch of the reform wand has begun the work of disintegration. Then again what do we find in the provinces themselves? Mohammedans, Non-Mohammedans, Indian Christians, depressed classes, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, Animists, Brahmans, Non-Brahmans, Marathas, Lingayets, Zemindars, Jagirdars, mill-owners, sardars, labor, Sikhs, chamber of commerce and trade associations, cotton trade, planting community, port commissioners and "others" present a bewildering variety in which one is liable to lose himself. The variety of castes is said to be the great stumbling block in the way of the progress of India. But the social divisions are perpetuated in a far worse form in the class divisions embossed in the reconstructed political fabric. The evil of this arrangement is recognised in the M-C Report itself. We read:

"Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organized against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the

change from this system to national representation is ever to occur."

The Report then proceeds with an air of innocence which is amusing reading now:

"The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical and short-sighted."

One is curious to know how in face of the numerous class divisions recognised and perpetuated in the reforms the charge of being hypocritical is met by Mr. Montagu and his colleague. Then again the Report says: "The communal system stereotypes existing relations." Why has it been stereotyped then? These are among the numerous blessings which the reforms have brought or promised to bring for us.

Amrita Bazar Patrika.

Sweet Words Butter No Parsnips

IN the Dyer debate in the British Parliament Mr. Montagu seems to have forgotten the truth of the above dictum. There was a time when high sounding phrases and noble maxims from the mouths of Englishmen of position had a peculiar fascination for Indians. The latter had drunk deep in the fountain of Western knowledge and were naturally disposed to believe what came from the best minds of the West. Sweet words were then considered almost as good as noble deeds. But the experience of a century during which professions and practices have almost invariably gone at variance, has had its inevitable effect on the Indian mind.

It was all exceedingly dramatic and calculated to titillate the vanity of an uninitiated audience when Mr. Montagu held up his hands in holy horror in the House of Commons against the Dyerian methods and asked "whether Britain was going to keep her hold on India by terrorism, racial humiliation, and frightfulness or by the growing goodwill of the people of the Indian Empire."

Mr. Montagu must have been playing to a gallery and we have no doubt he had an Indian gallery in view when he delivered himself of this magnificent piece of rhetoric. For it is impossible to believe that he was serious. Was he not, only the other day, a party to the decision of the Cabinet, which he must have known was calculated to lend an additional vigor to the method he was anathematising?

Mr. Montagu said in the House of Commons that "General Dyer acted during the Punjab riots on the theory of terrorism and subordination." In the decision of the Cabinet to which he was a party the General was held to have been guilty only of a "grave error of judgment." And on this assumption the General's retirement from the army was the only punishment that was

thought adequate. Now if "terrorism," "subordination," "racial humiliation" and "frightfulness" were only to be visited with a half-hearted censure and a ludicrously inadequate punishment what would unsophisticated people naturally think about the genuineness of the declamations against these methods? What again would people think of the lavish praises bestowed on those who countenanced these methods, gave their unqualified approval to them and were not abashed to defend them publicly?

As an alternative to "terrorism," etc., as a means of keeping the hold of Britain on India Mr. Montagu suggested "the growing goodwill of the people of the Indian Empire." But what has he done to secure the goodwill of the people of India which has been lost by the acts of official frightfulness committed in the Punjab last year? Has he been able to persuade any section of the Indian public to be reconciled with the ridiculous reparation that he and the Cabinet have sought to make? Has not the Indian public opinion been unanimous that the decision of the Cabinet is a condonation of cruel barbarities and the praises lavished in that connection an insult added to injury? How has he then secured the goodwill of the people of India? Does he expect that he will secure it by sweet words only? He is very much mistaken if he takes the Indians to be children who can be satisfied with lollypops when the self-constituted guardian deprives them of everything that they possess of any value. For, with the Punjab incidents are bound up the elementary rights of Indians as citizens and human beings.

The issue was rightly put by Mr. Montagu, so far as words can put it, before the House of Commons. And that is "whether the theory of rule in India was racial ascendancy, domination, subordination or partnership?" He was also right when he said that if the former alternative was to be followed then "the sword must be used with increasing severity until Britain was driven out of the country by the opinion of the united civilised world." He said further that "the choice was fundamental to the continuance of the British Empire and the connection between Britain and India." But Mr. Montagu apparently forgot, for the sake of effect, that the Cabinet, including himself, had made the choice when they decided to inflict a ludicrously inadequate punishment on Dyer to be more than compensated by the lavish praises that were bestowed on those who were the instigators, the aiders and the abettors of the cruelty of that man-monster. Nothing that Mr. Montagu can say now, not even the air of holy horror he assumed for a policy of terrorism, racial domination and frightfulness can get over these plain, hard facts.

The decision of the Cabinet in which he concurred has set the seal on the policy "in which the sword must be used with increasing severity." If a different policy was sincerely intended to be adopted the upholders of the Dyerian policy of frightfulness and who by the abdication of their

functions and otherwise facilitated the unrestricted pursuit of that policy would have been suitably punished instead of being praised.

Amrita Bazar Patrika.

English Women and the Punjab Affairs

THERE is nothing that has shocked the Indian public more than the part which some English women in India have permitted themselves to take in the controversy on the Punjab affairs. The columns of some of the Anglo-Indian papers have been filled with letters from English women, the sentiments expressed in which will fill the mind of every respecter of the fair sex with disgust. We doubt not that the womanhood of the world would be ashamed of the conduct of some of their sisters in this country.

The English women who are canvassing to erect a memorial for General Dyer to show their gratitude to him for what he has done forget that they are committing an outrage on womanhood. Women are considered ministering angels in all countries. It is their high mission to lessen the miseries of men and soften their brutalities as far as possible by kind words and deeds and godly conduct. But what do we find here?

Among the victims of General Dyer were men, women and children. The men had no arms; many of them even, according to the findings of the majority in the Hunter Committee, had no knowledge that the meeting was prohibited. Little children there were in the arms of their parents. None of the crowd was engaged in any unlawful act. And yet what did General Dyer do? He came and without giving any warning forthwith gave the order to fire. Even when the people were running away he continued firing upon them till heaps of corpses were piled. Men who had seen the carnage from the neighboring houses say that the corpses were piled to the height of the wall. This butchery was continued until ammunition was exhausted.

To this man-monster some of the English women in India are prepared to erect a memorial! They have not a drop of sympathy for the hundreds of mothers who lost their children, hundreds of wives who became widows, hundreds of sisters who lost their brothers. Their hearts do not melt at the thought of the sufferings of the hundreds mortally wounded who were left groaning without anybody to attend to their sufferings or give a drop of water to the parched lips closing down in death agony. All these do not move, have not been able to make the slightest impression on those English women in India whose hearts have melted for this man-monster because he has been removed from the army! If such are the sentiments of the majority of the English women in this country we must say that human nature has reached its lowest level of degradation among the English people.

—Amrita Bazar Patrika.

British Labor and Imperialism

MUCH has been advertised about the stand of the British labor which is said to have opposed the extension of British imperialism. What a myth it is, from our point of view, can be judged from the fact that the British labor stands for the status quo of the British Empire. It speaks of the British Empire as the "British Commonwealth," or the "Britannic Alliance," and upholds the illogical and unjustifiable sovereignty of Great Britain over other peoples.

British labor's stand regarding the Russo-Polish situation is being interpreted as a great achievement. But Lloyd George rightly points out that labor's agitation against sending aid to Poland is nothing better than shooting in the air against an imagined enemy, because Lloyd George's present policy is to come to an understanding with Russia. British labor has never taken an effective stand against the British Government's foreign policies anywhere, however abominable they have been. But it has merely expressed platitudes and high-sounding phrases.

To be concrete, we find that the British labor does not stand for the independence of Ireland. It has done nothing to stop the murder of Irish men, women and children, and burning of villages by British barbarians and outrages by the army of occupation. The British Labor Party has not even, in principle, recognized the *defacto* Irish Republic. It has not accepted the right of the Egyptian people to be free from British control and thus they are standing by British robbery and British atrocities in Egypt.

British labor has absolutely done nothing to stop the British Government's adventure of establishing a new vassal state, the Middle Eastern Empire, soaked in the blood of the people of Mesopotamia and India. It has done nothing to stop British vandalism in Persia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, where Indian troops are being used as mercenaries for the furtherance of British world imperialism.

Nowhere and at no time has British labor come out for the absolute independence of India. Even some of the radical labor leaders are working for Home Rule for India in co-operation with those who support the infamous Rowlatt Act and whom the Indian revolutionists fully distrust. British labor stands for the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire and only substitutes the term "British Commonwealth" in place of the foulsome title of "Empire." These are the days when empires are being reduced to republics and soviets. If British labor is honest let it start a movement to destroy British monarchy and establish a republic there in co-operation with the world forces that must make the British Empire a matter of past history through the achievement of independence of Ireland, Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, Tibet and other parts of the world that are now toiling under the British yoke.

T. N. D.

Notes and News

The British Exploitation Grows

THAT a new burden of about \$13,000,000 has annually been thrust upon the poverty-stricken people of India by increasing the salary of the British officials in Indian Service has been disclosed by Edwin S. Montague, the Secretary of State for India, in reply to a question put by Mr. Lunn in the British Parliament. The increase is as follows:

Indian Civil Service.....	\$1,600,000
Indian Police Service.....	650,000
Indian Educational Service.....	500,000
British officers of the Indian Army and of British troops in India	8,500,000
Indian Medical Service.....	1,250,000

All these expenses are not meant to improve the various public service departments. It will help feed the English at the expense of India. It is another clear proof of the fact that India is the country to fatten the Britishers when millions die in want of daily bread. If India was free, she could not have been saddled with such enormity of expenditure by the British exploitative imperialism.

All-India Trade Union Congress

THE First All-India Trade Union Congress held its first meeting on August 1st, 1920, in Bombay City. A unique feature of the meeting was that a private educational institution, the Marwadi Vidyalaya, turned its building over to the convention of organized workers. This should attract the attention of the world as an indication of the support which the organized labor movement is receiving in a land where tolerance and highly developed social consciousness was the prevailing rule before the English attempted to destroy the best in Indian life and thought.

Another feature of the congress is that women took an active part. The persons who took part in the congress were not all from the rank and file of organized workers, but they also represented Indian intelligentsia. Some of the women who were actively engaged in the gathering were Mrs. Chandabhai Thakurdas, Mrs. Kikabhai Premchand, Mrs. Mongal Bhai Motilal, Mrs. Golabchand Devichand, Mrs. R. B. Desai, Mrs. Azad, Mrs. Mulchand Sarupchand, Mrs. Avanthikabai Ghokale and Mrs. Bakubhai Mansukhbhai.

Above all things India needs education and organization of the working class. Once organized and educated the working class will assert its rights, and thus raise more than three hundred millions of people to the status of free human beings. It has been proved that today free Russia

exists in defiance of foreign and internal attacks because of the conscious efforts and marvellous struggle of the Russian workingmen and women. So if India is ever to be free and independent and to establish an ideal free state, it will be achieved primarily through the efforts of the workingmen and women, the farmers, the submerged millions of India today. An Indian revolution will have no meaning if it is not for the emancipation and assertion of the workers. We hope and trust that the Indian labor movement will grow rapidly until every worker in India is organized.

Hunger Strike to Defy British Authority in India

PIR MAHBUBSHAH, a renowned Moham-
medan priest of Sind, and his various followers declared on August 1st, 1920, that they would not recognise the authority of the British Government in India. They were charged with the crime of "declaring war against the British Government" and were put in jail. The priest has refused to get out of jail on bail, because giving bail would mean recognition of the authority of the British judicial and executive systems in India.

The priest started a hunger strike on August 1st, 1920, and the latest Indian newspaper report from India shows that he is firm in his defiance of any semblance of British authority in India. It is quite evident that in near future Great Britain will have to face the same situation as she is facing in Ireland. Awakening of India in the form of defiance of British imperialism would mean awakening of 315,000,000 for the cause of human liberty and world freedom from the clutches of imperialism.

Indians Hunted and Murdered by English Soldiers

HOW the English soldiers commit indignities on Indian women and murder the Indians, defying law and authority, has been revealed in the latest dispatches from India, published in the *Times* of London and other newspapers. The following account is given in a statement issued by the Peshawar Khilafat Committee:

1. That two British soldiers with one officer and one N. C. O., were travelling in the train with the Muhajireen, and the trouble arose when the two soldiers entered the female compartment

on the pretence of checking tickets and began teasing the women.

2. That a man named Habib Ullah Khan, a Muhajir, intervened, and after a fracas the soldiers had to leave the compartment.

3. That at Kacha Garchi the British soldiers brought up detachments of Indian soldiers armed with rifles, and surrounded the train. Habib Ullah was ordered to come out of the train.

4. That on coming out he was attacked with bayonets and sword by the English soldiers and their officer. On falling down he picked up a stone and threw at his assailants. The officer then ordered the Indian soldiers to fire, but all refused except one.

5. That the British then seized the rifles from the Indian soldiers and fired a volley at the unfortunate man, who thereupon expired in the presence of his daughter, aged 7.

6. That the British soldiers thereupon again thrust at him with sword and bayonets, the officer kneeling on the body and cutting deep into the neck. Another Muhajir, who ventured to approach, was attacked with bayonet and thrown down.

7. That the medical examination showed that Habib Ullah Khan received fifteen wounds, of which nine were inflicted with sword and bayonet and six were bullet wounds. Of the nine bayonet wounds, four were in the front of the body and five in the back.

Not long ago Dyer, a British commander, besmeared his hands with red blood of Indians. Nowhere—hearth, home, street or train—India's life is safe from anarchism of the Britishers. Such shocking and startling incidents occur almost every day in India. Can a conscience of even a stanch pacifist be so callous that his blood does not boil and spirit does not revolt? Mazzinni said: "Whenever you see corruption by your side, if you do not strive against it, you betray your duty." Those who remain blind to these happenings betray humanity.

India's Sympathy with Mayor MacSwiney

EXPRESSING their deep sympathy with Mayor MacSwiney, the Hindustan Gadar Party sent on Sept. 2 the following telegram to President DeValera of the Republic of Ireland:

"President Eamonn DeValera,
"Republic of Ireland,
"New York City.

"The Hindustan Gadar Party, San Francisco, California, expresses its deep indignation and protest against inhuman, barbarous and deliberate plan of slow murder of Mayor MacSwiney of Cork, Ireland, by the British Government.

"If Mayor MacSwiney dies, we renew our

pledges to hasten the downfall of the soul-devouring British Empire.

"Martyr MacSwiney's right action in not recognising the suzerainty of the British inspires and encourages those who are fighting for freedom.

"We congratulate the Irish Patriots for their heroic stand in liberation of their noble country from the tyranny of the British rule, and extend our cordial co-operation and sincere sympathy.

(Signed) BISHAN SINGH,
Acting Secretary."

MacSwiney and Free India's Challenge to King George

DEEPLY expressing its admiration at the heroic stand of Mayor MacSwiney of Cork, and holding that England has no right to rule over Ireland and India, the Friends of Freedom for India has just sent the following cablegram to King George of England:

"We hail MacSwiney the martyr. Once more the British Government, soaked in the blood of the martyrs of many lands, hastens the glorious day of its downfall. We pledge anew our all to the millions struggling for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in Ireland, India, Egypt, Russia and the Near East. Each martyr is a beacon in our onward march to imminent victory."

Buying India's Liberty Bonds

SOLEMNLY resolved to do everything in their power to free India from the British rule, the young revolutionists have been taking recourse to political dacoities in order to raise funds for propaganda purposes. With masks over their faces and torches and revolvers in their hands, they attack the rich and unpatriotic Indians and carry away cash and jewels. They leave behind a list and promissory note to the effect that such forcible loans will be paid with interest as soon as India becomes free and a stable Government is established. Thus rich Indians are being forced to purchase India Liberty Bonds. Such purchases are growing so frequent and daring that the British Director of Information has recently published the following figures:

1915	511	Dacoities
1916	444	"
1917	353	"
1918	458	"
1919	488	"
1920	383	"
Total	2,637	

From India News Service.

Philadelphia Rings the Liberty Bell of India

PHILADELPHIA is the city where on the 4th of July, 1776, America declared her independence from English rule. It is known as the cradle of American liberty. So it was quite in keeping with the tradition of this city to have given a stirring welcome to the Indian revolutionists who paraded the streets on Sunday, September 5, with their Republican flags and banners of red, gold and green. Ten thousand American citizens joined the parade to protest against English barbarities in India and Ireland, as also to register Philadelphia's open recognition of the sister Republics of Ireland and India. Philadelphia, the home of Benjamin Franklin, knows full well what it is for a nation to struggle for the recognition of foreign powers. The Indian section of the parade was under the auspices of the Friends of Freedom for India (7 East 15th St., New York City), and it was led by Basanta Koomar Roy, the Hindu author and editor.

All along the five mile parade hundreds of thousands of American citizens greeted the Indians with the warmest cordiality. A dramatic moment was reached when one of our American soldiers, in full uniform, with badges and medals of honor showing his war record in France and Flanders, suddenly offered to carry, with a Hindu, the banner of the Friends of Freedom for India. Thousands of Americans most thunderously applauded this act of the handsome young soldier—an act, let me assure the oppressed millions of India, which symbolizes America's military aid and moral and material support when India strikes the blow for her independence, as our forefathers did in this very city one hundred and forty-four years ago.

Following the parade was a mass-meeting in the Knickerbocker Theatre, where five thousand American citizens expressed their horror at the English treatment of Mannix, MacSwiney, and the citizens of the Republic in Ireland. India's case for independence was presented before the audience in a stirring speech by S. N. Ghose, the national organizer of the Friends of Freedom for India. He appealed for closer Indo-Irish co-operation for the destruction of the British Empire.

Mr. Tarak Nath Das, Executive Secretary of the same society, presented the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, America is opposed to imperialism and tyranny all over the world; and

"Whereas, the American ideal is for independence of all people, great and small; and

"Whereas, the people of India are in a state of revolt against British tyranny and have attempted to establish a provisional government which has been lately reported to be crushed by British militarism;

"Be it resolved, therefore, That this mass-meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia most

heartily support the struggle of the people of India in their efforts and fight to establish a free and independent Republic of their own."

Among other Indians who took part in the parade were Duli Gulsher Khan of Peshwar and Mr. S. Singh of Lahore. Full-blooded Americans can not but feel happy at India's Revolutionary movement, for freedom of India means the freedom of one-fifth of the total population of the world.

GEORGE FRANKLIN in the *India News Service*.

Patriotic Devotion of a Moslem Youth

THOUSANDS of Indians assembled in Bombay to pay the last tribute to the departed soul of Nationalist Leader Lokmanya Bala Gangadhar Tilak, who passed away on August 1st.

One of them was a Mohammedan youth, who, without being able to bear the loss of this great beloved leader, we are told by the *Kesari* of August 3, 1920, jumped into the funeral pyre. The blazing flame would have consumed the devoted youth, as the dead body of Mr. Tilak, had not the people promptly dragged him out. The youth is suffering in the hospital from serious burns.

This incident tells so eloquently what a national consciousness is coming into the life of India. Mr. Tilak was known to be an orthodox Hindu, but his religious faith did not prevent him from bringing about a national solidarity. In the political field sectional religious faith has no influence. The youth of the Moslem faith had begun to love him because of his national works. National spirit imbued him to put his personal attachment to Mr. Tilak, whose loss he considered a national calamity.

In nationalism of this new era, there is no Hindu, Moslem, Sikh, or Christian. Signs are abundant to make the Indians feel buoyantly hopeful and optimistic about a new nationalism that is going to grow out of new freedom.

Indians Indignantly Condemn Use of Indian Soldiers By British

Protest Meeting in London

THE sentiments of the Indians were expressed in unmistakable terms at a meeting of the Indians resident in England, to protest against the use by the British Government of Indian troops in Mesopotamia, Arabia, Persia, Turkey and Egypt.

Tagore's Voice Against Fighting Automaton

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, in a letter to the chairman, said:

"The use of mercenary troops for military pur-

poses is degrading to all parties concerned, and it grieves my heart as an Indian to see that members of a subject race which has been deprived of its right to carry arms for its own self-protection are being turned into fighting automatons for the imperialistic aggrandisement of a nation whose possessions are already too burdensome for its moral integrity and physical strength."

Indians Used as Mercenaries

Mr. J. M. Parikh, who presided, said in part as follows:

"It is possible—and it is done—under an Act of Parliament that those who are not subjects of the king are allowed to join the Indian Army. . . . If they take into an army people owing allegiance to a foreign ruler, it becomes an army composed of mercenaries.

"Secondly, the people of India have not the slightest control as to where that army should be used. There is a provision in the Government of India Act which says that, if and when, Indian troops are used abroad the revenues of India would not be used or the charges for the use of that army abroad would not be put on India. Past experience has shown that that was a futile provision.

"When war was declared we were told it would lead to peace everywhere, but instead of that we find at the present time that Indian troops are being used in Egypt. Has there ever been any war with Egypt?

"Everybody knows that Indian troops are being used to put down nationalism in Egypt, and the same sort of thing is happening in Persia, Mesopotamia, Turkey and throughout the whole of what is called the Middle East. The presence of these troops is not going to promote good feeling towards the Indians. It is necessary that they should raise their voices against the use of Indian troops under such circumstances. Unless we do so, we would find the English capitalist exploiting both Asians and Africans at our own expense. . . . Labor must see that it is cosmopolitan and international.

A League of Nations to Enslave the People

"There is a League of Nations—a league of capitalist Governments to organise capital and bring into bondage and slavery Asians and Africans. . . . It is a monstrous shame and it is time those who know of it should take an interest in it for the purpose of saving Indian blood and see that the Asians become independent and able to stand on their own legs and that the international interests of the masses of all countries are served and the interests of humanity advanced."

The following resolutions were unanimously passed:

I. That this meeting of Indians resident in Great Britain records its strong protest against Indian troops being used by the British Government to suppress the peoples of Mesopotamia,

Arabia, Persia, Turkey and Egypt in their struggle to achieve national independence and demands the immediate withdrawal of all troops so employed in those countries.

II. That this meeting of Indians appeals to all organisations working for international peace and against imperialism and militarism to support their demand that Indian troops shall not be employed for such purposes and further recommends the policy of non-cooperation with Governments and persons who violate the principle of national freedom and harmony.

India Bears the Brunt

The Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel, a Congressman, speaking about Britain's military aggrandisement, said:

"Britain is at this present moment engaged in military operations in various countries. The main brunt of these military adventures is borne by Indians.

"The people of India have no voice in their government and they, therefore, have no power to prevent this use of Indian troops outside India. British Colonies on the other hand have withdrawn their armies since the time of the Armistice and today probably not a single Colonial soldier is fighting anywhere on the face of the earth. Already the militarists in England are obliged to negotiate with Russia for peace and yet thousands of Indians are thrown in countries like Mesopotamia to wage war to teach the people of that country lessons in 'independence.' The Arabs of Mesopotamia, on their part, are making it as plain as daylight that they would sooner prefer the 'blasting tyranny of the Turks' because the Turks at any rate allow them to govern themselves, than allow a foreign regime to be imposed upon them. With an army of 13,000 British and 66,000 Indian troops it has not been found possible to prevent or to put down an Arab rising and Mr. Churchill stated quite frankly the other day that the Government of India had now been warned to hold a further force in readiness to be despatched to Mesopotamia in case of emergency. *India herself is struggling to be free to regain her birthright* and it is the irony of fate that Indian soldiers should help others in depriving the people in other parts of the world of their birthright.

India Burdened With British Militarism

"Although the British taxpayer knows very well how much these military enterprises are costing him, the main burden in the sacrifice of blood for that British militarism of today falls upon the shoulders of India. Nearly half the Imperial revenue in India is being spent upon the military alone. India's sanitary condition is disgracefully deplorable. It is said that the war was fought to end war and to secure the world peace. The end of the war has not brought peace in the world. Looking round the world we see nothing but unrest and trouble. There can be no hope of peace

so long as lust for power and domination by one people over other peoples exists."

India Stands for All Peoples of the Earth

Mr. S. Saklatvala, a business man of vision, said: "It is the first time we are standing together with other internationals of the world to claim that other people should be left as free as they desire to be themselves. We are not met to ask for something for ourselves, but to refuse to join in a wrong and to ask for justice and humanitarian right for all peoples of the earth. When speaking to the railwaymen's deputation with regard to Ireland, Mr. Lloyd George said he was prepared to meet those who could 'deliver the goods,' but no honest man capable of 'delivering the goods' would go to sharpers—people who had the goods would not go to Lloyd George for they knew their pockets would be rifled.

A Government of Ill Repute

"This is a Government of ill repute. We do not want to trouble about using moral force so long as we can use bullets. It is up to the British to help Indians in their protest against the use of cheap labor. When the present League of Damnation is set aside and a real League of Peoples is formed probably either the Irish or the Indians would be given a mandate for England. There is more than one way of raising troops in India, but one way was shown in the banquet being given that night by the Government to the ruling Princes of India. If there is no other way of putting a stop to the ambitions of Britain for new spheres of power, Asiatic Russia has shown a way."

Confederacy of Asian Peoples

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the noted poetess and suffragist, said: "The day is coming when the world will be reconstructed and not in accordance with the dreams of the Prime Minister of England. The world will change its center and shift its capital and will alter its visions of freedom. Life will no longer be imperial in the British sense, which will make life worth saving and worth living. We in Asia are going to make a great confederacy of Asiatic peoples. Let them not have upon their brows the brand of Cain, for they are their brothers' keepers."

Hope Lies in Assertion of Freedom

Mr. B. Dube said: "Unless we recognize the fundamental fact that it is right for human beings and citizens of a country to assert their freedom there is no hope for them. Therefore we are recommending the policy of non-cooperation. To me, that policy is a very clear one and has been in force in India from time immemorial. It means that persons or governments who violated the principles of human existence should be deprived of social benefits and social intercourse."

Indian Troops Are Used to Subjugate Free Peoples

Mr. Syud Hossain, the famous journalist, said: "Indians are not trusted with arms and yet hundreds of thousands of Indians are systematically taken across the seas to various parts of the world to fight nationalists not yet brought to the same state of servitude as themselves and to help to reduce them to that state."

India is changing and changing very rapidly. The spirit of self-assertion and self-confidence manifested either in platform or in silent plans of works no doubt reveals the dawn of a new era in India.

Message of Irish Labor to India

James Joseph Larkin, Irish labor leader, confined in Dannemora prison, New York, advocates in a letter the solidarity of the subjected of the earth. The letter was addressed to Mr. Taraknath Das, Executive Secretary of the Friends of Freedom for India, 7 East 15th Street, New York City:

"Dear Friend and Brother in Exile:

"Greetings and a thousand thanks for your kind remembrance of this wayward pilgrim. Your gift was worthy of you, so appropriate in form and substance, its diversity expressing the heterogeneous characteristics of the earth's peoples, the sustenance and sweetness that will come to men when the peoples of the universe begin to understand and practice brotherly love instead of mouthing platitudes like, the omniscient one.

"As much as I appreciated the gift, I would have preferred to speak with you in the flesh, many things are verboten to one incarcerated in these penalogical institutions. Well, as the saying goes, 'Stone walls do not a prison make nor iron bars a cage.'

"My better self goes out to you in affinity of soul and purpose. It gives one great strength and courage to know that however diverse we may be in race and tongue, we have a common denominator to guide our activities. It is soul-inspiring to see the so-called subject peoples of the earth rising to their full stature and teaching the truth by the measure of their own lives, that 'right, not might' must guide the destinies of mankind. One of my friends wrote me a few days ago expressing sympathy with me in my discomfort, and hoping I was as happy as possible. My discomfort, nor the discomfort of a million better men than I, is a matter of no moment in these wonderful days. I told him, happy am I that I have lived to see the oppressed and downtrodden of the earth's children rise in their wrath determined to be free. It is great to be allowed to live and see such days.

"I give thee thanks, brother, for the gift.

"Give greeting to all my Aryan brothers who are one in the faith and fight for freedom.

"Shan Leat (Gaelic). Band Mataram.

(Signed)

JIM LARKIN."

Our Book-Shelf

The Rising Tide of Color

By LOTHROP STODDARD. (Scribner's.)

WHILE there is a strong, well-directed movement for rousing class-consciousness, a dangerous game in literary field has been that of writing about racial conflicts.

In a period when nations are at least making attempts towards the amelioration of inter-racial problems, the pseudo-scientists are accentuating the situation in a manner that is prejudicial to the human progress.

Dr. Lothrop Stoddard's book on "The Rising Tide of Color" is the product of the attitude of a mind which seeks to widen rather than abridge the gulf of misunderstanding. A cleverly placed thread of purpose runs through all the pages of his book. A hidden and camouflaged mine of motive which he sets may founder the sailing ship of exploration of the innocent, simple laymen.

He talks of the "white race," but he does not establish what is "white race." He desired, however, to make an impression on the psychology of the white population. He talks of the Nordic race which "the research of European scholars identified the founders of our civilisation with a race of tall, white-skinned barbarians, possessing regular features, brown or blond hair, and light eyes."

Mr. Madison Grant, in his introduction to the book, says: "The Alpines, Mediterraneans, Nordic races have more or less mixed with the Mongolian races." The question therefore suggests, "What constitutes white man?"

Houston Stewart Chamberlain conceives modern Germany as racially almost purely Nordic; and outside the German linguistic cultural group, the existence of Nordic races is practically nil.

To this Dr. Stoddard replies that only 9,000,000 out of 70,000,000 were purely Nordic in character in Germany. He says, "To let Teuton propaganda gull us into thinking of Germany as the Nordic fatherland is both a danger and an absurdity."

The very thing will hold good on India, where Nordic colonization prevailed on the south of the Himalayas. Brown-skinned Indo-Aryans, in the estimation of Dr. Stoddard, are no longer in the category of Nordic races, though it is only in India where Indo-Aryan religion and profound philosophical thoughts exist.

No country in Europe has any pure Nordic blood, excepting, of course, as Mr. Grant says, "in England or America, where there are democratic ideals among an homogeneous population of Nordic blood."

The cat is out of the bag. They desire to see that the Anglo-Saxon race must be saved

from its degeneracy by rousing a false consciousness in the name of the white race.

Is there any purity of race? Emphatically no. "... the process of adoption, naturalization, assimilation, has gone on everywhere. No nation can boast of absolute purity of blood—no existing nation is, in the physiologist's sense of purity, purely Celtic, Teutonic, Slavonic, or anything else. All races have assimilated a greater or less amount of foreign elements—we may again say that from purely scientific or physiological point of view, not only is language no test of race, but that, at all events among the great nations of the world, there is no such thing as purity of race at all."—Freeman's Historical Essays, 3rd Series, S. V. Race and Language, P. 178.

Dr. Stoddard looks with suspicion on the rise and growth of Slavic, Jews, Latin, Hungarians, and Jugo-Slavia and other races. As the Scandinavians are not aggressive, he touches very lightly on them.

One who reads carefully the book can clearly perceive that it is written distinctly for Anglo-Saxonism, and protection of its imperial interests.

"White man" or "white race" being a myth, for the tinge of white color can be found in almost every part of the world, it is not the rising tide of color—it is the rising tide of anti-imperialism.

The racial antipathy is overshadowed by the economic antagonism. When the world is battered by the militaristic, aggressive and imperialistic nations, it is but natural that the conflicts will be inevitable. Affinity and alliance are not based on racial questions.

Though the Chinese and Japanese have racial affinity, yet Dr. Stoddard himself says, "Chinese national feeling is today genuinely aroused against Japan, and resentment over Japanese encroachments is bitter and wide-spread." He continues that "this economic superiority of the Chinaman shown not only with other races, but with his yellow kindred as well. As regards the Japanese, John Chinaman has proved to the hilt. Wherever the two have met in economic competition, John has won hands down. Even in Japanese colonies like Korea and Formosa, the Japanese, with all the backing of their Government behind them, have been worsted." Yet "yellow peril" haunts the mind of Dr. Stoddard lest "they may arrive at surprisingly sudden agreements."

He admits that the Chinese are superior to the Japanese in adaptability and "Japan would be exposed to increasing Chinese competition since the Chinaman excels the Japanese in trade as well as in migrant colonization." There is a population-pressure in the Far East which is overridden

by imperialism of Britain. There are two avenues of escape from that congested condition. One is: freeing the territories from Britain and its imperial domination so that free development is possible; another is migration to unsettled territories. The yellow races will unite together, if they do so, not due to racial feeling or color affinity, but due to economic interests which are mostly threatened by the English. The Tokio Hochi rightly says that "the tyranny of the Anglo-Saxons at the Peace Conference is such that it has angered both gods and men."

If we travel from Yellow-land to Brown man's land, we find the diversity of character. "Racially it has," says Dr. Stoddard, "been a vast melting-pot, or series of melting-pots. In fact, there is today no generalized brown type-normal as there are generalized yellow or white type-norms, but rather a series of types clearly distinguished from one another."

Where the germ of conflict remains hidden will be evident from the following statement:

"At Versailles the European powers showed unequivocally that they had no intention of relaxing their hold upon the Near and Middle East. By a number of secret treaties negotiated during the war the Ottoman Empire had been virtually partitioned between the victorious Allies, and these secret treaties formed the basis of the Versailles settlement. Furthermore, Egypt had been declared a British protectorate at the very beginning of the European struggle, while the Versailles Conference had scarcely adjourned before England announced an "agreement" with Persia which made that country another British protectorate, in fact, if not in name. The upshot was, as already stated, that the Near and Middle East were subjects to European (English) political domination as never before."

Leone Caetani, Duke of Lermoneta, says, "The entire Oriental world from China to the Mediterranean, is in ferment. Everywhere the hidden fire of anti-European hatred is burning." And why? Political aggrandizement.

Dr. Stoddard shows that "practically all Englishmen are agreed that Egypt with the Suez Canal is the vital link between the eastern and western halves of the British Empire, and they therefore consider the permanent occupation of Egypt an absolute necessity. There is thus a clear deadlock between British imperial and Egyptian national convictions."

"India is likewise," he continues, "in a state of profound unrest. The vast peninsula has been controlled by England for almost two centuries, yet here again the last two decades have witnessed a rapidly increasing movement against British rule. . . . As for Indian independence, the average Englishman cannot abide the thought, holding it fatal both for the British Empire and for India itself. The result has been that England

has failed to meet Indian demands, and this, in turn, has aroused an acute recrudescence of dissatisfaction and unrest. The British Government has contested with coercive legislation like the Rowlatt Acts and has sternly repressed rioting and terrorism. British authority is still supreme in India. But it is an authority resting more and more upon force."

"If the brown men struck for a week," says Townsend, "the British Empire would collapse like a house of cards and every ruling man would be a starving prisoner in his own house. He could not move or feed himself or get water."

The basic factor is not, therefore, race, but politics. Dr. Stoddard painfully draws conclusion in regard to racial alliances. The Hindus have no grudge against any other European nation excepting the English. The natural growth of every nation depends upon freedom and independence. That is the stepping stone. If the Hindus, Egyptians, Persians, and other Asian nations desire to survive, they must cut the knot of bondage.

England conjuringly desires to have other European nations fight her own battles. Though very few Europeans have any privileges and rights in India, the British Government always mentions in official documents "Europeans," to camouflage the name of the English.

Antagonistic feeling that is growing among the various peoples in Asia against England is due to political domination and aggression. Unfortunately and unscientifically Dr. Stoddard is trying to bring race as a factor which is not true.

Going to the black man's region, Dr. Stoddard finds him inferior both to European and Asian races. "The originating powers of the European," says he, "and the Asiatic are not in him."

But he is obsessed with the idea that Asians, being imbued with cosmopolitan spirit, may take the black man in their sides. There is no racial or cultural affinity between the black and the brown, yet they may form an alliance.

"It remains to be seen whether the Arab, ally-ing himself with the blacks, can oust his white rival. That some such move will be attempted, in view of the brown world's renaissance in general and the extraordinary activity of the Arab peoples in particular, seems a foregone conclusion."

Alliance is only possible because of political subjugation and dominance. Dr. Stoddard's erroneous conclusion takes us into the whirlpool of Pan-Anglo-Saxon propaganda. In future the people will form alliances—no matter what color they may have, or to what race they may belong—by the influence of economic interests. Salvation of the rank and file lies in their ability to co-ordinate all the forces irrespective of caste, color or creed.

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"In the midst of many radical and liberal periodicals," says the *World*, Oakland, in its editorial, September 17, 1920, "we call to the favorable attention of our readers a new Magazine, THE INDEPENDENT HINDUSTAN.

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The Independent Hindustan



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*A Monthly Review of
Political, Economic,
Social and Intellectual
Independence of India*

Vol. I.

NOVEMBER, 1920

No. 3

*Shane O'Neill
Discovers India:
A Story*

Boycotting the British

Editorials

The Pulse of the Press

Notes and News

5 WOOD STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, U. S. A.

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Published Monthly by the Hindustan Gadar Party

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A MONTHLY REVIEW

of Political, Economic, Social and Intellectual Independence of India.

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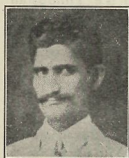
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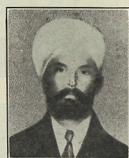
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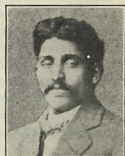
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Kanshi Ram

The above are among the 400 who have been hanged by the British Government during 1915 and 1916.

The Eighth Anniversary of the Hindustan Gadar Party

SEVEN years ago, the Hindustan Gadar Party was established with a view to bring about a complete change in the political and economic system in India.

The history of the party bristles with the same sort of forces which forge the destiny of mankind towards the most progressive consummation of ideals. From its very inception, the members of the party, individually and collectively, have given their lives for the cause of the Motherland, believing that the ultimate peace, if it has to be established, rests on the liberation of one-fifth of the entire human race. They have felt that the shackles of bondage which the sponsors of the British imperialistic system have put around the neck of India have to be broken in order that she may have the freedom of opportunity in ushering a new era for mankind.

With these ideals and conception, the Hindustan Gadar Party came into existence.

The economic and political conditions in India have driven many brave persons to suffer

and struggle in the wide world. In 1907-1910 a number of the Indians immigrated to this country. The freedom which every American child breathes inspired the Indians to remember the miserable conditions at home. They came to this country when the modern revolutionary movement was taking root into the soil of India.

The Indians had never submitted to the authority of the British government. Though powerless, the people have all along been imbued with the revolutionary spirit. Thru storms and stress which have swept over the undaunted Indians, they have kept their faith and confidence in the noble object of emancipation, and intelligence and character have guided them to reach the goal.

Even in 1812 the revolutionary movement was rampant. In 1857, India waged an organized War of Independence. In 1878, Lord Lytton's policy of reaction and repression threw the country into insurgency against the British rule. In 1883-84 India was in furious excitement

over the Ilbert Bill, and revolutionary activities were prevalent. In spite of the constitutional activities of the Indian National Congress, which was organized in 1885, an undercurrent of political discontent was flowing in the country. The partition of Bengal, a product of the policy of "divide and rule," became the culmination of perfection of revolutionary organization with scientific precision.

These landmarks of Indian revolutionary history helped the Indians in America to formulate the plans and policies.

Every individual knew the needs of his country. But they felt that unless they were organized, their desire would be of no value. Moreover, the Indians who were coming abroad realized that the sympathy and interest of the people of the world were necessary for the success of the independence movement.

The revolutionary organizations were started in France and Switzerland, and some sort of works were going on among the Indians in England. But it lacked the most essential prerequisites. That is the heart and soul co-operation of the rank and file. The Hindustan Gadar Party, on the other hand, draws its source of strength from the masses. Therein lies the significance of the only Indian revolutionary organisation in America.

The effacement of identity of personnel who guide the movement is the important characteristic of the Hindustan Gadar Party. The efforts are being made to overcome the subjective weakness peculiar to open leadership.

Since November 1, 1913, the sum total of the achievements of the party has been consid-

erable. The time has not arrived yet to record all that has been accomplished. Mistakes and failures there have been, no doubt. But, in spite of the attempts of the enemy to crush our movement, the party survives as the glowing example of the strength as well as service to the cause of independence of India.

The main program of the party has been to arouse our countrymen through the process of education to realize

the duties they should perform for their Motherland. We have published "The Hindustan Gadar" weekly and have written pamphlets in vernaculars, and have widely distributed them. The press is owned by us, and the place where it is located is known as the "Yugantar"—the New Era.

Secondly, frankly and openly we have tried to present our point of view so that misconception about India's independence may be made known.

After carefully weighing every factor and thoroughly studying the situation, when we had been carrying on our objects, the world war broke out just after ten months of our existence.

Our members went to India to guide and take part in the movement for the independence of India. A British government report says

that "a meeting was held at which revolution, the plundering of government treasures, the seduction of Indian troops, the collection of arms . . . were all discussed." In other words, the revolutionaries were planning to adopt various methods just like the revolutionary fathers of this country. A British government official wrote that the Indians have been "indoctrinated with crude ideas of equality and democracy in America."



Jowala Singh



Kesar Singh



Parithvi Singh



Indar Singh



Udam Singh



Mangal Singh



Piyara Singh



Sohan Singh



Besakha Singh



Jagat Ram



Nidhan Singh



Prof. Parmanand

The above are among the 5000 who have been imprisoned by the British Government for life during 1915 and 1916.

From the government report it also appears that the arrangements for the general rising were perfected. "Among other things a declaration of war had been drawn up." It proves that the Indian revolutionaries followed the covenant of International Law.

Independence has not been won; but the desire burns within the breast of every Indian. Our members have been executed, interned and imprisoned. In the Punjab alone, 400 were hanged and 5000 were sent to various terms of imprisonment, in 1915-1916.

That the Hindustan Gadar Party, in co-operation with other similar organizations, played a very important part in the organised revolutionary movement is a matter which the future workers must accept as a source of inspiration for the guidance of the activities.

Here in America, the British have done their best to crush the movement. Spies and sleuths and propaganda they have used without any stint or limit. In the San Francisco Case to overthrow British rule in India, the British government has spent over \$2,500,000, according to the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Whatever might be the merits or demerits of the case, the San Francisco Case will explain the struggle of millions to attain freedom for their Motherland, and will be remembered as one of the remarkable cases for human liberty. In spite of the struggles, sufferings and imprisonment of our members, the Hindustan Gadar Party is alive and its members are as determined as ever. The British may begot the revolutionary issues, but we have faith in the intelligence of the liberty-loving people of the world.

Undoubtedly we revise our plans and policies according to the trend of times. But the fundamental things will remain as they were before.

We believe that the British imperialism is subversive to the interests of humanity. The system upon which this imperialism rests threatens the peace and harmony of the world. With the complete independence of India and her secession from the British empire, 435,000,000 souls will be able to attain their freedom—political and economic.

Our methods are educational, which include the program of conveying to the people of this country and other countries the clear idea of our stand. In doing so, the etiquette and rules of hospitality are scrupulously observed.

We may be hunted and hounded, persecuted and persecuted, but the souls that crave for freedom can never be extinguished.

With the conviction of our aims, and confidence in our achievements, and faith in the judgment of the free peoples, the members of the Hindustan Gadar Party on its Eighth Anniversary send greetings to all. *Bande Mataram*.

The March of Events

THE latest dispatches from India disclose the dangerous aspect of discontent which is threatening the very foundation of the British rule in India.

The revolutionary spirit is deeply rooted into all classes of people. Philosophical speculation as to the means and methods and preaching do not satisfy them. Their heart and soul are devoted to the perfection of an organized revolt which is plainly seen in every field of Indian life. The peasants and the proletariat, the illiterates and the literates, professors and professionals, scholars and students are all animated with a desire for absolute freedom. No longer exists there any caste or creed. The Hindus, Muhammedans, Sikhs, Parsees and Christians have buried their differences in common aim, and are united to emancipate their Motherland. A new urge is awakened in their political consciousness. Prestige, power, fame and wealth are being sacrificed at the altar of the Goddess of Liberty. Fanned by revolutionary fervor an active spirit is sweeping every community of the country. The whole atmosphere is attuned with a new life—a new creation—a new conception.

The first indications of the revolutionary outbreak are the strikes. Throughout the length and breadth of India, the strikes are being waged in every branch of industry with victory and success.

In Bombay at one time thirty-nine cotton mills were closed. In Mysore gold mines at Oorgaum, two strikes took place, and the strikers received every concession they demanded. Even in tea plantations where the coolies are merely bonded, slaves are revolting against the English planter and his atrocious system.

"The industrial and political situation in India," says Frazier Hunt in a special cable dispatch to the *Chicago Tribune* and *San Francisco Chronicle* from Calcutta, October 7, "is rapidly assuming alarming proportions.

"Strikes are now on in practically every Indian city. Bombay, for the time, is paralysed industrially, and new strikes are being reported hourly.

"Discontent among the Indians is reaching a high pitch and from the up-country tea plantations word has come of several serious riots participated in by thousands of coolies, in which buildings were burned and in some instances Englishmen were attacked.

"Three days ago (i. e. on October 4) 1500 street car men in Calcutta suddenly quit work. This morning, following a sensational midnight meeting, the men returned to work, winning practically every point. Two conductors whom the company at first refused to take back again, as they were the leaders of the strike, drove the initial cars, bedecked with flowers, from the car barn, while the men wore the garlands of blossoms. Besides this sentimental victory the strikers won a \$6 to \$8 increase (which amounts to 100 per cent) in their monthly wages, free uniforms, and no loss of pay during the strike.

"For several days Bombay has been dark because of the strike of 1000 men in the plant of the Bombay Gas Supply Company. In the same

city the postoffice and telegraph employees have been striking for two weeks and 500 men in the railway shops have just ended a successful strike.

"This is a partial list of India's strikes. 'Strikes galore' is the main heading of one Calcutta newspaper this morning and it publishes a long list of labor outbreaks."

All these strikes are not directed merely for higher wages. It has often been declared by the leading labor organisers that the moment the workers see an opportunity they will seize the control of the industries. Besides, the strikes aim to bring about the solidarity of the masses. It is they who will strike at the root of the British system of imperialism.

Commenting on these strikes, Frazier Hunt says: "To the uninitiated they seem merely to be disconnected and unorganised attempts to gain higher wages, but there is little question but that some great underground secret organisation is directing all these efforts. Although appearing as pure economic strikes, they have a deep political meaning as a part of the general unrest, and they are a physical revolt against the political as well as economic conditions."

"Students of Indian affairs declare," concludes Mr. Hunt, "that behind all this unrest, both in the coast cities and in the interior, they can discern the guiding hand of some leader or secret organisation. Many state that the Indians are awakening in force and that some determined movement is in preparation to throw off the yoke of British rule."

Side by side with these strikes, the non-cooperation movement has been launched. The initiative taken by the Khilafat committee has been approved by the Indian National Congress in its special session held in Calcutta in the first week of September. The congress, which was attended by over 20,000 delegates, is the instrument through which the will of the constitutionalists is expressed.

Non-cooperation is the revival of the old boycott movement of 1905, which forced the British government to withdraw the edict of the partition of Bengal. After fifteen years it has taken a new lease of life. In plain language non-cooperation means that the people of India will do all that lies in their power to make the functioning of the British governmental machinery an impossibility. On the one hand, the British goods, government, court and council will scrupulously be shunned; and, on the other hand, the native industries and commerce must be developed and national education promoted.

In conforming to the provisions of the non-cooperation movement, many of the Indians are renouncing the titles and badges of honor, and severing official connection with the British.

With the Punjab massacre fresh in memories, the Indians thoroughly realize that the dismemberment of Turkey is deliberately done by the British in order to secure control over India by bringing the entire Near East under their dominance. The Indian soldiers are being taken forcibly to destroy the liberties of Mesopotamia, Persia and other countries. The Indians have therefore perfected the Khilafat movement with non-cooperation as its program. France and Italy, recognising the sinister motives of the British, have expressed their sympathy with the Khilafat movement.

The Khilafat has brought about the unparalleled and unprecedented unity between the two great communities of India—the Hindus and Mohammedans. Today Shaukat Ali and his brother, Mohamed Ali, the two Moslem leaders, are working hand in glove with M. K. Gandhi, the great Hindu leader.

This Hindu-Moslem fraternisation is an eyesore to the British. They will undoubtedly resort to force of arms to suppress the united efforts of the Indian people to carry on the non-cooperation movement. It can safely be predicted that force will meet force. The attitude of the British government will not allow counsel of conciliation to prevail.

Already the ultimatum has been served to the British government. "If our peaceful program fails, we shall draw the sword," Shaukat Ali, the leading Indian nationalist, said in a recent speech at Madras. "I owe no allegiance to any king or emperor."

"The fact is that the whole foundation of British rule," says Frazier Hunt in a dispatch to the *Chicago Tribune* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 13, "in India and the whole present-day structure of Indian life is being bent by white-hot revolution—political, social, economic, industrial, religious and artistic revolutions. Everything is changing."

"At present all these revolutions are centered along political lines, but once this is settled, new India will go ahead with the rest of her revolutionary program with a great social and economic upheaval at the bottom of all."

It can be expected that the liberty-loving people of the world will try to study the Indian situation with open mind so that scientific adjustment of the world-relationship will be a possibility.

After the overthrow of the British rule, the seething masses of India will, with new freedom, revolutionise the entire economic and political thought and system of the world. A new task awaits our countrymen. We, therefore, urge them to be ready in contributing their share to the consummation of the ideals embodied in new nationalism in India.

Boycotting the British

The Birth of the Revolutionary Movement

THE unanimity with which the people of India have hailed the inauguration of the non-cooperation movement indicates the determination of the rank and file to shape their own destiny. The Indians desire to have their own country free from imperial aggression and exploitation, but the Britishers, on the other hand, are resolved to throttle the aims and aspirations of the Indians in their march towards human progress. Unarmed as they are, they seem to be quite helpless in the face of the superior skill of the Britishers in killing human lives.

Under the circumstances, the only weapon the Indians may raise is refusal to cooperate with the British—be it commerce, court, council, education or administration.

Though the movement of non-cooperation is pervaded with the pacifistic principles, the historical introspection inspires us to predict that the British government will adopt the methods and means of terrorism.

It has often been said that the strength of the British rule in India lies in striking terror into the minds of the people. Terror undoubtedly undermines the morale of the masses. Disorganised and divided as they become by superior force of arms, it is but natural that an organised government of an alien nation will have a firm hold upon them.

During the time of civil war, when factional spirit runs high, it does not require an extraordinary military skill or intelligence to seize an opportunity of fanning the flame of differences. "Divide and rule" has been an eternal Machiavelian doctrine.

Century and a half ago, the methods which made the British traders master of the vast peninsula were urging the shrewd Lord Curzon to study the Indian situation in a new light.

Slowly and silently India was organising. A new political consciousness was awakened in the people. And they were trying to bring about the social solidarity, sinking all the petty differences into oblivion.

Crafty and cunning statesmanship of England noticed the trend of the Indian mind. If the Indian people once unite their forces, the British control over India would be a thing of the past.

They, therefore, sought to adopt the means of keeping the factional spirit alive. As the pioneer British adventurers brought the whole of India under their sway, by wresting province after province from the national entity, so the upholders of the British power of the present-day directed to divide up the provinces in order to weaken the bonds of union, and at the same time arouse sectional animosity.

Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India, with the approval and support of the home govern-

ment, made the partition of Bengal in 1905. The main object was political rather than administrative.

It aimed at the arrangement in such a way that the newly carved province out of Bengal may have preponderance of one section over another. It happened that the new province—Eastern Bengal and Assam—had the larger number of Mohammedans. As the administrative center would be shifted to less progressive center like Assam, the progress would greatly be retarded. Besides, the Mohammedans as they would be separated from the contact of the Hindus would think much of their own interests instead of the people as a whole. There would be a clash of interests between the Hindus and Mohammedans for petty communal representations.

The matter would be clear if we for a moment picture in our mind the two communities—Catholics and Protestants—or Jews and Gentiles—keeping them separated in two States. The interests were bound to be so provincial that political clash would be inevitable.

The people saw the danger. Petitions, prayers and protests could not change the imperial mind. There was a weapon, however, which could paralyse the process of governmental machinery. That weapon was "Boycott the British Government and goods."

"If the brown men struck for a week," says Meredith Townsend (in his book "Asia and Europe," pages 82-87) "the Empire would collapse like a house of cards, and every ruling man would be a starving prisoner in his own house. He could not move or feed himself or get water." "The English think," he continues, "they will rule India for many centuries or forever. I do not think so, holding rather the older belief that the Empire which came in a day will disappear in a night."

On October 16th, 1905, the partition of Bengal became a settled fact. The national solidarity was thus threatened with disruption.

This event awakened in the people a sense of indignation all over the country. The people determined to utilise every resource at their command to counteract the evils of the imperialistic scheme.

Thousands of people assembled in all parts to protest against the partition of Bengal. They solemnly and emphatically declared that Bengal could not be divided in accordance with the whims of the rulers. They adopted four weapons: Boycott of the British goods; *Swadeshi* (use of country-made goods and revival of India's industries); *Swaraj* (self-government); national education.

This action of the province of Bengal was supported by the Indian National Congress, repre-

sending the people of India, held in Benares, 1905, and in Calcutta, 1906.

The progress of the boycott movement was phenomenal. It brought a new life into the people. Everywhere the people began to revive the ruined industries. The attention was directed towards the cotton industries which were destroyed by the English government. The young men of all classes could be seen carrying bundles of country-made goods, and preaching and inducing the men, women and children about the benefit of the use of country-made goods.

Those who used to buy the English-made goods were socially ostracised. In many places a band of volunteers made a list of English-made goods in each family and marked them with a stamp to insure against future purchase of English goods. Occasionally, bonfires had been made of the English goods to impress upon the minds of the masses. Wherever there had been destruction, the real cost of the goods had been paid.

Day after day the young men, forming into volunteer corps, began to move from village to village, from district to district, educating and urging the use of country-made goods. They inspired the people by their national songs, and cheers: *Bande Mataram* (Hail, Motherland).

The movement became so successful that the English mill owners at Manchester and Lancashire had to close many of their factories, and made representation to the government.

The British government adopted repressive measures to undermine the movement. Without trial, without any charges, and without any warrant, the young men were arrested and thrown into jail. Many of the leading men were deported to unknown destination.

This prosecution and persecution threw the entire country into insurgency.

REVOLT OF THE STUDENTS

One of the most remarkable achievements was the revolt of the students. The students began to boycott the government institutions, which they remarked were "*golām Khānā*"—manufactories of slaves. This action gave rise to the growth of the national educational movement, and the National Council of Education came into existence. Under this council several schools and colleges were established, and its management remained exclusively under national control. National institutions were considered dangerous to the security of the British rule. The students and teachers were prosecuted and persecuted, and the entire educational movement was branded as waging war against the King of England.

Then came the second period of the movement. The people found out that it was impossible to continue to develop native industries and promote national education by peaceful methods. The friction between the British police and people became an everyday occurrence.

The remedy lay in arousing the martial spirit of the people. *Samitis*, or associations for the pro-

motion of physical culture, were formed. The most important of these associations were *Anusilan Samiti*, *Atmonnati Samiti*, *Brati Samiti* and *Surhid Samiti*. Military drill, fencing, and many other means of physical culture were included in the program and plan of these associations. Self-discipline was strictly observed. These associations in the beginning were semi-open, but when the British government was determined to destroy the movement, the activities ran into secret channels.

The existence of first revolutionary organisations came to light when several young men were arrested in a suburb of Calcutta. It was divulged in the trial that the revolutionists tried to blow up Fort William at Calcutta. Besides, leaflets, pamphlets, and a newspaper named *Yugantar* (New Era) were published and distributed.

Since then there had been arrests, imprisonments and transportations for life. Many of the newspapers were suppressed. Murder and attack on the British officials and traitors to the cause of India's freedom were resorted to by the young revolutionists after their patience had been strained to the limit.

The revolutionary spirit thus born of the boycott movement spread throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Space will not permit us to narrate all that has happened since 1905. But suffice it is to say that the people are much more united and determined than before to win freedom for their country.

The revolutionary activities compelled the British government to swallow its own mistakes. The partition of Bengal was withdrawn, but the effects remained indelibly in the hearts of the people.

The repressive and oppressive methods of the British strengthened the secret revolutionary organisations. They not only were perfecting silently the means to overthrow the British rule in India, but they planned to establish connection with the foreign governments. For they knew that the success of a subjugated country to free itself is practically nil without the aid of a foreign government. It is more so at present than it was during the time of the American Revolutionary War.

The world war broke out in 1914. The period was a little earlier than it was anticipated by the Indian revolutionaries. The British government at once began to conscript the able-bodied young men of India. And if they were not enlisted, their parents or relatives were brutally punished. Many of them were forcibly sent to the fields of Flanders, where they fought and died. Those who were left behind came back with the understanding and urge of a new awakening.

The British government noticed the tendencies of mind, and at once put into operation a system of terrorism. The Punjab massacre of innocent men, women, and children was the most dastardly and cowardly act that had ever been

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Shane O'Neill Discovers India

"GOD help me, look at the beauty of that girl!"

Shane O'Neill pulled his comrade into one of the shadowed doorways of the bazaar, as he spoke. The girl had halted at a booth across the narrow street. It was a bookstall and she was bent over a book of poetry which she had found. Within the deeper recesses of the literary booth sat the vendor like an impassive Buddha watching the world flow by. He did not even glance at the slender lady, robed in the soft Benares silk sari, whose sensitive face reflected every mood of the poet as she read.

It was an hour when the human tide had ebbed low in the bazaar. The huge population of Calcutta was indoors, preparing the evening meal. The tortuous streets were already overhung with shadow.

"She is a good looker," agreed Corporal Lewis of the One Hundred and Sixth, "but it is also true that the simple supper of a soldier awaits us and we must go." He spoke with the half-serious mockery of an English lad. He was not interested in modest and decent girls. Far away in Kent the apple cheeked maid of his dreams awaited him. "Are you coming, Shane?" he asked, "don't forget the old man's warning concerning illicit intercourse with the natives," he went on mockingly.

"Damn the old man!" said Shane softly, impatient on the girl at the stall. "Damn supper! Damn the Empire! It shall not be said that an O'Neill is seduced from the contemplation of beauty by any consideration whatever. I'm out to make the acquaintance of this dainty picture, I tell ye!"

"In that case I pass on," said the Corporal, still with good humor. He disappeared around the nearest corner, while O'Neill drew still further back into the doorway which sheltered him.

"If I meet such a beauty as this during me first week's service in India, I'll surely learn to like the country," he murmured.

The girl stood very still, absorbed in the book. For five minutes Shane watched. Then suddenly he decided that there would be no better opportunity. In half a dozen strides he was across the street. Standing alongside the girl, he picked up a book and pretended to read. She moved a little, impersonally, to make room for the big soldier. The vendor of books gave him a glance and resumed his introspective pose. A minute passed. Very gently O'Neill raised his eyes from his own book and glanced over the shoulder of the girl. He gave a start as his eyes fell on the title of the book. It was "Selected Poems of William Butler Yeats."

"Our own lad Yeats," thought Shane happily, "and this lovely creature readin' him!"

The lovely creature paid no more heed to him than if he had been a bronze Buddha. He

was conscious of a difference between her and the average Hindu maids who shrank against the wall when a soldier of the Empire went by. Encouraged, yet half grieved that he had made so little effect, he ventured to read. Familiar lines leaped out of the page and stabbed him with the darts of memory. The poem that the girl was reading and re-reading was the beautiful lament of Ireland's degradation. He could almost hear the old voice of the poet singing—

"Was it for this the wild geese spread
Their gray wings over wind and tide?—
For this Edward Fitz Gerald bled
... all that delirium of the brave?"

Something in the poignant rhythm of the poem gripped him. He saw in a flash what the poet saw. He felt the poet's sorrow . . . Ireland . . . degraded, a land of mean traders. . . .

To his amazement the girl turned her head slowly and looked straight at him. "You were reading over my shoulder!" she said in quaint but perfect English, "and now there are tears in your eyes. Why is that?"

Shane was infinitely confused. His helmet came off and he bowed low while he hastily searched for a lie that would cover his confusion. "It's this way, Miss," he stammered, "a bit of dust got in me eye, and by a kind provision of nature, the tears came to sweep it out; anyhow," he went on, "I'm Irish and when I tuk the liberty to glance over yer shoulder and saw the poems of Willie Yeats it made me remember . . ."

"Oh, you are an Irishman, you read Yeats," she cried with interest. "Perhaps you've seen him."

"In Dublin, many's the time I've seen him at the Abbey Theatre," said Shane eagerly. "Oh, but isn't that one a heart-rending poem?" he said, pointing to the open page.

"It is very sorrowful. It is very wonderful," she said with a sigh.

There was half a minute of embarrassing silence. Shane was conscious of something that needed to be said. "You are different from all the other girls here," he said; "the right sort, I mean. I've been famishing to talk to a real girl ever since I came, but it seems that the only kind the lads in the regiment know are not . . ."

Shane paused embarrassed. "I know," she murmured understandingly, then with a little smile, "I'll excuse you, big soldier, for trying to flirt with me . . . because . . . you have known Yeats. Only don't flirt any more if you want us to be friends."

"Friends!" cried Shane in delight. "I swear to God never again to look at ye if only I may have the privilege of your acquaintance. Sure,

all of us soldiers are starving for friendship with a real girl."

"Thank you," she said, smiling at his extravagance, "I want you to know that I am a student in the University here. I believe the Hindu woman deserves and needs the same freedom as men. That is why I speak to you on the streets in spite of the horror of our good chaperon, the bookseller here. So, big soldier, you are an Irishman. You are a lover of Yeats. What do you think of Ireland? Will it be a republic?"

"I hope to God it will be," exclaimed Shane fervently.

"It is strange then that you are wearing this uniform," she answered, with a puzzled look.

Shane gazed at the ground. "If I knew then what I know now, this uniform wouldn't be on me," he said. "I'm just an ignorant boy, but military life cures ye of all illusions in the first week of service."

"What do you think of this idea of freedom for India?" she asked casually.

"Freedom for India," cried Shane, "sure, I haven't heard a word about it. I didn't know your people were thinking that way. Sure, why shouldn't ye have freedom if ye want it?" he went on, "What's the sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. If freedom is good for Ireland, it ought to be good for India. I know we want freedom in Ireland. We've fought for it seven hundred years . . ."

She was watching him closely. "I know some people here," she said carelessly. "They tell me that India, too, has fought for freedom thru the centuries. They tell me that freedom is coming. What do you think of that, big soldier?"

"Let it come, is what I think," he answered gaily and carelessly.

"But you—when India calls for freedom—where will you be?" she asked, still fingering the book.

"I'll be where freedom is, you may be sure," answered Shane, "but, little lady, that day is far off. Whoever heard of a Hindu striking for freedom?"

"You are surely a stranger in India," she said. "There is much happening that you do not know."

"In the army we only know what we are told," he answered.

She turned to the bookseller. "I will take this book," she said, passing over a couple of rupees to him.

"May I walked a ways with you, Miss . . . ?" asked Shane.

"Miss Aparajita is my name," she answered.

"And I am Private Shane O'Neill of the Hundred and Sixth, at your service," he said, as they emerged into the street.

"Tell me about your relatives in Ireland, Mr. Shane," she said as they walked towards the Hindu residence quarter. "Are they in the British service, too?"

"Lord, no, Miss Aparajita. Why, me poor mother nearly died of shame when she heard of my enlistment, which was while I was drunk," answered Shane. "My father was a Fenian, my grandfather was in the Forty-eight conspiracy, my great-grandfather was hanged for being a rebel in ninety-eight, and so on. I'm the first one in the British service, God help me."

"You are a rebel at heart then, big soldier?"

"I'm afraid I am, Miss Aparajita, but don't tell the Colonel."

"I will not, surely. And now I must ask you to leave me here."

"Ah, why . . . and we only getting acquainted . . . Miss Aparajita?"

"Because it would be bad for my work . . . to be seen with a British soldier." She seemed to regret having said this and turned away in confusion. But she had time to see the genuine sorrow in Shane's face.

"Please, . . . Miss Aparajita, . . . little lady of the poem, when may I see you again?"

"Two days from now, at the same place and hour," she said softly. In a moment she had slipped down one of the crooked streets of the residential quarter.

Shane looked long after her. Then he sighed and returned to Barracks.

If, during the month following this episode, Shane seemed to his superior officers lacking in some of the qualities of attention which make a good soldier, he at least gave them no explanation. It was noted by his comrades (and he was chaffed for it) that he had developed a penchant for walking alone, but the chaffers wisely refrained from going too far, since within their experience the fist of Private O'Neill had no small skill in defending his rights. He was wise and cautious as the red Indian, so that no one in the cantonment knew that a dozen times during the month he made rendezvous with a dark-haired girl of the people. Had they known, it would have seemed wildly improbable that these trysts were unaccompanied by sighs or kisses, or by the soft words which the soldier reserves solely for his sweetheart. This was not by Shane's wish, but by the explicit command of Miss Aparajita, who perpetually surprised and fascinated Shane. She had obtained that rare ascendancy over him which overcomes the man of action who finds a woman who inspires his respect as well as his adoration.

They were walking thru Ballygunj, one of the Calcutta suburbs. "My dear," sighed Shane, "you are a wonderful girl entirely. You have the mind of a poet, and the body of a fairy. I'm in love with you but forbidden to say it, so I'm not saying it . . . still you are a mystery to me. I don't know what ye do or where ye live. I've not been introduced to aither yeer pa or yeer ma, nor to any of yeer kin. I agree with yeer desire for secrecy . . . only I wish I knew ye were

not hidin' anything for lack of confidence in me—"

"No, Shane," she interrupted, "no, my big soldier. I am not withholding anything thru lack of confidence. You mustn't say that. I hate to be secret from you. I would tell you all if I could, but don't you see—you are a British soldier, and I am a girl of the people—"

Shane stopped dead. "By God!" he exclaimed, "if that's all that stands between me and your confidence—I'll renounce the uniform—I'll become one of your people!"

She stood there, looking up steadily into his eyes. "Even if you became one of my people, Shane, there could be no—romance . . . between us in the usual sense—until my work is done."

"So be it," said Shane heatedly. "I'm not a fool. I know widout yer telling me . . . what the work will be. Rebellion runs in the blood of the O'Neills. I am now going to do something that would rejoice the heart of me ould mother. Can ye get me a native costume?"

The girl laid a hand on his arm. Her eyes gleamed. "Shane," she whispered, "do you know what it means—to live among an alien people—to be hunted and hated . . . loneliness . . . prison?"

"Ye needn't ask an Irishman that!" said Shane bitterly. "Did me grandfather know, when he was hunted thru the Wisklow hills and hanged in ninety-eight. Did me great uncle know when he was exiled to Australia for seven years . . . but . . . but, little rebel . . ." he lowered his voice, "I'm anxious about yer use of that word loneliness. There won't be any loneliness as far as your comradeship is concerned now, will there?" He peered down at her anxiously. A few Indians cast a furtive look at the strange pair and hurried by when they saw the uniform, thinking that here was one of those affairs between the soldier and the woman of the streets which characterise British military areas . . .

"I am yours . . . forever, my big soldier," she said in a low voice. But . . . the claim of the motherland is first."

"Enough," he cried roughly. "Little rebel, you are my motherland. The nation that produces the likes of you is good enough for me to serve. And now lead me to me new suit of clothes before I become sentimental from standing here in the dusk . . ."

The two melted away into the night.

An hour after that a tall Indian came to the embankment with a bundle which he dropt into the deep water. He muttered a few words: "So, Imperial uniform, do I drown ye with a stone around yer neck. Me checkered past goes wid ye. I hereby renounce the Empire, now and forever!"

He moved back from the River Ganges, for the tread of a sentry was drawing near. "I must vacate this idyllic spot," he said, "lest I defile

myself gettin' arrested by little Tommy Moran whom I've repeatedly licked!"

A small figure joined him in the shadows. They drew away into the night together.

General Dyer frowned as he read on—and well he might. He was engaged in perusing the report of one of those strange, distorted souls which every nation produces even as the human body is said to secrete virulent poison. He was a native spy in the pay of the military forces. For so many rupees per month and for no other reason whatever he moved shadowlike among his own people. He drifted from one bazaar to another. Discreet, inviolate, like a silent and deadly spider he spun an invisible web for the bodies and souls of his own people. A certain writer (who was once an artist and later—God help him—forgot and became an apologist for Empire) has glorified the services of this kind in India. Was not the delightful Kim in the Secret Service? Yet it is recorded that the same writer was exceedingly annoyed when Germany was found to have her Kims in Belgium and France and England. The truth is that the way of Judas is hard in all countries. Even the general, as he sat in his mahogany chair and contemplated the narrow face of the creature before him, felt a shadow of disgust. But he was hardened, as only the servants of Empire are. . . . "Proceed," he said abruptly . . .

The spy salaamed . . . "Sahib," he said, "there is a new one among them. I know nothing of him except that he is tall and utterly without fear and very crafty. He seems to be of the stalwart race from the north, and it is reported that he is under a vow of silence. He knows much about the disposition of arms within the various arsenals. I am convinced that it was he who effected the seizure of forty-five rifles and eleven thousand rounds at the railroad storage house two weeks ago. Much has been taken from the barracks in three separate raids, as your Highness knows. Twenty-eight revolvers, one hundred and four Mills bombs, and three cases of small arms ammunition—"

"The insolence of the natives is getting beyond all bounds," interrupted the general. He rose from his seat and paced up and down. "Look here!" he cried roughly, turning to the spy—"I want you to get this fellow, dead or alive. It doesn't matter. If you succeed, fifty rupees a month is added to your salary. Now go!"

The spy salaamed low and backed out, his eyes gleaming. Fifty rupees a month increase! The words ran like molten fire thru his brain.

Night covered the creeping figures which advanced with infinite caution thru the parched fields. One of them held back at the gate of the compound. He shrank down into a hollow in the earth and watched eagerly . . . Fifty rupees a month . . . There were two score

who went on, their khaki making them utterly like to the yellow soil. As they drew closer about the abandoned and shuttered house, the more observant among them could see that it was one of those decaying mansions near the river, which no one wanted now. Presently the soldiers were near enough together so that a whispered word of command could be passed noiselessly from man to man.

The six who occupied the garret of the old mansion high up under the roof were concluding the business of the evening as they sat around on the floor and listened to one who read from a paper by candlelight. "So here is the list, comrades: fifteen rifles with one hundred rounds, the military cipher for the month, one small case of anesthetics, the plans for the new service rifle, and the lists of suspected persons . . . all these items here and accounted for, the fruits of our most recent forced loans and . . ."

The soft voice of the speaker stopped dead. He sat like a stone Buddha listening—then swiftly he changed his cool, bantering tone to one of quick and intense significance. "Did ye hear that?" he said softly.

The girl who sat by him leaned over. "I hear nothing, Shane," she whispered . . . "What?"

"I was a poacher in me youth," he said, his face relaxing. "Don't stir a muscle, any of ye. I'm just talking on now because I think best while I talk. As a boy I could hear the step of a rabbit on the ground a hundred feet away. And the gamekeeper I could hear half a mile almost. Well, friends, I hear the step of the Imperial gamekeeper outside. Keep cool, all. You, Ram Das, to the roof with these papers. The trees outside will be yer road. 'Twas for this emergency the jungle gave ye birth. Ye will take Miss Aparajita here wid ye."

"He will not, Shane!"

The big conspirator looked at her in astonishment. She returned his gaze. "Has my comrade forgotten what I promised him once about . . . loneliness . . . ?"

Shane dropped his eyes. "Well, I see I'm checkmated," he sighed. "I would argue the point, however, if I had time." Suddenly his voice became brisk. He turned to the three men who remained—handing each one and the girl a rifle from a long box behind him. To each he also gave a belt of ammunition. "Every wan of ye, comrades, will depart in silence, and God bless ye. Take positions along the hallway outside and, since the grand staircase ascends thru the big staircase well below us, we will cover every landing with rifle fire. Aim be the light of these flashlights with which a paternal government has kindly provided us. We must make enough of a racket to make the going of Ram Das unobtrusive."

As they lay along the upper hallway and peered down thru the dark it seemed that the

wait was eternities long. They spoke to each other in low voices, and they were strangely drawn together in spirit by the nearness of the end. It is not pleasant to wait for death in the darkness, and so each one's voice was infinitely consoling to the others. Even the Hindustani which the Hindus spoke to each other sounded happy and human and near to Shane. At last there was silence. Shane turned to the girl, who lay alongside him. His voice was shaken. "Little Aparajita," this was what he called her in his most daring moment. "I am here, big comrade."

"Listen to me, little Aparajita. The others won't mind what I say . . . This is the end . . ."

"It is the end," she said bravely. For a moment she felt cold and lonely. Then courage came back with a rush. She tightened her small hands on the rifle.

"Then tonight, my dear," he went on, "your work for the motherland will be finished, and mine will be ended, too. Little Aparajita, you are most wonderful. Before I knew you I didn't see how your people could be free. Now I understand. In the world we have left, you and I would be comrades . . . in the way of other men and women . . ."

"This is a better way," she said.

"It is your way and mine," answered Shane. "I hear the windows down stairs being opened. Little Aparajita, have you anything you wish to say to me?"

She put an arm around Shane's neck and kissed him. "The first and the last," he said softly. "It is enough!" he cried, "It will do me forever. Surely life is a great wonder. . . ."

There was a crash of splintered glass downstairs as the impatient military burst in the doors and windows. Sharp red flashes of light leaped from the upper landings . . . there was a noise like the angry flight of wasps.

Ram Das, whom the jungle had trained, was slowly and carefully making his way towards the open country, swinging from limb to limb in the dark, with the papers wrapt in his turban.

This time the general was pleased as he listened to the talk of his servant, the spy. "Your Excellency, I am sure it was he. They saw him on the upper landing with the others from whom he could be distinguished by his size. He was greatly wounded before he died, and he fought with the soldiers from stair to stair, using his rifle like a club. Also he shouted in English, and used strange battle cries."

The spy was a good teller of tales. His master was interested. "Go on!" he commanded.

"The end of this rebel, your Excellency, was the strangest thing of all. With ferocity he had driven the soldiers down the stairs again and again, while one rifle played on them from above. Then he went up and for a while there was silence. Some of the soldiers ventured part of the

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India's Blood Vampirized by the British

ALLAN O. HUME, an Englishman, one of the organisers of the Indian National Congress, always mentioned that the poverty of the masses in India was bound to cause the downfall of the British government. The recent events corroborate his prediction. The masses have realised their wretched conditions under the British rule, and it is a question of time only when they will change the present economic and political systems.

The drain of \$200,000,000 a year to England in the shape of various payments from an impoverished country; the ruin of Indian trades and manufacturers, first by duties against her exports, and now by customs duties within her own borders—deliberately imposed for the advantage of the British; the reduction of very nearly the whole population to a subsistence on agriculture, are a few of the facts why half the population lives below the starvation mark.

Comparing the rule of the Indians themselves with that of the British, Mr. Francis, once a member of the Bengal Council, wrote:

"It must give pain to an Englishman to have reason to think that, since the accession of the Company to the Dewanee, the condition of the people of this country (India) has been worse than it was before; and yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted." After giving the causes of India's drift towards its ruin, he concluded that "these appear to me the principal causes why this fine country is verging towards its ruin while the English have really so great a share in the Administration."

Charles Grant, the greatest panegyrist of British rule in India, and at the same time the worst disparager of the Indian people, was constrained to admit: "We apply a large portion of their annual produce to the use of Great Britain."

Mr. J. J. Shore, formerly connected with the Bengal Administration, gives us accurate and true pictures of the British rule in India in his "Notes on Indian Affairs":

"More than seventeen years have elapsed since I first landed in this country; but on my arrival, and during my residence of about a year in Calcutta, I shall recollect the quiet, comfortable and settled conviction which in those days existed in the minds of the English population of the blessings conferred on the natives of India by the establishment of the English rule—

"I was thus gradually led to an enquiry into the principles and practices of British Administration. Proceeding in this, I soon found myself at no loss to understand the feelings of the people both towards the government and ourselves. It had been astonishing, indeed, had it been otherwise. The fundamental principle of the English had been to make the whole Indian nation subservient in every way possible to the interests and benefits of themselves. They have been taxed to the ut-

most limit; every successive province, as it has fallen into our possession, has been made a field for higher exaction; and it has always been our boast how greatly we have raised the revenue above that which the native rulers were able to extort. The Indians have been excluded from every honor, dignity, or office which the lowest English could be prevailed to accept."

In the same book he proceeds to tell us that "the halcyon days of India are over; she has been to make the whole Indian nation subservient she once possessed; and her energies have been cramped by a sordid system of misrule to which the interests of millions have been sacrificed for the benefit of the few."

The average income per head of the people of India has remained \$9.50 during the last thirty years and more. If the British have increased or developed the resources and wealth of the country, why the people's income remains stationary deserves a careful study.

"Poverty, grinding poverty," says Mr. Manohar Lal in an article in the *Indian Journal of Economics* for July, 1916, "is a tremendous fact of our economic, and therefore, national position, and it is to the mind of the present writer an immeasurably more potent fact than even the ignorance and illiteracy which prevail among our masses. This poverty exposes us to the havoc of disease and pestilence, famine and plague, and it makes advance at every step difficult."

In spite of such miserable conditions and sufferings, what a costly government India is forced to bear will be evident from the fact that India has to pay higher salaries to the British officials than any of the existing governments of the world.

The President of the United States gets a salary of \$75,000, without any other allowance. The Prime Minister of Japan gets 12,000 yen, or \$6,000. The British Viceroy and Governor General of India gets 250,000 rupees, or \$83,000, besides a very large amount in the shape of various allowances. The United States is twice as large as India; besides, the United States is supposed to be the richest country in the world, and India the poorest; while the average income of an American is \$362, and that of an Indian is \$9.50.

Sir William Hunter, former member of the Viceroy's Council, in a speech said:

"The government assessment does not leave enough food to the cultivator to support himself and family throughout the year."

Mr. Wilfrid Seamen Blum, in his "India Under Ripon," observes: "India's famines have been severer and frequent, its agricultural poverty has deepened, its rural population has become hopelessly in debt, their despair more desperate. The system of constantly enhancing the land revenue has not been altered. The salt tax, though slightly lowered, still robs the very poor. Hunger,

and those pestilences which are the results of hunger, are spread over an increasing, not diminishing, area. The Deccan ryot is still the poorest peasant in the world. Nothing of the system of finance is changed, nothing in the economy which favors English trade and English speculation at the expense of India's native industries. **What was bad twenty-five years ago is worse now.** At any rate, there is the same drain of India's food to alien mouths. Economic famine and endemic plague are facts no official statistics can explain away."

India is the most heavily taxed country in the world. Nowhere the land revenue rises up to 50 to 70 per cent. And over 85 per cent of the people live on agriculture. Out of the per capita income of \$9.50, nearly \$1.60 has to be paid for taxes. So, it can easily be imagined how hunger stares at the average person of India. And India's forced "gift" for war purposes was over five hundred million dollars to England.

Kier Hardie in his book on "Indian Impressions and Reflections" has shown the comparative system of taxation in India before the British and under the British rule:

"The Encyclopedia Britannica, in its article on India, says that Akbar, the great and wise Mohammedan ruler, fixed the revenue from land at one-tenth the total produce. It was paid in kind, and here is how it was collected:

"The land was not held by private owners, but by occupiers under the petty corporation (Village Panchayat). The revenue was not due from individuals, but from the community, represented by its head man. The aggregate harvest of the village fields was thrown into a common fund, and before the general distribution the head man was bound to set aside the share of the state. No other system could be theoretically more just or in practice less obnoxious to the people.

"That method at least has disappeared, and now each individual cultivator of land has to pay his revenue direct, not a collective part of the harvest yield, but as an individual rent for the particular piece of land he himself cultivates, and this has to be paid in coin and not in grain as formerly. This is a revolutionary change and one which I believe is playing havoc with the people.

"The term 'famine in India' is a misnomer. There are times and seasons when famine is spread over great areas, affecting many millions of people, but at the same time in other parts of the country sufficient grain is being exported to feed all who are hungry if only it did not pay better to send it abroad. Thus, according to the Famine Commission's report upon the great famine of 1877-78, when scores of millions of people in Southern India were starving and five million two hundred and twenty thousand (5,220,000) actually died of hunger, over sixteen million hundredweights (16,000,000 cwt.) of rice were exported from Calcutta to foreign lands. This illustrates what happens in connection with every so-called famine in India."

He, then, determining the real causes of death, continues:

"The real plague, then, in India is poverty, and the flea which spreads the disease is the government. The emaciated, bloodless body of the ryot has no plague-resisting power, and so the foul disease finds him an easy victim. With more physical stamina he would have more to resist, and the disease would have died out."

In the words of Austin Chamberlain, the former Secretary of State for India, "India is a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for the rest of the Empire." It will be forced to remain so until India achieves her complete independence from England.

There are a great many causes of India's poverty and maladjustment of her economic conditions. The poverty of India is undisputed. It is equally undisputed that the only cause of India's poverty is British rule. Never once in her shameless and treacherous rule in India has England displayed a generous attitude towards India. The constant aggression of England upon the peaceful and industrious people of India, instigated by commercial greed, has been a great blow to the progress of the land of fabulous wealth.

Sir Charles Elliot, an authority on British rule in India, estimates that one-half of the agricultural population of India is always hungry. The poverty of the Indian population is unparalleled in any civilized country.

In India everything is dead under the British government. There men die by thousands in want of a little rice or wheat, which are annually exported by hundreds of thousands of tons to England and other countries. The poor humanity is in the clutches of famines made by the British rule. The torrents have no more water, the trees can no longer clothe themselves with leaves. India, the mother and cradle of civilisation, is now a land devastated and desolated. If a foreigner—an unbiased historian—ever happens to look at the poor little children of India, he will give us a vivid account of the ghastly events that occur there and tell us that their stomachs are so sunken that one might think that their bowels had been altogether removed. Flies swarm on their lips and eyes, drinking what moisture may still exude. They are almost breathless and nearly lifeless, yet they still stand upright and still can cry. The land which used to produce rice and wheat, now merely resembles a desert of ashes. When you ever approach the famished people, or rather, the skeleton of the people, and ask what they need most—the food and not the money, they shall reply.

One can notice the miserable heaps of rags lying at the foot of the ramparts. There are human shapes hidden under them. One wonders if they are ill. These are heaps of bones. Of course, they move and can stand on the tottering bones that serve as legs. There are horrible heaps of rags and bones lying on the pavements hidden amongst the gay booths of the merchants, and people have to step aside so as not to tread upon them. These phantoms are peasants who

used to live in the surrounding districts. Their long agony is imprinted indelibly on emaciated bodies. They are on the brink of the precipice.

The invasion of these hunger-smitten ones increases rapidly. It is like a ghastly tide that flows from the village towards the town, and the roads leading across the plains are strewn with the corpses of those who have died before reaching the city gates.

The spectre of famine takes the lives of countless children. It would cost so little to keep these infants from starvation!

Pierre Loti, the celebrated French writer, in his book, 'Indian Sketches,' portrays the picture of poverty-stricken Indians as follows:

"At this very moment they are piling up hundreds of sacks, which the camels have brought, on the pavements; room can not be found in the barn—so these starved and naked children, whose ages range from five to ten years, must be driven from the place where they had sought a rest.

"A woman who is standing by tells that they are three brothers and that their parents, who brought them here, are dead (of hunger, I suppose). That is why they are here, and they are staying because they have nowhere else to go."

"The tiniest of the three children," he proceeds, "seems to be almost dead, for he is motionless and has no longer strength enough to drive away the flies that cling to his closed eyelids; his belly is so empty that it resembles the carcass of an animal that has been drawn for cooking, and he has dragged himself along the ground so long that at last his hip bones have rubbed through the skin.

"But they must move on elsewhere, so that there may be room for the sacks of grain that have been brought here. The tallest of them gets up and takes the little child tenderly to his bosom, and after giving a hand to the other brother, who can still walk, he silently moves away.

"The eyes of the little one open for a moment. Oh, what a look of unspeakable anguish is written on the face of this innocent martyr! What an expression of reproach, of astonishment, of surprise, that anyone could be so unhappy, and be left to linger in such suffering! But the dying eyes are soon closed; the flies return to settle there, and the poor little head falls back on the wasted shoulders of the elder brother.

"With a wonderful look of resignation and childish dignity the small elder brother totters forward with his charges, but he neither murmurs nor sheds tears, for is he not now the head of the family? Then, after having made sure that he is far enough not to be in the way, he lays his

brothers very gently on the ground and stretches himself out by their side."

The horrors of the famines stagger imagination. During the period of famine, in the cities as well as in the villages, the streets are lined with corpses. The nightmare of famine is never forgotten. The starved people always pray with the expectant favour of instant death.

These horrors of death and slaughter, these sickening displays of carcasses of animals and of reeking filth, of guts and scraps of quivering flesh, are everywhere to be seen.

One wonders why the constant hunger under the British rule has not dehumanised the people of India. Depopulated as they are, they are only saved by the elemental instincts of self-preservation.

At the celebrated trial of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Mr. Burke delivered a stirring speech, hearing which, a lady in the court room fainted. A part of his speech is as follows:

"The cattle and corn of the husbandmen were sold for less than a quarter of their value, and their huts were reduced to ashes! The unfortunate owners were obliged to borrow from usurers, that they might discharge their bonds, which had unjustly and illegally been extorted from them while they were in confinement," and "that the wretched husbandmen were obliged to borrow money, not at twenty, or thirty, or forty, or fifty, but at **six hundred per cent**, to satisfy a special tax collector of Warren Hastings. Those who could not raise the money were most cruelly tortured, cords were drawn tight around their fingers, till the flesh of the four on each hand was actually incorporated, and became one solid mass. The fingers were then separated again by wedges of iron and wood driven in between them."

The females were "dragged forth," he continued, "from the utmost recesses of their houses, which the religion of the country had made so many sanctuaries; they were exposed naked to public view. The virgins were carried to the court of justice, where they might naturally have looked for protection, but now they looked for it in vain; for in the face of the ministers of justice, in the face of the spectators, in the face of the sun, those tender and innocent virgins were brutally violated. Other females had the nipples of their breasts put in a cleft bamboo and torn off." (Italics mine.) It happened a century ago. But the recent Punjab massacre and atrocities prove that the British character has not changed.

Skolissoff, a minister under the Czar, had rightly described England, "a vampire, sucking the last drop of India's blood."

—BISHAN SINGH.

The Ways of Imperialism

India, Ireland and Mexico

IMPERIALISM'S brutal hand lies heavy on India and Ireland and has played havoc in that wonderful "storehouse of the world"—Mexico. England's hypocritical imperialism stinks to the heavens. Long have the people of India borne the heavy yoke and cried out for deliverance. And at England's very door Ireland is being drenched with blood because of official England's inexcusable tactics in keeping the strangle-hold on that long oppressed people.

Imperialism is imperialism, regardless of the flag under which it parades. It is synonymous with oppression and exploitation. In Mexico it has stalked through the land, claiming its victims by the millions in mine, on the soil and wherever it could extract tribute from the toiler. Like India, Mexico has been cursed with the foreign exploiter, who has sucked the economic life of the country and shrieked to his government for help whenever the natives disputed his right or put obstacles in his path.

The English capitalist went into India for the same reason, and he still stays there, namely, for personal gain. The foreign capitalists went into Mexico for exactly the same reason. The English exploiter keeps the strangle-hold on Ireland for a similar reason. None of them went into India or Mexico or Ireland for humanitarian reasons, as they love to have us think, but for a pure and simple selfish chase after the almighty dollar.

The imperialist, be he English or other nationality, likes to have the world believe that he is conferring an invaluable blessing on native races by his development of their country's natural resources. Being from Western civilization, where everything is measured in terms of material success, he can't see that humanity does not live by bread alone. Money is his god, and that he worships.

Out of the mass of lies with which the English propagandists flood the press, we gather that imperialistic England is up to her old, contemptible tricks that she has ever used against weaker peoples. She used them against the Boers in South Africa, to crush them in order to satisfy the British diamond and gold mine owners. The Boers were "ignorant savages" and needed British protection so that civilisation might bless their country. Hundreds of thousands of British workmen were transported across the sea in order to take civilisation to the savage Boers—civilisation in the form of bullets and shrapnel! And in Ireland today thousands of deluded English workers are shooting imperialistic civilisation into Sinn Feiners who would claw each other to pieces if the beneficent and humanitarian English were to withdraw from Ireland—to hear the inspired press tell it.

So it is with India. When I was a boy in Australia I had it very vividly impressed on me that if England were to withdraw its troops from India the Hindus, with their creeds and castes, would soon be tearing each other to pieces. Probably all throughout the British Empire that is a stock argument, among others, used by British imperialists. But it will not stand the acid test. It is merely a convenient excuse used to hide the real reason. Castes there are in India; creeds there are, too; but is there not a variety of castes and creeds in "civilised" Britain? Not creeds and castes, and the dangerous division they cause between the Hindus, but economic exploitation, is England's real reason for not withdrawing its troops from India.

During the late war to make the world "safe for democracy" we heard a great deal about the self-determination of small or weak peoples. In fact, it was one of the original fourteen points which have been trampled under in the rush to make the world safe for democracy. Yes, when it was all over, the small and the weak nations were to be treated fairly and given a square deal, and allowed full freedom to develop. Many a man went forth to battle with those phrases ringing in his ears. But what a shock he got when it was all over! India, while not small, still comes under the self-determination heading. Instead of getting a square deal from England, she got the infamous Rowlatt Act, the brutal massacre by Dyer, and an increase of the iron heel more brutal and enslaving than ever! Ireland got self-determination in the form of British bullets and a military rule. And the small nations of the Near East came under the iron heel of Great Britain and France in order that they might "self-determine" more readily!

Wherever Nature is most bountiful, there the hand of the exploiter is most brutal. In the land south of the Rio Grande, Nature has been kind and has bestowed wealth in great abundance. But like that other sunny land—India—Mexico has been cursed with the foreign exploiter, who has plundered the wealth of the land and oppressed the native people. Will the hand of the imperialist keep off now and let the Mexican people "self-determine" without the aid of his "civilised" methods?

Without hope humanity dies. There is hope! Out of the welter of blood, the fighting, the brutality and oppression, and the iron heel, there is humanity's new sun rising in the horizon to shine on the new day when the old order shall have passed away and the brotherhood of man, liberty, fraternity and cooperation are realities!

—ARTHUR THOMSON.

The Falsity of Foreign Rule

"THE government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality; but such a thing as government of one people by another does not and can not exist," wrote John Stuart Mill.

The absence of control by the people in their government makes them dream of liberty. Indian government, not being a government of the people, is only a bureaucracy backed up by alien bayonets. It is a mechanical scheme of a handful of English civil service officials.

A government of foreigners, maintained by brute force, for the benefit of vested English interests, can not be anything but hateful to the Indian people. Justice and the equality of man cannot be a part of the bureaucrats, whose interests are nothing but exploitation, aggression and trampling the rights of others. Prejudicial as an alien ruler is bound to be leads him to reactionary conservatism, resulting in his action in perpetuating his forced rule against the will of the people.

The result is the clash of two opposing forces. The Britisher sees in every attempt to modify the old order of things the most hateful and unjustifiable revolt, which must at all costs be suppressed. He chuckles with devilish delight in striking down the Indian "infidel," who opposes his march of militarism. It is his plan to prove through propaganda incapability of the subjugated to manage their own affairs. He enters into political arrangements with other countries to keep the people under dominance through various forms of alliances. The Anglo-Japanese alliance and the League of Nations, for instance, are the various instruments through which the British intend to retain their supremacy over the people who are struggling to become free and independent. He finally, of course, relies on the military strength and the big guns, which made him one of the first-class powers.

The English people think that the democratic principles are good for so-called Anglo-Saxons only. What is fundamentally true of one mass of humanity must be equally true of another mass, irrespective of caste, color or creed; otherwise, it cannot be called true at all. There can be no monopoly; they are common to all humanity. Given the incentives, all men possess the same aims, ambitions, and aspirations.

A real comprehension of the historical aspects of Indian problems, instead of a traditional prejudice, will reveal the necessity of changing completely the alien rule and government. But England means to ward off the evils.

For obvious reasons she cares not to go to the roots of the problems, and creates a Chinese wall—lest the truth be known to the world.

The administration—benevolent, despotic or bureaucratic—does nothing but crush the spirit of liberty, and the problems remain as ever.

After over one hundred and fifty years of British rule India is worse than she was ever before in her great and tragic history. Lack of education is appalling. The dirt, the disease, the squalor of India are due to this lack of education. There has been nothing done towards industrial and financial development and proper stimulus to native energies.

Professor Pearson, an Englishman, in his book, "National Life and Character" (Chap. VI), says: "It is now more than probable that our science, our civilisation, our great and real advance in the practice of government, are only bringing us nearer to the day when the lower races will predominate in the world, when the higher races will lose their noblest elements, when we shall ask nothing from the day but to live; nor from the future but that we may not deteriorate." The guilty conscience is thus trembling long before the day of judgment. Does the age of reason and justice mean decay for "higher," that is, so-called imperialistic races?

The Indians are no longer going to remain helots of England. It is an absurdity that they are to reap and sow, to buy and sell, to labor and sweat, but not to govern. In his heart of hearts every Indian prefers the rule of his own nationality, bad though it be, to the most ideal rule of the alien.

England does not heed reason and justice. Let her remember the warning of the English General, Sir Ian Hamilton, who writes in his book on the Russo-Japanese War, "A Staff Officer's Scrap Book" (Vol. I): "There is material in the north of India, sufficient and fit under good leadership, to shake the artificial society of Europe to its foundations, if once it dares to tamper with that militarism which now alone supplies it, with any higher ideal than money, and the luxury which that money can purchase. It is heroism, self-sacrifice and chivalry which redeem war and build up national character. What part do these heroic qualities find in the ignoble struggle between the nations for commercial supremacy, with stock exchanges and wheat pits for their battle fields?"

England's domination has been spread over one-quarter of the globe by fraud and forgery supported by force. The time is come when the entire edifice of injustice will be demolished, and a new society will be formed. India will do her part.

—BHAGAT SINGH.

The Pulse of the Press

LABOR UNREST IN INDIA

IN an article on "Labor Unrest in India," Mr. Gurmukh Singh Suri, M. Sc., describes in *The Wealth of India* the forces that are impelling the proletariat in India to shape his destiny. He says:

"The workers in this country (India) are beginning to realize their power, and with the knowledge of their misery and power has come the era of discontent and war against the old order.

"The labor problem is not merely a question of wages, as some economists love to think. There are a number of other things mixed up in it. The workers are not only asking for higher wages and improved conditions of life and work, they are also demanding a higher status, a voice at least in the control of industry. The labor problem is thus a three-fold one. There is first of all the question of wages; next comes the question of the improvement of the conditions of life and work; and lastly there is the ticklish and ultimately the most important question of a share in the control of industry—not to say anything about the complete control of the machinery of production. It is no use ignoring the last aspect of the problem, because it is difficult or yet too remote. We are not going to escape the trouble by running away from it."

A HINDU SCIENTIST'S REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIMENTS

HOW a Hindu scientist has revolutionised the conception in plant physiology is described by *Nature*, published in London:

"At the University of London Club Dr. Jagadish Chandra Bose gave a very interesting lecture on his well-known experiments on movements in plants.

"Sir Richard Gregory, editor of *Nature*, who presided, spoke of Dr. J. C. Bose's contributions in physics placing him in the forefront of investigators on Electric Waves. His subsequent researches in plant physiology carried out by the remarkable instruments invented by him and constructed by his Indian mechanicians, promise to create a revolution in our conception of Tropisms. The establishment of Bose's unifying law will prove to be of as great significance in physiology as the theory of universal gravitation in the world of matter.

"Dr. Bose has applied the methods of instrumental physics to the study of tropic plant movements, and beginning with methods which magnified the growth of one hundred times, has finally, with his magnification CRESCOGRAPH, reached magnifications of more than ten million.

This instrument uses the principle of a fine magnetised lever affecting a magnetic needle and so demonstrating growth by the movement of an attached mirror. By this method very delicate growth responses of the plant could be shown, and its relative sensitivity under different conditions compared. One of the lecturer's most general conclusions was that indirect stimulus causes an increase of growth, where direct stimulus of a plant organ causes a decrease of growth or contraction. In this way positive, negative, and neutral responses to gravitation or light on the part of any organ were explained as the results of various combinations of responses to direct and indirect stimulus."

WHAT ENGLISHMEN HAVE DONE FOR INDIA

I LISTENED with some concern the other day to a tirade by a Parsee (Indian) capitalist of the utter selfishness of Englishmen who make fortunes in India. He is a man who has given big sums to charity and philanthropy and had therefore a title to speak. His declamation was extravagant, and some of his accusations sweeping and unjust: still he has sound ground for his main theme, namely, that rich Englishmen export their wealth and do little for the amenities and humanities of life in India. He asked: "Is there a single hospital in Calcutta which has been built and endowed by an Englishman or a Scotchman; a single school or college, a single scientific institution? You know Bombay and you know what individual Parsis have done there. What have individual Englishmen done in Calcutta where they are as commercially powerful and rich as the Parsees at Bombay?" I hung my head and begged of him to ask me another.

The congress people have been fools to ring the changes on the drain from India to pay military and administrative charges. It is a flea bite compared with the drain of wealth by foreign exploiters who have been encouraged and protected by the Government (British), and who have not had the grace to make some return by assisting the uplift of the people they have exploited. Wait until the new Reforms Act is in force. We, Indians, will combine to pass an Act which will make it illegal for more than half the capital in limited liability company registered in India to be held by foreigners. A fearful threat if the Act could be made retrospective! I have quoted this conversation to show how even Indians of moderate view feel over the neglect of wealthy Englishmen to show a genuine love for India after the manner of the Parsees.

—Ditcher's Diary in the Capital.

PUNJAB ATROCITIES

A SMALL number of European missionaries and a very small number of other Europeans in India have condemned the conduct of Dyer and others who acted like him in the Punjab. A large number of British men and women, some of them members of Parliament and some who hold or held cabinet rank, have given expression to similar views. Some fine principles have been laid down in the despatch sent on behalf of the cabinet to the Government of India by Mr. Montagu. We respect those who have spoken sincerely and righteously. But so far as the British people as a whole are concerned, it must be said that they have not been alive to their responsibility in the matter and risen to the height of the occasion. We have never believed in the existence or superiority of any special brand of justice labelled "British justice," but those who have held any such belief will not be able to assert that such a thing as British justice has been vindicated on the present occasion.

Some jurists have maintained that when wrong-doers are punished, the punishments act not only as deterrent for the future but serve also to gratify the communal feeling of revenge which in lawless times and countries impels men to take the law into their own hands and which but for such punishments would lead men even in civilised and law-abiding countries to favor lynch-law. It would be unworthy to insist on the punishment of the guilty from the motive of communal vindictiveness, but it can not be gainsaid that punishments are necessary as deterrents.

In the present case no one has been adequately punished. But why use the word "adequately" at all? The only man who is known definitely to have even lost his appointment is Dyer. It is not yet quite clear whether he has been dismissed and will not get any pension. But supposing he has been dismissed and will not get any pension, he will neither feel disgraced nor be a loser from the pecuniary point of view. For practically all Anglo-Indians have been taking part, openly or tacitly, in the celebration of his apotheosis; the House of Lords has by a majority vote supported his action and censured the Government for the very mild punishment inflicted on him, and the funds being raised for presenting him with a purse will exceed the total of his pension. While thus the only man who has so far been definitely and openly subjected even to the semblance of a punishment has been practically lionised and rewarded, nothing is known definitely as to how others who are also guilty, and more guilty than Dyer from some points of view, have been or will be dealt with; and it is also to be borne in mind that more than a year has elapsed since the atrocities were perpetrated and that punishment too long delayed loses much of its efficacy.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the source of all Punjab's recent woes and indignities, has been let off only with a mild censure which has only served

the purpose of acting as a foil to the glowing panegyric pronounced on him in the despatch signed by Mr. Montagu, thereby heightening its effect. Lord Chelmsford, who—by his weakness, by the free hand that he gave to Sir Michael, by his turning a deaf ear to all lawyers and others who wanted to go to the Punjab to investigate and render help, if needed; by his omission to visit the Punjab, by his criminal obstinacy in going on with the Rowlatt Bill in spite of unanimous popular opinion and protests, by extending by the resolution dated 14th April, 1919, "the fullest assurance of countenance and support" to all "who are charged with onerous responsibility of suppressing excesses against public peace and tranquillity" in culpable ignorance of the atrocities already perpetrated by some such officers, by afterwards indemnifying all such men without the slightest enquiry as to how they have suppressed excesses or whether they had not themselves been guilty of enormities, and by other similar acts of omission and commission—has made himself responsible to no small extent for the atrocities in the Punjab, has received the fulsome praises.

The Rowlatt Act, the fountain-head of all the disorders, excesses and atrocities, still remains on the statute book, the regulations which enable the Governor-general to play the despot with impunity have not been repealed. He still has the unrestricted power of making ordinances. All the repressive laws, including the press laws which are a direct personal insult to journalists and printers, passed during the last two decades, are still in force. As all the most important and vital laws can be passed, amended or repealed only by the Indian Legislative Assembly and as the Government of India Act does not confer full control over legislation on the elected representative of the people, the people would still be at the mercy of the bureaucracy. As now there is not, so in the future there would not be any guarantee that innocent persons would not be murdered by military or others, officers by the hundred and the whole population treated as worse than vermin, by their women and kith and kin being subjected to the greatest humiliation and the most provocative indignities.

—The Modern Review.

THE MARTIAL SPIRIT OF TAMIL DAME

HOW the Indian women were pervaded with the martial spirit in ancient time is described by Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*. He writes:

"It is interesting to note that in those ancient days, the martial spirit animated not only the men, but also the women of the land. At a time of war, the womenfolk urged their male relations to march to battle, resolved to win or die like heroes. The wife rejoiced to see her husband

display his valour, and the mother to see her son show his bravery, in war; and neither was troubled by the thought of any possible danger to the life of her hero. They regarded a dastard in war with contempt, and death on the field of battle was regarded as glorious. Some of the lyrics of *Pura-Nanuru* vividly depict this significant trait in the character of the ancient Tamil Dame; and one of those lyrics, sung by *Kakkai Padiniyar*, a well-known poet of the Third Sangam, I have attempted to give below an English echo:

"The dame of ancient age, with shrunken veins,
And loosely hanging tissues, heard her son
Had from the battle turned in fear and fled.
In towering rage she vowed, if that be so,
She would for very shame cut off her breasts
That gave the despicable coward suck.
She snatched a sword, swept with impetuous
speed

Into their gory battle-field, and searched
The heaps of warriors slain; when lo! she found
Stretched on the field of glory, cut in twain,
Her valiant son. Then she swelled, indeed, with
pride;

The mother's heart, which was with gladness
filled,

Intenser far than when she gave him birth."

LITERATURE OF INDIA

SRI AUROBINDO GHOSE, the profound thinker and writer and a nationalist leader of India, writing in *The Arya* in defence of Indian Culture, says about the Indian Literature thus:

"The people and the civilisation that count among their great works and their great names the veda and the upanishads, the mighty structure of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti, and Bhatihari and Jayadeva and the other rich creations of classical Indian drama, poetry and romance, the Dhammapada and the Jatakas, the Panchatantra, Tulasidas, Bidyapati and Chandidas and Ramprasad, Ramdas and Tukaram, Tiruvalluvar and Kamban and the songs of Nanak and Kabir and Mirabai and the southern Shaiva saints and the Alvars,—to name only the best-known writers and most characteristic productions, though there is a large body of other work in the different tongues of both the first and the second excellence,—must surely be counted among the greatest civilisations and the world's most developed and creative peoples. A mental activity so great and of so fine a quality, commencing more than three thousand years ago and still not exhausted, is unique and the best and most undeniable witness to something extraordinarily sound and vital in the culture.

"A criticism that ignores or belittles the significance of this unsurpassed record and this splen-

dour of the self-expressing spirit and the creative intelligence, stands convicted at once of a blind malignity or an invincible prejudice and does not merit refutation. It would be sheer waste of time and energy to review the objections raised by our devil's advocate: for nothing vital to the greatness of a literature is really in dispute and there is only to the credit of the attack a general distortion and denunciation and a laborious and exaggerated cavilling at details and idiosyncracies which at most show a difference between the idealising mind and abundant imagination of India and the more realistically observant mind and less rich and exuberant imagination of Europe.

"The fit parallel to this motive and style of criticism would be if an Indian critic who had read European literature only in bad or ineffective Indian translations, were to pass it under a hostile and disparaging review, dismiss the Iliad as a crude and empty semi-savage and primitive epos, Dante's great work as the nightmare of a cruel and superstitious religious fantasy, Shakespeare as a drunken barbarian of considerable genius with an epileptic imagination, the whole drama of Greece and Spain and England as a mass of bad ethics and violent horrors, French as a succession of bald or tawdry rhetorical exercises and French fiction as a tinted and immoral thing, a long sacrifice on the altar of the Goddess Lubricity, admit here and there a minor merit, but make no attempt at all to understand the central spirit or aesthetic quality or principle of structure and conclude on the strength of his own absurd method that the ideals of both pagan and christian Europe were altogether false and bad and its imagination afflicted with a "habitual and ancestral" earthiness, morbidity, poverty and disorder. No criticism would be worth making on such a mass of absurdities, and in this equally ridiculous phillipic only a stray observation or two, less inconsequent and opaque than the others, perhaps demands a passing notice. But although these futilities do not at all represent the genuine view of the general European mind on the subject of Indian poetry and literature, still one finds a frequent inability to appreciate the spirit or the form or the aesthetic value of Indian writing and especially its perfection and power as an expression of the cultural mind of the people."

THE KHILAFAT AND THE TURKISH TREATY

I HAD imagined that the full extent of the breach of faith committed by the Prime Minister, in the name of the British Government, was fully known by us in India. But the hypocrisy, which lies behind Constantinople, is only just coming to light. The news is slowly trickling through. It wears a most sinister aspect. It strengthens the demand for a complete revision of the treaty a hundredfold and makes India's

part in such a demand a duty to humanity of the very first importance.

The facts are these. The French and Italians are firmly convinced that Great Britain, by her naval power and her military occupation, is determined to rule the Straits and to remain indefinitely, as the virtual over-lord of Constantinople, with the ostensible plea that local conditions are too unsettled to contemplate any hasty retirement. The instance of Egypt is constantly cited as a precedent. In Egypt, it is remembered, Great Britain made more than a hundred separate promises to retire, and found reasons for breaking them all. Such, it is said, will be the fate of Constantinople.

There has been one terribly revealing statement of Mr. Lloyd George, which he made in an unguarded moment. He was answering a deputation, which waited on him in order to ask him what would happen to America,—"Could not Great Britain undertake the responsibility of America's protection, if America were unwilling?" According to the verbatim report given in all the papers, Mr. Lloyd George answered as follows:

"We have got Constantinople: we have got Mesopotamia: we have got Palestine."

Even if Mr. Lloyd George was speaking somewhat casually, and only meant,—"we have got, in our own temporary military occupation, Constantinople"—even then, it was unforgettable, that he put Constantinople in exactly the same category as Mesopotamia. To state the very least construction that this word will bear, it showed that he regarded the possession of Constantinople as no mere temporary affair, which would be over in a few months, but a long and costly business.

Furthermore, we have now the fact brought to light, that every other allied power appears to regard the British as paramount in Constantinople, just as the French are now regarded as paramount in Aleppo and Damascus and the Greeks as paramount in Smyrna and Adrianople. All the military defences of Constantinople are in the hands of the British. The Sultan himself, his vizier, and his Cabinet sign dutifully and unanimously British orders. Recalcitrant officials have been effectively dealt with. Financial control has been taken from the Turkish Government; and the Sultan has been made, not only a prisoner in his own palace,—to all intents and purposes,—but also practically a pauper and a mendicant, dependent on the hated foreigner for every penny of his income. It is this situation which has made Europe regard the British military occupation as complete and lasting.

Mr. Lloyd George's own words, and those of members of his Cabinet—such, for instance, as those of Mr. Winston Churchill—have now become like a debased coinage. No one gives them any credit or currency. Every newspaper on the Continent assumes, as an axiom, that Constanti-

nople has become a British protectorate. In France this is characterised as an immense diplomatic triumph for Great Britain; and the eagerness to make certain of Syria, as a French possession, has been increased by this action of the British army and navy.

Furthermore, the feeling is now strong on the Continent of Europe, to the point of dangerous bitterness, that the English Prime Minister and Mr. Winston Churchill have over-reached themselves both in mendacity and in forcing the hands of the Allies. It is everywhere believed that secret financial aid is being given to Greece, and that the Greek Government is deeply involved in the plot. M. Venizelos is regarded as acting in closest concert with the British Minister in order to bring about the final overthrow of Turkey, and to place Great Britain permanently as guardian of the Straits and controller of Constantinople's destiny. The price paid for this has been the Greek possessions of Smyrna and Thrace.

What the French view is, in detail, may be seen from the account given in *L'Opinion*, a French literary weekly. It is written by M. Berthe Georges Gaulis, who was on the spot at the time of the British act of forcible possession, and resented it most bitterly.

"At day-break," he writes, "a short volley awakened the inhabitants of Stamboul and Pera. It was the prologue to the sudden leap of the British Lion by which he defiantly seized possession of the prey he had imperiously chosen. Apparently it was an act preparatory to putting into effect a treaty in which England's allies came off second best."

"We, the French residents," M. Gaulis adds, "witnessed all this with stupefaction. As the real meaning of what was happening became evident, our indignation increased. Every new arrest made by the British soldiers removed someone from our circle of friends and acquaintances, from those to whom we felt bound by those tacit obligations which one incurs towards men who rely upon one's justice and honour. Consequently, the moral position of the French in Constantinople speedily became intolerable. This flagrant violation of an agreement, made at the time of armistice, obviously took our officials unprepared

... All this occurred in the glory of a Turkish spring-time. The soft beauty of the skies and the calmness of the people threw into sharp relief such acts of apparently groundless violence."

"During the next few days," M. Gaulis continues, "the subsequent stages of permanent occupation followed in quick succession. Sensational arrests were made. The Turkish Cabinet being disintegrated, the nerveless Parliament hastened towards extinction. Gradually, the physical evidences of Great Britain's military occupation became less evident. But its unseen pressure never for a moment relaxed. Every influential Turk in Constantinople or Stamboul, was either

under arrest, or else a fugitive. "He was journeying towards Malta, or towards Anatolia."

We turn from this sordid and disgraceful picture to the actual Syrian and Mesopotamian mandates themselves, and the lying and chicanery of the Powers, with Mr. Lloyd George as the chief offender, stands out more clearly than ever. Open and unashamed buccaneering and plundering is surely better by far than this cunning concealment of spoliation under verbiage that has become too thin even to deceive the simple-minded. We had another of Mr. Lloyd George's virtuous phrases telegraphed out to us lately in India,—"The whole of the property," he declared, "in oil of Mesopotamia will belong to the Arab State." Now we find that, just as in the case of the "rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace," this promise also means nothing at all. It is "subject to any arrangements which were made before the war." This means, in plain terms, that 25% is to go to France and 75% to Great Britain, with a certain royalty to the Arab State.

Lord Welby has bluntly declared the truth in the face of all this double-dealing. "We are in the hands," he has said with terrible directness, "of an organisation of *crooks* (i. e. cheats)." Lord Hugh Cecil, speaking concerning another mandatory scandal in the Pacific, has given the verdict of all decent people in these carefully measured terms:

"The British Government have earned, rightly or wrongly, the most lamentable reputation for want of sincerity. I have known a great many governments, but never one with as bad a reputation for speaking the truth and acting sincerely."

Mr. H. W. Massingham has expressed the same things in words that burn with shame, as follows:

"A very young student of the world and its ways, or a very bitter Socialist might enjoy the facile intellectual exercise of exposing hypocrisy and untruth so crude as this hypocrisy of the mandates. Our own feeling approaches nausea. It would be pleasanter to look the other way and write about Shakespeare and the musical glasses. Until the few men in this House of Commons, who combine honesty and independence and brains, will face the Government, as the two Cecil's are doing and tell it in the plainest Anglo-Saxon words that these tricks of untruth and dishonour are smearing our repute in the world, destroying the faint hope of any working of the League, and burying idealism itself, the conclusion must be that the war has ended in a disregard of international right and good faith meaner and more demoralising by far than the frank wrong-doing of Bethman Hollweg, who had at least the manhood to admit that he did evil! under the stress of necessity. Here there is no necessity, no honesty. There is a breach of treaties, a grasping at material wealth, a disregard of others' interests and rights, rendered ten-fold more odious because it is cloaked in deception."

I do not think that a single word of all this

is too strong for what has recently happened at the Peace Conference and after.

—C. F. ANDREWS in the *Servant of India*.

THE BRITISH CHARACTER REVEALED

THE HINDU, a daily published in Madras, India, speaks of the British brutalities in all parts of the world thus:

"What the Germans did in Belgium during the time of the war we only know through British sources. But what the British did in the Punjab to an unarmed population unable to defend themselves we all know with absolute certainty. It is impossible to read the evidence collected by the Congress Sub-Committee about the Punjab tragedy and to remain calm. In this precious volume, written in characters of blood, you will find an abundant variety of cruelty and inhumanity, insult and torture, callousness and brutality which can only be conceived by brutal minds and can only be executed by brutal hands. The unwarranted arrests of popular leaders, the brutal treatment of those who were awaiting trial, the cruel cutting of the water supply and the electric connection of the city, the insulting treatment of respectable purdah ladies, the nauseating infliction of public flogging, the humiliating 'crawling order' of the British General, the indiscriminate dropping of bombs on the unarmed civilian population, the heartless order of Colonel Johnson against the students of Lahore to walk 16 miles every day in hot April when the temperature was over 100° in the shade, the callous closing of the public kitchens opened by philanthropic persons to feed the poor, the provoking regulation of Colonel O'Brien that when Indians met British officers they must salute, alight from their carriages or dismount if they were riding or driving, and lower their umbrellas if they were carrying any, and to crown all, the terrible massacre of the innocent people assembled in Jallianwallah Bagh by the immortal Dyer—these and many others are incidents which would outbeat any account by the British of cruelties committed by Germans in Belgium or Turks in Armenia or Belgians in Congo.

"The great Napoleon while a prisoner in St. Helena was subjected to all sorts of petty tyranny and cruel insults by his British guard, Sir Hudson Lowe, who was appointed Governor of that Island. Kitchener, the idol of the British, who, according to one of his biographers, had steelled his heart against the sense of pity—had a brilliant record of terrorising the natives, to his credit. To quote his biographer, 'Kitchener's method of dealing with his chief prisoner, the Kalifa's Lieutenant, presents a curious episode. As soon as he reached Berber after the victory, he held a parade of all the troops. A platform was erected and adorned with flags: on this surrounded by his staff, the General took his stand. The Emir,

his hands bound behind his back, was then compelled to march at the head of the army preceded by an enormous flag on which was inscribed: This is Mahmoud who said he would take Berber!

"Yet another instance of his magnanimity recorded by the same biographer may be mentioned. 'As in the Sudan he (Kitchener) desecrated the Mondî's grave and threw the head of the prophet into the river lest his tomb should become a shrine and the seed of a future rebellion; so in South Africa he did not hesitate to burn the farms of Boers and to pour the women and children into the hated concentration camp.'

"We have in our own country some of the brave deeds of the British soldiers, recorded during the time of the Mutiny (in 1857). The burning of women and children by General Neill, who is immortalised by a statute in Mount Road, and the blowing away from guns of the ringleaders by Colonel Sherer, despite the order of the Calcutta authorities to release them, are only two of the hundreds of instances of the nature of retaliation dealt out by the victorious British soldiers to the rebellious natives. The happenings after the recent war are still fresh in our minds. The volume of vulgar abuse showered on the German ex-Kaiser, the mad demand for his arrest and trial, the crippling of Turkey by an inhuman treaty, the ignoble dismantling of the Sultan's power and dignity are only acts in keeping with British tradition and British treatment of fallen foes, high or low.

"General Dyer, Colonel O'Brien, Captain Doveton, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Colonel Johnson and other Martial Law Administrators of the Punjab have only followed the good example of their great ancestors and distinguished compatriots. Their actions are also now approved and appreciated by the British Press in that country and by the different English associations scattered throughout India. Our people were tortured, insulted and massacred. The British soldiers committed it. The British press hails it. The British people approve it.

"The murdered innocents of the Jallianwalah massacre cry out from their eternal grave to the great Indian Nation not to tarnish their noble memory by any sycophantic act. It may be the will of Providence that we must shed our innocent blood at least once in a generation to remind ourselves that we are a subject people. That is a great sacrifice we have to make in the altar of the Goddess of Liberty. Though a helpless people unable to defend ourselves with arms, let us keep our dignity and self-respect in the face of all trials and temptations."

REAL MILITARISM

THE real militarism which is menacing the peace and harmony of the world is stated clearly by the *Asian Review* for September, published in Tokyo, Japan, in its editorial, which says:

"In spite of all the talks from the housetops about 'making the world safe for democracy' and 'giving full play to humanity, liberty and justice,' so much indulged in by the Anglo-Saxon world, it is a fact that aftermath of the last war has revived and invigorated militarism. Every careful observer not deceived by the skillfully engineered propaganda of sordid lies must have noticed that since the conclusion of the armistice a wave of militarism has been sweeping over the earth. It has even invaded the countries hitherto immune from this disease. Who and what is responsible for this state of affairs?

"Many and varied causes have contributed to bring about this situation, but the chief one is the unfortunate example of the land-grabbing policy set by England. People looked to England and America for a readjustment of world-affairs on such a fair and impartial basis as would really bring in a desirable condition eventuating in the establishment of a stable peace. But their expectations have been belied. Both of them fell victims to the influence of the very persons whose machinations alone precipitated the outbreak of the last titanic struggle. Although Mr. Wilson could not rise to the height of the occasion in the Peace Conference, he must however be given credit for restraining to a great extent the harmful activities of his capitalistic compatriots. But the position of the British Premier is aggravated. Not only had he failed to perform his avowed mission, but later events prove that he had allied himself with the sinister influence of capitalism. His hitherto unsullied mind had been contaminated by the forces of evil. This accounts for the ignominious clauses in the various Peace Treaties depriving the late enemies of the most simple rights of human beings. That is why under the thin camouflage of mandates, annexation of various territories has really been carried out, the mandatory being responsible to the large white majority, whose interests lie in reducing the coloured races to serfdom. This fact afforded an opportunity to the British capitalists to make Mr. Lloyd George veer round to their views of 'humanity, liberty and justice' and deprive Persia of the most prized possession she had on earth. Thus the imperialistic capitalists of Great Britain have gained the day. Thus militarism has been enthroned high in England. Thus a new set of definitions has come to be attached to the Wilsonian principles.

"The English capitalists have revived militarism by their own example. That long-forgotten colonial projects and buried imperialistic designs should arise in the minds of other nations is natural. They must profit by the examples and not by the precepts. If the world is moving toward another harrowing catastrophe, it is due to the virus of militarism revived by British capitalism."

Boycotting the British

Continued from Page 54

done by any government or people. And it was carried out six months after the armistice was signed. The cold-blooded murder of defenseless people shocked the fine sense of humanity. The Indian people recognised that no longer life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness were possible under the British rule.

Soon after came the plan of the imperialists to divide up Turkey. Both the Hindus and Mohammedans recognised the sinister motives, and in order to offset their plans the Indians, irrespective of religious affiliations, have launched the Khilafat movement. The question of Khilafat has far-reaching significance aside from the religious question. Great Britain desired to dismember Turkey in order to bring all these territories under her control, so that the dominance over India could be maintained firm and secure.

The Punjab massacre and the Khilafat movement have brought about an unprecedented and unparalleled unity between the two communities. Caste and creed can play any part in the national life of India, to-day.

The means which the people of India have adopted at present will undoubtedly bring about a change in the life of India. The original boycott movement of 1905, with new program and clothed in new garb, has been revived. The program, which has been sanctioned by the Indian National Congress and All-India Moslem League and the Khilafat Committee, is as follows:

First, the return of all titles and decorations received from the British government;

Second, the resignation of positions occupied by Indians in the British administration;

Third, the resignation of all Indian soldiers and policemen, which would prevent British occupation of Mesopotamia, Palestine, Persia and other countries;

Fourth, refusal to pay taxes;

Fifth, the boycott of sham reform councils;

Sixth, non-participation in loans floated by the British Indian government for military purposes;

Seventh, the boycott of the British courts, and settlement of disputes between Indians by private arbitration;

Eighth, the boycott of government schools by Indian parents, and promotion of national education exclusively under national control;

Ninth, non-participation in government social functions and durbars;

Tenth, revival of Swadeshi movements—development of Indian industry and commerce, and use of country-made goods only.

Though the movement is pacifistic in its nature, it can be assumed that the organisers will ultimately cooperate with the active revolutionary organisations already in existence, if success is to be attained.

The movement has spread far into the hearts of the masses. It can no longer remain a bourgeois plan and policy directed by the intelligentsia. The proletariats of India undoubtedly, after the overthrow of the British rule in India, will pave the way towards the emancipation of the toiling masses and establish a government of the people based on the new conception of the political and economic system.

—SURENDRA KARR.

Shane O'Neill Discovers India

Continued from Page 58

way back and they threw a searchlight on him. He was kneeling down on the floor and he held in his arms the body of the dead rebel girl. To her he was talking and saying wild words. He did not notice the soldiers, and one of them shot him in the head."

"Ah, they were lovers?" said the general. "A strange tale."

"They were enemies of the Empire, Excel-

lency. Your Excellency will not forget that I was promised fifty rupees increase."

"No, no, get out," said the general. "I'm thru with you for the day."

For a long time he sat staring at the white paper in front of him. Then, with a frown, he shook off a strange mood and bent over to make his report.

—BRIAN O'SHASNAIN.

WHEN PROPHET MEETS PROPHET

Once a Religious Prophet came down to the Earth and asked a Political Prophet:

What have you done with your fourteen principles?

The Political Prophet replied:

What have you done with your ten commandments?

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Notes and News

Tagore Brands the Britishers as Carnivorous

IN a letter to India published in the *Prabashi*, Calcutta, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the Nobel Prizeman, describes the English character thus:

"Ever since my arrival in London I have been so much surrounded by crowds of people that correspondence has become well-nigh impossible. From all I see and hear I now understand one thing very clearly, more clearly than ever before, that at present we are fully and fatally under the heels of the carnivorous English. They are overbearingly powerful. . . . At the time of the frightful English atrocities in the Punjab last year I thought that they might have been purely accidental, due mainly to grotesque panic. But from the official reports of the parliamentary debates on the subject, I now thoroughly realise that that savagely callous brutality permeates every particle of blood that flows in their veins, and is indelibly ingrained in the very marrow of their bones. Some of these human beings here have even admired the blood-soaked feats of General Dyer as 'splendid brutality.' In this connection I have been more than shocked at the revolting signs of blood-thirsty ferocity amongst even the women of England. The time has come when we must be thoroughly convinced that we have nothing, absolutely nothing, to expect from the British government and the British people. To expect anything from them is to insult one's own self. So long we were under the hypnotic spell of the seductive phantoms of the hope that they will give and we receive. They were to be the givers and we the beggars. But we are lucky indeed that they are not capable of making gifts. For gifts ruin the weak sooner and easier than deceit. If we were strong, if we were powerful, then acceptance of gifts could not make us small, could not shrink our souls. Every great nation accepts gifts from others. It is like accepting taxes. The one who has always gets. The king ever gets, but the beggar never. So even death is better for us than to extend our hands to receive gifts from such a people as the British."

—Translated by B. K. Roy, biographer of Tagore.

Why India Starves

THE apologists of the British government in India many a time proclaim vociferously that it is due to the scarcity of foodstuffs that the people die by millions of hunger.

The following figures clearly disprove the statement:

Year	Acres under cultivation (in millions)	Yield per acre of food crops (in lbs.)	Population (in millions)	Agriculture produce per head (in lbs.)
1880.....	194	730	181	782
1901.....	217	840	220	830
1916.....	221	900	250	796

The production is fair. But owing to the reckless exportation of foodstuffs without caring for the needs of the country, and unparalleled excessive taxation, the famine is prevalent in India.

Even the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome advocates the exportation of 400,000 tons of wheat from British India this year. India must feed the world, while her children die of hunger! International charity has a limit.

Industrial Progress in India

IN 1913-14 (pre-war time) there were 356 registered companies, with an authorised capital of \$223,051,000.

For the twelve months, April, 1919, to March, 1920, the number of companies registered was 906, with an authorised capital of \$915,670,000, as against 291 companies, with \$71,200,000 of the authorised capital in the preceding year.

The year 1919-20 witnessed company flotation on an unprecedentedly large scale, the number registered being over three times, and the authorised capital over thirteen times, that of the preceding year.

We wonder if this progress is due to the faith which our countrymen put upon the success of the revolutionary independence movement.

Growth of Cooperative Movements in India

THAT the people of India are anxious, despite the repressive methods of the British government, to ameliorate the condition of the masses will be evident from the growth of the cooperative movement in India.

In the Bombay Presidency of 1907 there were seventy such societies with the capital of \$50,000; in 1909, 209 societies with a capital of \$242,000; in 1916, 992 societies with the capital of \$3,235,000; and in 1919 there were 2,083 societies with the capital of \$6,700,000.

In the Madras Presidency in 1905 there were only twenty-seven societies with 2,733 members and \$35,883 in capital; in 1914-15 there were

1,446 societies, 90,088 members and \$2,151,862 in capital.

In this year the Punjab had 3,267 societies with 154,065 members and \$4,557,577 in capital.

In 1914-15 there were all over India 16,295 cooperative societies with 761,935 members with a share capital of \$4,372,495. Deposits from members amounted to \$3,833,160. During this year loans were issued to 2,613,994 members and other societies.

In 1905-6, the first year of this movement, there were only 283 societies; 28,629 members; share capital \$43,735, and deposits of \$41,310; and 22,670 members and other societies received loans.

The Price of Massacre

BECAUSE of his successful action in massacring thousands of unarmed and unarmed innocent men, women and children of the Punjab, India, General Dyer has been awarded sufficiently to increase the longevity of his life. The ease and comfort with which he expects to stretch himself on the sofa will bring smiles on his mustached face to scare away the ghosts of his murdered victims.

The reward that has been awarded Dyer has been disclosed by Winston Churchill, Secretary of War, in the British Parliament. He states that until October 9, 1921, Dyer will draw from the *Indian revenues* the sum of \$3,509 per annum. After that time, "on retirement, he will be entitled to a pension of \$4,500 per annum, which also will be met from the *Indian revenues*." Besides, in accordance with the *Morning Post*, a fund exceeding \$85,000 has been raised by the Britishers.

No wonder that the innumerable murderers and hangmen roam in the British empire! The British Parliament, press and the public have hailed Dyer as the hero of the hour, and have stamped their seal of approval upon his action of dyeing the hands with the blood of the Indians. It was an "error of judgment," they say. And the penalty for the loss of the lives of the Indians the British government is squeezing out of the people to fill the pocket of the murderer.

United Textile Workers of America for India's Independence

FOLLOWING a speech by Tarak Nath Das, the Executive Secretary of the Friends of Freedom for India, the United Textile Workers of America, in convention assembled at Manchester, N. H., adopted a resolution recognizing India's claim for independence.

The Canadian delegates interrupted Mr. Das several times in the course of his stirring speech. But President John Golden ruled them out of order, on the ground that real America stood for freedom of speech and freedom of thought. The Canadian delegates, however, insisted that the adopted resolution might be regarded as interference in British internal affairs. But President

Golden held that America will always give hearing to all people struggling for freedom, whether they be Canadians, Hindus or Australians.

—India News Service.

The unmannerly behaviour of the labor agents of the British imperialists indicates their real nature. The cause of labor is one. They must bear in mind that the independence which the Indian revolutionaries are trying to bring about will mean the independence of millions of toiling masses and destruction of a system which rests on exploitation and aggression. We congratulate Mr. Golden for his unalloyed American stand on the side of Independent India.

California Labor Stands for Freedom of India

EXPRESSING its deep sympathy with the people of India in their struggle for freedom, and hoping for the attainment of their objective, the California State Federation of Labor in its twenty-first annual convention, held in Fresno, California, passed unanimously the following resolution:

"Whereas, the people of India are making valiant efforts to free their country from the tyrannical nation (British) which is at present, and has for centuries, been oppressing that great nation; and

"Whereas, India, like Ireland, has been reduced from a state of commercial prosperity to that of an impoverished land, possessed of little industrial life, and jealously isolated from the free nations of the earth; and

"Whereas, it has ever been the principle of labor that every nation, especially one possessing such a glorious past as India, is eminently entitled to form and determine its own form of government; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, the delegates accredited to the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the California State Federation of Labor, hereby express our deep sympathy with the people of India in their struggle for freedom, and hope that they may soon attain their objective; and be it further "Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the State labor press for insertion and to the Hindustan Gadar Party, 5 Wood street, San Francisco."

The adjustment of the world's relationship depends entirely upon the labor-consciousness. The sooner the masses thoroughly grasp the fact that the interests of the proletariat are identical everywhere in the world, and realise the latent power of the people, the speedier the shackles of slavery and bondage will be shattered to pieces. It is, therefore, inspiring and encouraging to receive a message of hope and expression of sympathy from American labor, which voices the sentiments of the vast majority of the American people. We most heartily thank the California State Federation of Labor and the United Textile Workers of America for their action on behalf of India's Freedom.

A New Voice from India

"In the midst of many radical and liberal periodicals," says the *World*, Oakland, in its editorial, September 17, 1920, "we call to the favorable attention of our readers a new Magazine, THE INDEPENDENT HINDUSTAN.

"This well-printed and well-edited monthly is a voice raised against the tyranny of an alien power in the land from which all of us Aryans doubtless originally came. Every one knows that nations such as Ireland, India and Egypt can not be fertile ground for socialist education while they are harnessed by a despotism that arouses nationalistic instead of class concepts. The best way to assist in the Socialization of India is the way these patriots are taking—to free India first and then to teach to the new country the truths of the co-operative commonwealth."

Our chief aim is to show, as we have announced before, what absolute and complete Political, Economic, Social, and Intellectual Independence of India means to us, to Asia, and to the World.

In the crisp pages of "*The Independent Hindustan*" you will find something unique and interesting each month—something different from what you find in other Journals.

We want to serve you in the best possible manner. Our service and success depend entirely upon your cordial co-operation. We therefore ask you:

First—To send in your subscriptions.

Second—To send us names and addresses of your friends and acquaintances who are interested already, and who are likely to be interested in India, Asia and Ireland. There are persons among your friends whom you want to inform about British imperialism. Let us have their names and addresses; we would consider it a great privilege to be of service to you.

Third—Write to us as often as you can, and tell us frankly what articles appeal to you most, and the best way we can improve the magazine. Your suggestions, comments and criticism will encourage us to feel that you are partners in our enterprise.

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That is precisely what the British are doing in all parts of the world. You must know the truth. We, the American citizens, have organized

The Friends of Freedom For India

with a view: To maintain the right of asylum for political refugees from India.

To present the case for the independence of India.

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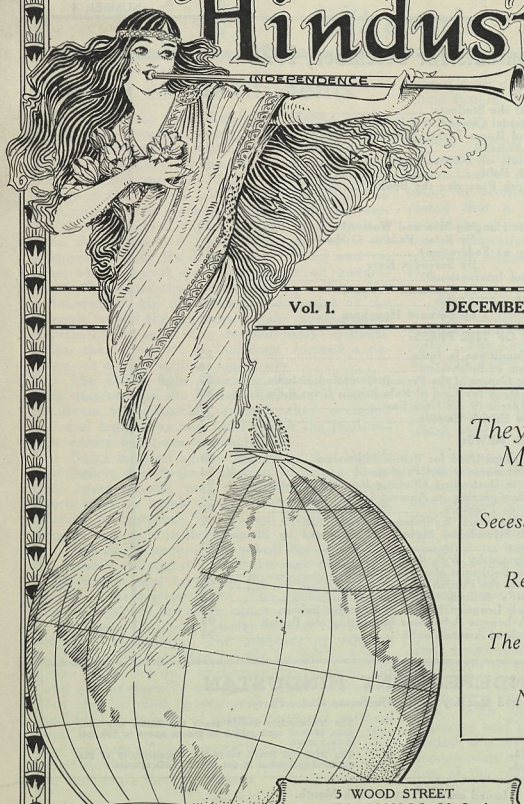
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No. 4

*They are Hanging
Men and Women!*

Secession or Federation?

Revolt of Students

The Pulse of the Press

Notes and News

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:: Editorials ::

Revolt of the Students

ONE of the most important planks in the Non-Cooperation program promulgated by the people of India is the boycott of the British Universities, Schools and Colleges, and the establishment of National Universities exclusively under national control. In conformity to the decision and desires of the people, the students of the great Aligarh College have revolted and demanded that the College must sever all connection with the British government and refuse any financial aid. As the British government threatened the Trustees of the College, Mr. Mohammed Ali, an Alumni and leader of the people, urged the students to take possession of several buildings. The revolutionary students, after taking control of buildings, formed a nucleus of a new National University.

The actual fight, however, ensued between the students and the British officials. When the students were forcibly evicted, they occupied several bungalows and tents where the National University functions its machinery.

Being inspired by the success of the Aligarh revolution, the students all over India are forming brotherhoods, and demanding the school authorities to break every connection with the British government. The student revolt is spreading far and wide in India.

The significance of this revolt lies in the fact that these students will swell the rank of the revolutionaries, and carry on the program of the bloodless revolution plan. The youthful enthusiasm, vigorous optimism, spirit of sacrifice, and vivid vision are needed to-day to steer the Indian National Solidarity. The students of Aligarh are to be congratulated for the logical lead they have taken, not only to destroy the obsolete, old and non-progressive system of British education, but also to build up National Institutions which will feed the youths of India with sound, rational and healthy knowledge. It is to be hoped that the students will go among the masses and offer their services to educate and enlighten them and to ameliorate their conditions.

The National Council of Education

Fifteen years ago, as a result of the British *divide et impera* policy, the students revolted and

forced their parents to establish national educational system.

On the 16th of November, 1905, several leading citizens met in a conference at Calcutta to consider the question of National Education. Over 15,000 students marched in a body to await the decision of the conference. It was declared that a National Council of Education should be at once established to organise a system of Education—Literary, Scientific and Technical—on National lines and under National control.

The students triumphantly went to put a sign—TO LET—on the premises of the Presidency College, the chief governmental institution in Calcutta. The Government University was termed as *Golam Khana*—manufactory of slaves.

Through the lead and action of the students, on the 1st of June, 1906, the National Council of Education was finally registered. The objects of which were:

To impart and promote the imparting of Education—Literary and Scientific, as well as Technical and Professional—on National lines and exclusively under National control, attaching special importance to a knowledge of the country, its Literature, History and Philosophy, and designed to incorporate with the best Oriental ideals of life and thought, the best assimilable ideals of the West and to inspire students with a genuine love for and a real desire to serve the country.

The National Educational movement has done inestimable service to the growth and development of national spirit in India. The students of National Colleges and Schools have taken very important part in all political activities. With their far-sightedness, intelligence, character and power of organization, they have guided the revolutionary movement. And the present day revolt of the students beckons the day of the realisation of their cherished ideals. The British rule in India is coming to an end, and India, with her genuine cosmopolitan ideals, will occupy a prominent place among the comity of nations. And when that day comes, the National Educational movement will shine gloriously as one of the achievements of the Revolutionary movement.

India and Russo-Turkish Entente

It is reported by the Associated Press that an agreement has been reached by the Russian Bolsheviks and Turkish Nationalists to liberate India from the British rule.

India undoubtedly will welcome such an agreement. It will inspire and encourage the people of India. Though they are fully prepared to attain independence, relying on their own resources, yet, the outside help will bring the result quicker. We want the people of India to study the forces of the world, remembering that they will render a signal service to the cause of humanity and freedom, if they succeed in destroying British imperial system.

Aid to Armenia

The tragedy of Armenia is bound up with the tragedy of India, Ireland, Persia, and other countries. Armenia would have been free long ago, had she not been battered by the plottings of the imperialists. It is England which has conspired with Czarist Russia and Imperial Turkey to keep Armenia in the present stage so that she can be compelled to guard a gate to India.

After elimination of Czar from the arena of world-politics, the Near East recognises that the British imperialism stands in the way of solution of Near Eastern problems. Through mediation of the present Russian government, independence of Armenia was assured, and the Armenians were ready to shake hands with the Turks. But as England despises peace, she connived to upset the plan. She sees the red flag flying over her empire, and at once, Robert Cecil through the British-made League of Nations pleads for the case of Armenia.

Robert Cecil's move is very clear. The republics of Azerbaijan, Georgian, Persia, Mesopotamia, Turkey and other countries are hostile to the British. The only way England sees to maintain her imperial interests is to have Armenia as a base of operation against the revolutionaries of India and other Near Eastern countries. And as she is bankrupt, Cecil asks America to pay a bill of \$20,000,000 so that England could free Armenia from the red peril.

We strongly advocate that Armenia should be free from all entanglements and establish her national independence. But as long as British imperialism remains intact, the success is very remote. Taking advantage of nominal freedom of Armenia, the cunning statesmanship will set the Armenians against the Persians, Mesopotamians and New Turkey, there by incurring displeasure of the people of those countries. The very thing the British are doing by using nearly 125,000 Indian troops to suppress the risings of the Near Eastern countries. It will be well for Armenia and peace of the world, that Armenia should cooperate with all those who are directing their forces against British imperialism, without invoking any aid from the people, Cecil represents.

Home Rule or Independence?

India has passed the stage of Home Rule agitation. Yet, if there such a callous mind exists as not to conceive the reasons why India should not remain within the British empire, we ask them to acquaint themselves with the view of an English Missionary, Rev. C. F. Andrews. He was asked, would not the idea of Home Rule or self-government within the Empire be sufficient for India?

He emphatically said "No." "For the simple reason," he continued, "that it always breaks down in practice. It is a camouflage and nothing else. There is not a single self-governing dominion (such as South Africa, Canada, Australia, etc.) within the British empire which does not repudiate in every action it takes the idea of equal partnership of Indians with themselves within one empire,—however much they may pass pious resolutions of reciprocity at Imperial Conferences. Look at South Africa from where I have just returned. The government of South Africa is now doing its best to induce not only Indentured Indians, but even South African born Indians to leave the country. There is an almost universal anti-Indian agitation, whose one object is to drive every Indian out of South Africa. Is there the very slightest idea of a common brotherhood within the empire, when this is the treatment of the Indians? Or take again East Africa,—hardly a single Englishman there is willing to admit that Indians can be politically and socially equals. The very idea is to them unthinkable. I tell you plainly and bluntly as far as my experience goes there is no part of Africa where Indians are less welcome than within the British Empire. I have seen with my own eyes the difference of treatment in Portuguese Africa and in British East Africa. I have lived in both places. In Portuguese East Africa, Indians are treated as gentlemen. In British East Africa, they are subjected every day to petty daily insult. They are made to feel their own inferiority of position every moment of their lives."

Mr. A. B. Keith, in his book "Imperial Unity and the Dominions" (p. 27-8) corroborates the statement of Mr. Andrews. He says:

"... it is true that in practice the self-governing dominion of the Union of South Africa treats British Indians worse than any foreign possession, and that they were less harassed in German possessions in Africa than in Natal, to the prosperity of which they have contributed so greatly."

In view of these conditions and for many other reasons, Mr. Andrews advocates complete independence for India. He says: "Most decidedly. I can imagine no other position which will give self-respect. I am a Christian and the golden rule which Christ himself gave was this: 'Whatever ye would wish that men should do unto you, even so do unto them.' Now let us take that rule. I am an Englishman. I value above anything else my English freedom and in-

dependence. I apply that rule of Christ to India. What does it imply? Does it not mean simply that I ought to wish for Indians the very same freedom and independence which I value so highly myself?"

In this connection, we wish to draw the attention of our readers to the article in this issue—"Secession or Federation?" The British Parliament may debate, and the Royal Colonial Institute may map out plans, Indians have definitely decided to continue their program to attain complete independence.

A British Policy

Nearly 125,000 Indian Soldiers are being forcibly conscripted and taken by the British government to subjugate Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt and other Near Eastern countries. The sole motive which inspired the British imperialists to use Indian Troops is to create the bitter feeling among the Persians, Arabs and Egyptians and other people with whom the people of India are on happy and cordial terms.

The British government recognises that India is preparing to perfect the plan of final overthrow of the British rule. When that day comes, England hopes to utilise the man-power of the Near East to suppress the Indians. Commenting on this, the *Akali*, published in Lahore, Punjab, October 17, 1920, says:

The British government knows that it is not child's play to keep 315 million people under subjugation indefinitely. India is awakened. At the outbreak of the revolution, as the Indian soldiers will refuse to fire upon their own brethren, the British government hopes to recruit troops from the conquered territories of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia and other Near Eastern countries. In the meanwhile, it has doled out a reform scheme to have the Indians fight over the crumbs. Eight years hence the British government will strengthen her imperial position. Now is therefore the opportune moment for us to strike a final blow.

The world should pause for a moment and reflect about the hideousness of Hessianism in the twentieth century by the same government which tried to suppress American revolution. The *Akali* has signaled timely warning, which, we hope, will be heeded by the Indians as well as the people of Near Eastern countries.

The British Proscribe the Books

The dispatches from India state that the British government, in a frightened, frenzied frame of mind, has proscribed the booklets

British Terror in India, by Surendra Karr, published by the Hindustan Gadar Party, and *The Labor Revolt in India*, by Basanta Koomar Roy, published by the Friends of Freedom for India, New York, and other pamphlets.

The materials used in both these books have been taken from the British official documents. The facts and figures have been presented in a manner that may enable the reader to discern the truth. In the foreword of *British Terror in India*, the author says thus:

"This illustrated booklet is a record of red months India passed through in 1919. It describes plainly and frankly the naked truth of the British character in exercising unlicensed criminalities.

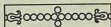
"Materials used in preparation of this brochure are taken from authentic, original sources, such as reports, official publications, etc. Reports of the Indian National Congress, which investigated the British atrocities in perfectly cool and juristic manner, have freely been used."

The author of *British Terror in India* has been explicit in exposing British imperialism, and has truly said that "Dyer is not an isolated character in British imperialism." That "history bristles with glowing examples of misdeeds, inhuman activities, ruthless repression, oppression and persecution wherever the British has gone" can never be disputed and the author has tried to prove his thesis, taking Amritsar Massacre and the Punjab atrocities as instances.

The labor consciousness which is urging the vast majority of the toiling masses to establish their rights in society is also awakening the peasants and proletariats in India. *The Labor Revolt in India* is full of information and the author, endowed as he is with journalistic ability, has compared the conditions of labor in India with those of other countries in a manner which leaves no doubt in the minds of the thinking persons that the question of labor is one. The author rightly concludes:

"Neglected in education, maltreated in offices, ruinously exploited in the factories and on the farms, fruitlessly slaughtered on the fields of France, Flanders and Palestine, the patient workingman of India has at last risen in revolt against the English exploiter, and is perfecting plans to deal a deadly blow to the British rule in India, for he realizes that until the country is completely free from the yoke of the foreigner, he can never expect to be truly free."

The books may be barred and news may be censored, but the ideas will find way through a great many avenues to blast the very foundation of the British rule based on fraud, forgery and hypocrisy.



They Are Hanging Men and Women!

" . . . Sentenced . . . to be hanged by the neck till you are dead."

The prisoner in the dock, a young Hindu of twenty-three, gazed idly out over the courtroom as the English judge-commissioner uttered these words. Already the mind of the youth was far away. He was thinking of those glorious days and nights three years before when he first was moved by the thought that his country might be free—when he dreamed the dreams that Englishmen such as those who now sentenced him had dreamed in times gone by. Then there flashed into his mind a picture of that black day two months before when the secret service men had come to his rooms in Calcutta and taken him away. He saw over again the swift, unrelenting progress of his case until the hour when he stood before the three English commissioners, the oldest of whom had just uttered sentence of degrading death upon him.

He looked down to the courtroom. Upon the faces of the Hindu clerks he saw a vain pity. Upon the faces of the Europeans he read only the stony-heartedness assumed always by those who must do their fellows to death by law. He wondered at it all, hardly realising what it meant, for knowing he had to die he was already remote from these men. Then suddenly he realised the judge was asking him if he had anything to say.

He turned away from the judges and looked out upon the courtroom. Something in his large dark eyes, some passionate emotion that suddenly flashed in his face held the crowd. He was hardly more than a boy, but in that moment something came to him that made him glad. And in a swift clear voice he called—"Bande Mataram!" Then he looked at the people there long and deeply. Men remembered that look afterwards when Gurdit Singh was only a name and a memory.

A veiled lady near the door bent her head. The Lahore reporter jotted down this phrase and then drew a pencil through it: "He looked like a beautiful young challenging the blind world with a phrase."

What was the hangman to do with youth—golden youth, the joy of the world? Why does he so often take youth for his prey? Gurdit Singh did not ask this question as he stood upon the trap and gazed out upon the vast silent crowd of Hindus come to witness his death, to be impressed and awed by it, to be brought to submission by the grim sight. Perfect silence. One could not hear the moving of a foot in all that vast crowd. Did they think? Some did. And others, boys almost, felt with the intensity of a boy's nature, only felt, the awesomeness of pre-arranged death.

Suddenly the ceremony came to a point. The executioner fitted the black cap over the head of Gurdit Singh. He now opened his lips and from them, clear and strong, so that the farthest ear could hear, came the cry, "Bande Mataram!" (Hail Motherland!)

There was a crash. The slender body swung and contorted in the air, grotesquely twisting hither and yon, the last desperate protest of the life force against strangulation. A great groan went up from the crowd. The more sensitive turned away their eyes. Some ran as if a yaksha were after them, ran from that dreadful sight of broken youth. Others endured until they could see Gurdit Singh calmly and idly swinging—no longer alive—only a pendulum of dead flesh now, a boy with a broken neck at the end of a rope. That brain was sodden now, the light quenched in it, the mysterious ray withdrawn. The poor body was broken and ruined because a light in his brain annoyed men who were sensitive to light.

That night Sir Ashton Parke, the senior of the three judges, was somewhat more silent than usual. His little girl, rosy-cheeked even after five years in India, climbed on his lap and playfully pulled his beard. "What is the matter with you, Papa?" she whispered, her arms around his neck, "why don't you play with me?"

He put her gently down. "Just let me off this time," he begged, kissing her. At that moment, happily, she saw the cat and ran after it.

Sir Ashton gazed into the fire. He still saw the Hindu youth standing before him . . . listening to the grave words of death. It had been hard to condemn him, but the Empire stood before one's private feelings.

"I have helped serve the Empire," he said in answer to Gurdit Singh's questioning look.

"What's that about the Empire, Papa?" asked little Ethel suddenly.

"Nothing, dear, nothing! I was just thinking aloud," said her father, as he took the candle and went to bed.

Gurdit Singh was in his bed too. In the murderer's graveyard he lay in a bed of burning quicklime. The judge lay between white sheets and slept, but Gurdit Singh's broken body lay in its flaming bed. Slowly the powerful chemical crawled into brain and bone now utterly destroyed—he was useless to the Empire and it had killed him. Ah pity, pity that the golden boys must die so that the Empires be saved.

The sun rose on the morning after that death, but Gurdit Singh who had come so mysteriously

Continued on Page 84.

Secession or Federation?

IN view of the fact that the revolutionary activities are rampant in various parts of the British Empire, the British statesmen are busy in building up a structure upon which the loosely connected parts may be held firmly and permanently.

Time is progressing so rapidly that no one today, be he an English Liberal or Reactionary Imperialist will deny that reforms are necessary in India, Egypt, Persia and Ireland. The people of these countries, of course, are not interested in different proposals for reforms. These oppressed peoples are determined to reorganize their countries and constitution on an entirely new basis. The British Statesmen are, however, very anxious to advance schemes to cement different parts of the empire into closer relationship in order to safeguard empire against disintegration.

They advocate a Dominion-responsible form of government; home-rule all-around; introduction of progressive reform measures. Home-rule all-around is the latest phase of the imperial plan which tends to culminate in a Federation of the British Empire.

These patched-up plans may help Britain to retain her present position and prestige, but India or other Colonies will see that complete and absolute independence will give them an opportunity of extending their cooperation to other countries without being hindered and hampered by anyone.

Already the movement is going on in all parts of the British Empire, which indicates the attitude of the people towards undictated freedom.

The recent dispatch by Reuter News Agency from Capetown states that at the Free State Nationalist Congress held on October 22nd, 1920, General Herzog moved the following resolutions, which were adopted as a supplement to the principles of the Nationalist Party:

That this Congress, in view of the fundamental principle of the Nationalist Party namely, South Africa, first decided to accept the following principles:

1. The Nationalists acknowledge and will safeguard the Sovereign will of the people of the Union.
2. The Nationalists acknowledge the right of the people of the Union to self-determination.
3. The Nationalists acknowledge the right of the people of the Union to secede from Great Britain and break any existing bond between the Union and Great Britain.
4. The Nationalists declare against and will oppose any attempt at a closer Imperial Union.

That the Union of South Africa is planning to set up an independent republic needs perhaps no explanation.

The same movement is evident in Canada. "A private canvass of opinions," says the *Canadian*

Nation, published at Ottawa, "reveals the fact that many who, a few years ago, were known as staunch imperialists now admit their belief in the ultimate independence of Canada." The Canadian political thought is directed towards the necessity for a complete change in the government. "This is to be seen," says the *Canadian Nation*, "in the demand which was made during the war for Canadian control of the Canadian Army in France; it was seen again when the Canadian delegation at the Peace Conference insisted upon the inclusion of Canada as a member of the League of Nations; it is to be seen in the practical unanimity with which Canadians now insist upon a Canadian Navy owned and controlled by the government of Canada; and it is advanced further by the arrangement for separate Canadian representation at Washington. These are only a few instances, but they all tend in the same direction, and, on the other hand, there are no cases which show a tendency upon the part of any considerable section of the Canadian people to insist upon any curtailment of the status of a Canadian among the Nationals of the world."

The movement in Ireland is definite and determined. The Irish Republic is a settled fact in spite of the superior military forces which are used against the rising nation. The vast majority of the Irish people have duly expressed and cast their votes for independence. And today the machinery of the Government of independent Ireland functions just like any other independent nation.

In India the revolutionary movements have brought about the pronounced evolutionary growth of the political principles promulgated by the people at large.

The so-called progressive steps of reforms which the English government is anxious to dole out to the Moderates and Liberals in order to pacify the growing unrest cannot divert the attention of the people from their determination to set up an independent government with a new political and economic program. They are busily engaged in perfecting their own program and in formulating their own policies.

Recently India Home-rule League, the object of which was to secure responsible self-government within the British Empire has been changed to *Swarajya Sabha*. *Swarajya Sabha* aims to attain full and complete *Swarajya*. The word *Swarajya* in plain language means self-rule which recognizes no other sovereignty. Full and complete self-rule is nothing but complete independence. And in fact there can be no *Swarajya*—(Self-rule) without having *Swatantrata*—(Secession). The Hindus, therefore, being inspired by the political instinct, have used the word *Swarajya* in a very subtle way and no interpretation

can befog the real meaning with ambiguity.

India's position is thus clear. As India occupies a very important position in the Empire—politically, economically, and strategically its secession will have a great bearing upon the re-organization of the empire.

A great many statesmen see the day when the English will have to remain contented with the little island they now occupy. In order to avert that stage, they have been hatching various plans.

They recognise that India cannot indefinitely be kept within the empire under the Crown. Under the circumstances if India is forced to remain within the empire, what position would she occupy?

If Canada, Australia, or Union of South Africa desire to have equal voice in shaping the imperial policy, India cannot be denied that privilege. Otherwise it would mean the increase of masters for India. Instead of England's rule, it will be the rule of the Combination of Colonies. I do not believe India's intelligence has been so much prostituted or spirit so much degenerated that Indian people will allow such condition to happen. That the Indian statesmen are quite alive to the situation will be evident from the presidential address, which Mr. M. A. Jinnah delivered before the All-India Moslem League in 1916. He said in part thus:

"In the political reconstruction, India, the largest part of the Empire, cannot possibly be allowed to continue a dependency, as adjunct to England or to be ruled and governed by the Dominions. Hitherto the responsibility, the control and the supervision of India has been vested in Great Britain. The question naturally arises, what will be the position of India if an Imperial Parliament with full representation of the Dominions is constituted? Is India to have new and additional masters? Is India to be ruled jointly by England and the Dominions? Are we to be handed over to this Imperial Parliament and to be thus ruled and governed by the Colonies? Are we not to have a status on "locus standi" in this Imperial Parliament? I feel sure that I am expressing the opinion of the entire educated people of this country that India will never allow herself to be relegated to such an intolerable position.

"Indeed, she does not want a change of masters, no additional masters. If an Imperial Parliament is established, India's right should be recognised and her voice in that Imperial Parliament must be fully and properly secured and represented by her own sons in the Council of the Empire."

Mr. Jinnah voiced the sentiments of the people four years ago. Since then a great change has come over the people.

It is unmistakably indicated that each one of the parts of the empire is desirous of shaping the imperial policy, if empire has to be kept intact. The only way the voice of the people can be ex-

pressed is through some sort of Imperial Parliament superior to the present British Parliament.

Imperial Parliament presupposes Federation. The idea of Federation can be consummated by free cooperation of the parts of the Empire.

Any scheme which is made by the imperial Architects must have these elements—freedom of the States endowed with original ruling power, recognition of equality and proportional representation.

The States will retain all the powers excepting what is surrendered to the Imperial Federation. Before this idea is realized, India has to be raised from mere dependency ruled and dominated by bureaucracy to self-governing responsible dominion.

India's men and money power is greater than any other part of the empire. With her enormous natural resources, and possibilities of commercial and industrial development, India is a self-sustaining country. Three-fourths of the entire trade of India is conducted with England and one-seventh of the entire British trade is carried on with India.

In the light of these situations, the moment India is free to shape her own policy, she will look for her own interest. At least, she will demand to possess the three things—Finance, foreign relations, and military.

Economic power is the source of political life. If India is given Home-rule, she at once will exert her energies in revival and growth of industries, development of mines, natural resources and promotion of commerce. In order to carry on this program, India will devise the ways and means which may be a death blow to English commerce and industry, and investment of English capital. India will never be benefited by imperial preference.

Regulation of commerce and industry can only be possible when there are foreign relations. The countries without having any foreign intercourse have become stagnant pools in the world-politics. Without having the power of free choice of making relations with foreign States, India's position will not be improved. The right of establishing foreign relationship itself presupposes Sovereignty. To endow with sovereign rights a Home-rule country is preposterous.

Defence of the Empire will demand from India a larger share. India is already overburdened with military expenditure. She will have to bear much more to protect the interests of the Empire. If she is free her military expenses will be nominal only, as she has no designs for foreign aggression.

In so far, the English character and mentality can be analysed, England will never willingly allow India to possess the original ruling power, having finance, foreign relations, and military in her control. Home-rule proposition, therefore, is beset with immense difficulties and produces problems which cause confusion and conflicts.

As England is not inclined to surrender, nor

India is ready to be satisfied with crumbs of reforms, the idea of Federation becomes impracticable and impossible. And eliminating the idea of Federation, Home-rule has no meaning. Besides, there are enormous difficulties in the path of any scheme of imperial Federation or Britanic Alliance.

Firstly, common decency itself demands that there should be no king and its paraphernalia of slavery. It is not merely sentimental, but involves material questions as well. The growing democratic spirit will not let the throne remain as it is. The Indian people may very well demand that why not let an Indian Prince sit on the throne of the Empire. Of course, Indians do not want any King, Kaiser, or Czar.

Secondly, owing to the hostile attitude of the Colonies towards Asians particularly Indians, free intercourse between various parts and India will be obstructed.*

Thirdly, equal partnership presupposes equal and proportional representation to a Parliament superior to the present British Parliament. It is not known if the present Parliament will renounce its historic position. Then, again, even a moderate calculation is made, it will be found that India with her 315 millions will have a controlling voice in the Parliament which no Englishman will allow to happen. India a ruling factor in the Empire is an impossibility.

Fourthly, distances, economic conflicts, racial differences and various ideals ingrained into the people owing to environmental conditions will be in the way of any sort of Federation.

Fifthly, Federation is itself another phase of Pan-Anglo-Saxonism to which India cannot be a partner.

What M. Victor Berard, Secretary of the Revue de Paris, said several years ago still holds good. He said:

'Imperialism has for its object the two Anglo-Saxon hemispheres, the world-wide 'Pan-britannic' empire. After the break down of Pan-Slavism, the Pan-Latinism and whilst Pan-Germanism is slumbering, Pan-Britannism looms ahead fully prepared to pilot the destinies of the United Kingdom and threatens those of the universe.

'This question is indeed a serious matter for the whole world. Found an English or rather Anglo-Saxon Empire, Britain is the recognised

term which embraces all the Britons of the world. In other words, all English-speaking individuals and communities; tack India on to Canada, Australia to Egypt, out of these scattered pieces fashion an Imperial mantle for the old Mother Country; federate republics and monarchies, self-governing states and vassal colonies, free peoples and dependent, subject multitudes, by a slender but infrangible thread, cause English will, at all hours of the day, to pass from one to the other, and English force to display its might throughout the length and breadth of the world; in short, reconstruct, on an enlarged plane, with two-thirds of the white humanity, an Empire comparable to that of the Romans; such an imperialism as that is a positive menace to the entire world."

India, by nature, is opposed to such policies.

The points I have presented, though not exhaustive, plainly prove that it is neither desirable nor possible to have the connection of India with Britain. If India is compelled to associate with England, it can be only on the basis of equality and proportional representation, which means that India will rule the Empire—not England. It is an absurd proposition, at least for the present.

India as an integral part of the British Empire will be disastrous to the peaceful progress of a great many countries, directly or indirectly controlled by England. Ireland, India, Egypt, Persia, Mesopotamia, China, and other countries as separate entities will have better opportunities to form a real League to destroy militarism and imperialism and establish peace than remaining in a bondage of forced cooperation.

If the people of the world have come to the stage when adjustment of relationship must be made in such a way as will lead to peace and harmony, the question naturally arises why the world must suffer for perpetuation of imperialism of forty millions.

Secession and dismemberment of the British Empire should, therefore, be the best solution of the much mooted world-question.

—SURENDRA KARR.

*See editorial "Home-rule or Independence?"

Have You Forgotten to Subscribe?

The Mind International

THE problems of today cannot be solved if approached in a spirit of national rivalries and national antagonisms. There is something beyond the nation, that for which the nations exist; that something is humanity. And the problems of India, the British Empire, the new problems of reconstruction all over the world, can only be studied and solved in the light of the Ideal International. The nations must think internationally; and the "League of Nations" will only be a league of exploiters until it secures a new basis of human fellowship.

The idea of human fellowship has been the inspiration of Hindu culture. India, as we see her in her literature and art and religion and civilisation, thought internationally. She had room in her heart for the world; the Parsi, the Muslim, the Christian have found here a happy home. The Aryan culture, unlike the kultur of the West, is human in its vision, international in its ideals, reverent in its attitude to humanity. The deeper search of the age is for democratic internationalism; and the nations will find much to help them in Eastern culture and the message of the heroes of Indian history.

It was a fashion with critics, not so long ago, to echo the sentiment of the German thinker, Hegel who said "it was the necessary fate of Asiatic empires to be subjected to Europeans"! The European critics lived to see Japan give a bitter beating to Russia; and the great Japanese statesman said with noble pride:—"We have destroyed the hypnotism of colour." It was fashionable, too, to speak of "oriental despotism"! Yet Islam is essentially democratic, and village self-government has worked for centuries in India. Mr. Webb, a collector in Central India, who studied with care the subject, said he discovered "in village after village a distinctly effective, if somewhat shadowy local organisation in one or other form of panchayat which was in fact, now and then, giving decisions on matters of communal concern, adjudicating civil disputes, even condemning offenders to reparation and fine"; and this "by common consent and with the very real sanction of public opinion."

Aryan polity was built on the basis of village communities; and these village communities, as Havel has shown in his "History of Aryan Rule," were "not wrung from unwilling war-lords and landlords by century-long struggles and civil war," as in the West. "The powers of the Civil government," Mr. Havel adds, "were delegated to it by the people themselves" and were "limited by unwritten laws which by common consent were given a religious character." The common law of the land was "formulated by the chosen representatives of the people," and India had,

in the pre-Christian era, a representative assembly reminding one of the English Parliament. It is forgotten, too, by critics of India's demand for autonomy that the Western forms of self-government have been developed only recently.

In his book on "National Self-Government," Prof. Ramsay Muir is careful to point out that the institutions of self-government have been "adopted within a very short space of time" in the West. Not till the 19th century was the parliamentary or representative government established on the Continent; therefore has that century been called the "era of constitutional government." But in the earlier centuries of the "modern era," as Prof. Ramsay Muir admits, "despotism had everywhere reached its apogee on the continent of Europe." "Most of the political thinkers," he says, "pinned their faith to absolute monarchy. Government by discussion seemed to lead to mere chaos; to be ruled by the stupidity of average men seemed mere folly." In England itself, the mechanism of representative government was not invented till the middle of the 18th century. But India has believed in democracy from the beginning of her days—the democracy that would level up, not down. So it was that in India politics was not separated from religion, and love of country reached forward to the spiritual ideals still enshrined in the country's literature and life.

India built up a synthetic civilisation with a deep reverence for knowledge and action; and India's thinkers and sages and poets and heroes, from the Vedic age down to the age of Tagore, have borne witness to a vision of Divine humanity. They have sung of the imperishable in the heart of toil and struggle, of the "Eternal Who hath no caste." The rebuilding of the nations' life—of India's life—calls for a return to the Aryan vision of Divine humanity. Back of the fruitful processes of cooperation which characterised the trade and craft guilds of India was a deep reverence for man as man. The labourer was not a victim to the slavery of industrialism; the peasant enjoyed self-respect; the King's representatives spoke with deference to the village headman; and if the standard of beauty with regard to a city be its vitality, its sanitation, its health and happiness—not big, crowded, fashionable buildings—the cities of the Aryan age were beautiful. Something of that beauty was reflected in Aryan art in Rajput paintings, in Hindu drama, in the courtesy of India's men, in the modesty and mirth of India's women, in India's refined, humanising culture, in the Indian civilisation free from the orgy of industrialism and the chaos of a kultur which cannot see the Kingdom

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To Death or to Life?

IF you would lay bare the true ideals of a man, or of a body of men, or of a government, see on what objects he or they spend their income. In order to apply this test to the government of India let us observe certain figures of their expenditure during the past two years. That is preferable to the figures of the current Budget, for Budget allotments have a habit of increase or decrease by transfer or otherwise, whereas the figures for these years are known and definite.

Millions Sterling.

Total Expenditure.	Army.	Education.	Sanitation.
1918-9	127	45½	4 ½
1919-20	144	57½	4 1-3 ¾

The Army figures for 1919-20 include the figures for the Afghan "War"—it is now officially called a war—namely, 14½ millions. In a previous article in *India* it was pointed out that for this affair, although the people of India did not call the tune, they most certainly would have to pay the piper. The tune has turned out to be rather costly, has it not? But of course blunders like those in East Africa and Mesopotamia ought not to be repeated. At any cost the prestige of government must be maintained.

Here is a civilised government, despotic rulers of a poverty-stricken people, so poor indeed that nearly half of them seldom eat a full meal, of a people which it proclaims loudly that it is training for self-government, and on what does it spend its money? The grand object of expenditure, the darling of the government, is the soldier. On him is money lavished with both hands, he has but to ask and it is given. One-third of the total expenditure goes to the Army. Though for nearly a century Britain has alleged that her object was to prepare the Indians for self-government, though for democracy education is of the first importance, in these two years for £10 spent on the Army less than £1 has been given to the schools. This apart from the bounden duty of all governments professing civilisation to see to it that their peoples are educated. For education is the birthright of every child born. It is his right that he shall be able to see and understand and judge for himself. It is his right that he shall not be cut off from all the glorious heritage of human thought. It is his right that as far as may be he shall have equal opportunities with others and ability as a citizen to fulfil to the utmost of his powers his duties to his country. From all this the Government of India, composed itself of educated men, has shut and barred out the great majority of the helpless masses committed to its care. In so doing it has not merely been negligent; it has committed a crime against India.

Note, too, in a land ravaged by plague and cholera and fever, the miserly sum devoted to

sanitation. All this disease is, in the light of recent discoveries, wholly or largely preventable. Consider the piteous tragedy of it all, husbands, wives and children dying in millions by needless deaths, countless numbers sick and infirm for long periods of their lives. Does the Government of India, with the light of knowledge in its hands, hasten to relieve this mass of suffering, to avert these premature deaths? Does it show the people that it exists largely to mitigate these evils? No, aloof on the hills of Simla, it contents itself with doling out less than a million for all sanitation in all India. For all the good that sum can do, you might as well take a single spade to till a hundred-acre field.

No more damning judgment of the Government of India can be found than in these figures. Out of its own mouth is it condemned. It is idle to seek excuse as the Finance Minister did, in the example of Japan since the Armistice. Two blacks do not make a white. For Japan, like India, is governed by the soldier. Fantastic, too, to imagine that the money spent on the Army is needed to guard the N. W. Frontier against tribesmen destitute of the great modern engines of destruction. As for the Soviet government, its actions show that it is certainly not "a great aggressive military power." Its chief crimes seem to be that it has repudiated the debts of Russia, and, worse still, that it has defended itself when attacked. Not against Russia is a large army needed. The army in India appears to be a two-edged weapon, designed less to hold out the foreigner, than to hold down the people who pay for it.

Such a monstrous military expenditure blights the whole life of a nation. . . . How much more terrible for India, poor, uneducated, suffering! What is the remedy?

Unless and until the people of India control the Budget, they may be certain that the schools will be totally inadequate and that their children, their wives and themselves will die of quite preventable diseases. Let them accept no excuses, however plausible, and no professions, however magnanimous. Whether by non-cooperation or by other means it is essential that they hold control of the money. Let them wrest it from the hands of those who in the past have so perverted these revenues wrung from the masses who toil and suffer and starve. Without a piece of extra taxation there is money and to spare for education and sanitation for some years to come. Shall the Indian revenue be used to build up the machinery of death, or shall it be consecrated to the course of life, of life for mind and body? That is the supreme issue, which let Indians decide with no uncertain voice.

—BERNARD HOUGHTON, in *India*, published in London.

They Are Hanging Men and Women!

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into life and had grown through love and beauty and passion—what of him?

He was by this time a nothing, a chemical slime. Only his name left.

But the Empire lived on.

At a desk in Washington a man toiled at writing through the same night. Outside his office the world waited for those words which on the morning would ring out over the world.

"No nation shall be held in subjection against the will of its people."

"With us rests the choice to break through all the hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free."

"The day of conquests and aggrandisements is gone by; so also is the day of secret covenants."

By the time he had finished it was almost dawn. Wearily he rose and went out. The waiting secretaries took the papers. An hour later Fame put her trumpet to her lips and blew his golden phrases around the world. Broken peoples stirred in their chains at the sound. The sun set upon excited groups in every marketplace of the great cities. All—all spoke of freedom, of the new great voice from the West. But the words did not penetrate to the ear of Gurdit Singh. The quicklime had eaten into brain and heart. That passionate tongue was forever silenced. The pure light was quenched in burning clay.

But the people of Gurdit Singh—the gentle folk who called their country "mother"—they too stirred in the silent places at the words of the great man in the West. They gathered in the market-places and talked, and remembered Gurdit Singh. And always the thunderbolt of military terror scattered them, always the machine guns crackled, and bombs fell upon them out of the sky tearing their limbs to bloody fragments.

And the men who governed the people of India—they smiled cynically when they read the

phrases of the great man in the West. They wrote down these words in official reports:

"Our Ally . . . still continues legal efforts to deport undesirable Hindus."

The months passed. Terror ruled all India. This people whose pride it was that they had never gone beyond their own borders to conquer—whose gifts to the world in philosophy, science, the arts, industry, had made civilisation possible—they were under the iron heel. Unarmed they crouched under the iron flail of the machine guns. They had given brains to Europe. England sent them bullets in return.

Then a strange thing happened. A whisper ran among the people and an ancient strength returned to the race and the vision of a power unreachable by terror. Gurdit Singh and the slain youths of India spoke more terribly from the grave than they had ever spoken from the market-place. . . . India stirred and awoke from her dream of the ages. The rusty chains of caste and creed fell away. The bullets of the machine guns had broken them forever.

India called to the world the ancient call of brotherhood. From around the curved edges of the earth came the answer—from Russia, from Egypt, Turkey, Ireland, Italy—from Korea, China and Siberia came the answer.

Something greater than an Empire had come into being—something that made the Empire seem as trivial as the outworn skin of a snake.

Gurdit Singh, and the thousands who have been imprisoned, tortured, hanged, torn to pieces by bombs, smashed flat by machine guns—they shall not be forgotten. They will be remembered forever; their names shall endure forever.

They suffered that the Empire of the Dead should pass away; that a new order should come into being; that the spirit of man should have room to breathe, to grow strong and glad in a comrades' world.

—BRIAN PADRAIC O'SHASIAN.

The Mind International

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of Heaven beyond the state nor the Brotherhood of Man beyond the nation.

India fell in the day her people failed to respond to the Indian ideal; a sectarian, monastic ideal got the better of India's manhood; and India's greatness passed away. The old maxim of the Mahabharata was forgotten that "the heavens are centred in the ethics of the State"; and we sought our happiness in ease, in selfish escape from the Life Universal.

We needed a shock to bring us to our senses. That shock has come to us through our contact with British imperialism. India has awakened; India is getting ready to tread the path of non-cooperation. And the measure of our loyalty to

the Aryan ideal will be the measure of our success in the coming struggle; counsels of hate or strife will only mar the movement of non-cooperation. We have no quarrel with the Englishman; we have no quarrel with any man; our quarrel is with a system, an administration, a government; our quarrel is in the name of humanity. Three silent centuries look upon us, today, eager to know if we shall win our pride or shame in the coming days. Shall we be bondsmen or shall we stand in the ranks of the free, breaking injustice and wrong with the power of the spirit, and building a new order worthy of the reality of the India of the Rishi Age?

—By Professor Vaswani, in *The Muhammadan*.

The Pulse of the Press

Labor Conditions in India

The conditions of the workers of India in the mills of Bombay and Calcutta, in the coal-fields of Bengal and Bihar, in the Khost coal mines and the Burmah tungsten mines, in the agricultural districts throughout India, in tea plantations, are described as debasing, degrading and inhuman by Bal Krishna, an Indian writer of note, in an article which appeared in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta for September, 1920. A part reads thus:

"The Indian laborer lives, moves and has his being in an atmosphere which, compared to the English, is at once nauseating, because it is stinking with destitution and degradation, disease and deterioration, starvation and suffering. It is extremely painful, even briefly, to depict the deplorable condition of the Bombay and Calcutta mill workers, of the coal-fields of Bengal and Bihar, of the indentured labor of the Assam tea-plantations, Khost coal mines and the Burmah tungsten mines, or of the helpless and almost naked agricultural laborer of the United Provinces.

"The under-fed, under-clothed and underhoused laborers work in the Bombay mills for twelve hours a day from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m., get up early at 4 o'clock, prepare their meals and run to the mills for more than two miles in many cases to save a penny for their starving children, and in the evening plod their weary way to the dark, dingy, dirty and densely crowded tenements for rest, where no rest can be had. Eight or nine persons live in a single room in the factory quarters. Persons of all ages and both sexes, married as well as unmarried, are huddled in one room, which is to serve the purpose of a parlor, a kitchen, a bedroom, as well as a bathroom, dining and drawing room.

"The condition of the indentured laborer in Assam and Burmah is still worse. Men and women are lured to sign bonds of serving their masters for stated periods at stated wages, on the tea plantations and in certain mines of Burmah and the coal mines of Khost (Baluchistan). However hard and unbearable the work and unsuitable the place, none can break that bond without subjecting himself to all the penalties and punishments attached to its violation. During the stipulated period, however pressing the family circumstances may be, there is no escape from those places but by death, and death too is cruel in prolonging the miseries of these ignorant and innocent beings."

Mr. Bal Krishna deals at length in his article upon the increase in wages and in the cost of living in the past forty years. According to his

figures which are taken from government reports, particularly a report entitled "Prices and Wages Report, 1919," in India, the wages of skilled workers have risen but 47 per cent during the past 40 years. Skilled workers include masons, carpenters and blacksmiths. The wages of unskilled workers have risen during the same period of time 46 per cent. Unskilled workers include agricultural laborers and stablemen. At the same time, the prices of necessities of life increased from 45 to 200 per cent. Instead of the standard of living rising and the Indian workers benefiting by the so-called "civilisation" of the British government, Bal Krishna states that each year witnessed a lower standard of living and a lowering of the entire life of the country. Considering the case of deck workers and lascars (seamen) working for the Steam Navigation Company, a government-owned steamship company owned by British capital, Bal Krishna says:

"With almost stationary wages for forty-five years in the case of three groups of workers (carpenters, deck serangs and lascars) of the Steam Navigation Company whose wages have been detailed in the Prices and Wages Report against high soaring prices, and workmen should have sunk deeper and deeper in the morass of penury and misery is the one indubitable conclusion of these figures. That such a state of things has been allowed to continue is due to the apathy of the public, and the laissez faire policy of the State, and particularly to the non-existence of any labor organizations to protect the interests of the workers.

"The wages of 15 groups of operatives and 27 grades of labor studied reveal the striking fact that their wages did not increase at all from 1894 to 1918, and in some cases, even from the year 1880. For instance, the wages of sirdars (foremen), seamen and stokers remained constant for the period of 38 years from 1880 to 1918. The earnings of carpenters, tanners, workmen and engine-drivers did not rise since 1904, nor did the incomes of skilled carpenters, carriers and saddlers vary since 1897-98. Yet at the same time, official records show that the wages paid in a leather factory, wherein prodigious profits have been and are being appropriated by the proprietors. These things furnish sufficient proof of the degradation of Indian laborers.

"The actual money wages of workers in the jute mills in 1913, or in fact in 1918, since after 1913 there was no increase in the five year period, afford a deplorable picture of some of the laboring population in Bengal. The same state of affairs obtains in the rice mills in Rangoon and in the coal fields in Bengal and Bihar. In the coal fields, more coal is dug today by one man than was possible five years ago, even. For in-

stance, in 1915, a miner dug .622 tons per day; in 1918 he dug .813 tons per day. Yet his wages remained stationary.

"The actual wages earned by the Act and Non-Act laborers in the tea gardens in Assam during the years 1913 to the present time are indescribable. An 'Act laborer' is one who has served his indenture and has become a free man after many years; a 'non-act laborer' is an indentured laborer, a slave in all the meaning of the term. During the years 1913 to the present time, the wages of non-act laborers increased a little over 3 per cent., those of the Act laborers 36.5 per cent. Yet prices increased by 100 to 200 per cent. We can assume a family of six consuming and four earning members, consisting of husband and wife, two earning children above twelve, and two consuming but semi-earning children below twelve years. The total monthly income of such a family of four earning members working in the tea gardens of Assam, in 1917-18 was 21½ rupees, or \$7.00 for Act, or free laborers, and 17 rupees, or \$5.55 for non-act or slave laborers.

"All the income of the non-act laborers is swallowed up by the most primitive necessities. There is no money for the supply of milk, meat, fish, eggs and clothing, lighting, furniture, crockery, soap, tobacco, medicine, amusements, charity, fares, funeral services, marriage ceremony and other incidental and sundry expenses. If, however, some money is to be spent on these necessary items, the rice, dal and oil allowances must be cut short, so that the family must remain under-fed all through, and yet work for twelve hours a day.

"These are some of the facts and figures of the abject slavery of the wage slaves of India. They read stagnation, depression, pauperization and starvation indelibly written in letters bold and black on the face of those people who, in theory, are made in the image of God but, in fact, are so many deformed mummies of humanity. The workers in India, being uneducated, unorganized and steeped in poverty and dense ignorance of the liberating forces—economic and political—of the world, need the active and constant sympathy and assistance of the workers of other countries."

Britannism or Bolshevism?

Mr. Bernard Houghton, an English writer, writing in *India*, London, compares the British rule in India with the menace of Bolshevism thus:

"Why should Indians cooperate with British officials against Bolshevist ideas? Has official rule been so benign and sympathetic that they will unite to continue it? Has the bureaucracy made India happy and contented? Has it so acted that Indians will rally to its side now as they rallied (rather forced to rally) at the beginning

of the war? Really these officials are too simple. They browbeat and bludgeon, they oppress and repress. Then when danger (to them) threatens, they turn to their victims and ask them to co-operate to ward off the peril. Indians will naturally ask what are these ideas, the mere mention of which has thrown the officials into panic. They may not be concerned with the Bolshevist theory of society, but they can point to not a few facts which show that it is not so black as it is painted.

"Thus the Bolsheviks have stood for open diplomacy; the Allies for secret diplomacy. The Bolsheviks have granted full self-government to the seven states that broke away from Russia; England has refused it to Ireland, to India, to Mesopotamia, and tried to refuse it to Egypt. The Bolsheviks have sought peace; the Allies have actively abetted war. The Bolsheviks have kept faith; the Allies have broken faith with Germany, with Ireland, with Mesopotamia, and Syria, and have sought to break faith with Egypt. Finally, Bolshevism has made a supreme effort to educate the children, whilst the British government in India has persistently and gravely neglected its duty to do so. With these facts before their eyes Indians want to know a little more about Bolshevism before they join with the Simla government in condemning it. Many things which that government denounces are to them the very salt of life. May it not be that Bolshevism, closely seen, is not so great an evil as Dyerism?

"According to Mr. H. N. Brailsford, the enthusiasm which the recent conference at Baku undoubtedly evoked was due not so much to communist ideas as to hatred of Western Imperialism. That is doubtless correct. It is the domination and exploitation of countries like India, Persia, and Mesopotamia in the interests of western capitalists that is the well-spring of Asian movement. It is the ideas common to Bolsheviks and all lovers of freedom and justice—the right of the individual to a fair opportunity to show what is in him and to pursue happiness, the right of nations to govern themselves, the hatred of militarism and that secret diplomacy which treats the people as cattle to be bought or sold—it is these ideas which now ferment in Asia and gather strength with each month that passes. In vain would the Simla (British) government seek to stay them by spending \$45,000 a year more on secret service. Has not Mr. Winston Churchill spent two hundred millions of British money in the effort to crush Bolshevism? Has he not thereby only strengthened and intensified it? Since the Armistice, had the Simla government been the agent of Moscow, it could not have more effectively prepared the soil of India for Bolshevist ideas. Popular rule, and popular rule alone, can meet Bolshevism on the gate. And there is only one way to popular rule, and that lies in a radical change in the government of India."

The Root Causes of the Present Condition of India

The British came to this country as a commercial adventurer and has stayed here as a commercial exploiter. This cause is the root cause and affects the very life of our people. We have been decaying since a very long time past as a race, but today we are threatened with not race-decadence only, but almost with positive race-extinction. While in the other parts of the civilised world, birth-rate is steadily increasing in relation to death-rate, in various parts of India our death-rate is increasing and birth-rate simultaneously dwindling down year after year. In the course of a few centuries, unless we are able to find means to reverse those figures as we see in the other countries of the world, we shall be overtaken by the fate of the American Indians or the Australian bushmen. The people of India have always been able to adapt themselves from epoch to epoch to its changing physical, economic, social or political environment. But the struggle to which we are called today is not really of this character. It is practically a physical conflict between the race which holds political domination over us and ourselves. This conflict is not a mere political conflict, but it is a conflict that covers every department of our life, economic, social as well as political. Economically ever since the British came to this country there has been an almost open war carried on by the representatives of British commercial interests against the economic interests of the people of this country. When the British came to India, we were both an agricultural and a manufacturing nation. But they deliberately killed our manufactures, because they found it impossible to compete on fair terms with these. The story of this murderous economic war has been stated in a nutshell by Horace Hayman Wilson in his Note to Mill's History of India; and though many of you are familiar with it, it may be profitably quoted once more to refresh our memory.

"It is also a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she has become dependent. It was stated in evidence in 1813, that the cotton and silk goods of India, up to the period, could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 to 80 per cent on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and they could scarcely have again been set in motion even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitory duties upon British goods and would thus have preserved her productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at

the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

For the last hundred and fifty years our economic resources have been uninterruptedly and increasingly exploited by foreign, and particularly British traders, protected by the British government in India. I am aware that this exploitation is called by another name by our English friends. They call it development. Nor can it be denied that British capital and commercial enterprise have developed our resources very considerably. And superficial observers, generalising from similar economic developments in the free countries of Europe and America, have rushed to the conclusion that these economic developments have necessarily added to the wealth of India also. But they have overlooked the fact that the profits of these new developments have not come to the people, but have gone out of the country to the pockets of foreign exploiters. All that we have earned, or practically all, from these so-called developments of our economic resources are the wages of our labour. And these wages also have gone back to a very large extent to these foreign exploiters themselves in the shape of the price of imported luxuries that have been thrust upon us practically leaving little or no margin of these increased wages to the wage-earner to contribute to the national wealth and the economic staying power of his people. Increased wages in Great Britain or Germany or America mean greater comfort and higher standards of living for the masses contributing to their health, happiness and longevity. The wages which a labourer earns in the free countries of Europe or America are distributed among his own people and remain in the country increasing the sum total of national capital. But it is different in India. Those who cite the increased use of various articles of luxury such as shirts and coats, shoes and umbrellas by the present generation of the Indian peasantry, luxuries that were unknown to their forefathers, as evidence of our economic advancement do not probe these things deeply and enquire how much of the things that they use now are manufactured in the country and how much come from abroad. And the moment we examine these matters carefully we discover the simple and obvious solution of the enigma of the increasing poverty of a country, the natural resources of which have been enormously developed during the last hundred and fifty years of British rule. This has only helped to increase our economic dependence and has made the way clear for the perpetuation of our economic serfdom. If we look back into history it would become apparent how this economic thralldom has been intentionally secured. In the days when the Britisher came to this country as a commercial adventurer it may be said that he had no such idea; but as time went on he seized every opportunity that offered itself for this pur-

pose. The first opportunity that offered itself was the state of the administration of the country, specially the state of administration of Bengal under the Mahomedan power tottering as it then was on account of the onslaughts of the Maharatta which led to the armed interference of the Britisher with the then Government of Bengal. He fought and did so with the assistance partly of the Bengalee soldiers in the Battle of Plassey and won it. How did he utilise his victory? I quote from Dr. William Ralph Inge, Dean of St. Paul. In his "Outspoken Essays," published in 1919, on page 91, he says this:—

"It was not till the accession of George III that the increase in our numbers became rapid. No one until then would have thought of singling out the Englishman as the embodiment of the good apprentice. Metern, in the sixteenth century, found our countrymen 'as lay as Spaniards'; most foreigners were struck by our fondness for solid food and strong drink. The industrial revolution came upon us suddenly; it changed the whole face of the country and the apparent character of the people. In the far future our descendants may look back upon the period in which we are living as a strange episode which disturbed the natural habits of our race.

"The first impetus was given by the plunder of Bengal, which, after the victories of Clive, flowed into the country in a broad stream for about thirty years. This ill-gotten wealth played the same part in stimulating English industries as the 'five milliard' extorted from France, did for Germany after 1870."

This money the Britisher invested in trade and commerce in the country and made profits and grew richer. This process went on unchecked and the directors of the East India Company declared themselves that it was necessary for the maintenance of the commerce established in the East Indies that people of the country should be put in subjection and the new political power already secured was directed towards that object. In course of time an Empire was established in India but the main purpose for which the political supremacy maintained by military domination has been directed, is commercial supremacy. It is often repeated that the Britisher has developed India and has made her what she is now. But for whose benefit? My answer is for his own benefit and not ours. And as regards his mentality let me quote again from the same author, page 94:—

"A nation may be so much weakened in physique by underfeeding as to be impotent from a military point of view in spite of great numbers; this is the case in India and China. Deficient nourishment also diminishes the day's work.

"If European and American capital goes to China and provides proper food for the workmen, we may have an early opportunity of discovering whether the supporters of the League of Nations have any real conscientious objection to violence and bloodshed. We may surmise that the European man, the fiercest of all beasts of prey, is not

likely to abandon the weapons which have made him the lord and the bully of the planet. He has no other superiority to the races which he arrogantly despises. Under a regime of peace the Asiatic would probably be his master."

From a speech by Mr. Byomkesh Chakrabarty before the Special Session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta, September 8, 1920.

Poor Apology for Kind of Rule Britain Gives India

It is refreshing to see that the Americans are quite alive to the situation in India. In order to befof the issues of India, the British government maintains an army of propagandists throughout the world, particularly in America. The business of these propagandists is to tell the American people that had there not been the British imperialism, the world would have been torn to pieces. That the American people know how to discern the truth will be evident from the following editorial in the *San Francisco Examiner*, November 26, 1920:

Mr. Rustom Rustomjee, a newspaper man from India, is lecturing in this country on the political situation in British India.

There are ominous mutinies or disorders here and there in India at present, and this lecturer seems to be one of the army of British propagandists, so numerous during the world war, sent to tell us that we should support all British policies and so cement Anglo-American friendship.

We could be good friends with England in many ways if she did not take so much of our time to answer her propagandists.

Mr. Rustomjee says in his lecture: First, that it is not true that the condition of India is worse today than it was when England took control of her.

England took control of India about two hundred years ago. It seems to us that to say that the three hundred millions of Indians are no worse off today than they were two hundred years ago is a very poor defense of British colonial policy!

Consider the progress of the world in two hundred years and consider what must have been British repression in India to have prevented the Indians from being any better off today than they were two hundred years ago.

Second, this defender of England in India says that the British do not supply the Indians with opium and to prove it he says: "The excise laws are now very strict and they are rigidly enforced. The opium traffic between China and India had practically ceased to exist."

This statement refers to the old policy of forcing opium upon the people of India, first for profit, as the opium trade is exceedingly profitable, and second to make the people contented and helpless in their wretchedness.

The traffic in opium between India and China is now rigidly prohibited.

But who is doing the prohibiting, and why? The Chinese are doing the prohibiting and the traffic is not from China to India, but from India to China.

The British government makes the opium and subsidises the farmers who raise the poppy from which the opium is produced. Every ten or fifteen years there is a famine in India because enough grain is not planted to supply the population and millions upon millions die of starvation.

But the English government does not aid the farmer in India to plant more grain in order to avoid these famines as it aids the poppy grower to produce opium.

Then when the poppy grower produces his opium he is obliged to sell it to the English government, which manufactures it and sells it.

Does Mr. Rustomjee think that Americans do not know how the Chinese protested against the introduction of opium from India into China and how the English government declared war on China and slaughtered the Chinese in order to keep the Chinese market for her opium?

England did to China exactly what she did to the American colonies before the revolution.

One of the indictments which Thomas Jefferson drew up against Great Britain in her treatment of America was the charge that when the Southern colonies wanted to stop the slave trade, the British government would not permit them to do it.

Read Jefferson's letter to the Virginia Assembly in 1774 when he denounced this traffic of human beings in order to give profit to certain British merchants.

British Terror in the Near East

The barbarous treatment of the Turkish population of Constantinople, at the hands of British officers heading the army of occupation and in practical control of the Turkish government, is told in a recent article published in the *Muslim Outlook* of October 21, published in London.

Of the several thousand Turkish prisoners of war taken by the British, and very recently released, over half are found to have been blinded, the *Muslim Outlook* states. Eighty per cent of the total number of prisoners, it states, are incapacitated for life because of the terrible treatment which they have received at British hands.

In Constantinople itself, the British officers are said to have transgressed every bound of decency or civilisation. The *Muslim Outlook* says, in part:

"It frequently happens that a few Allied officers in Constantinople go to the best-looking and well-furnished Turkish homes, and order the residents to clear out within a day or two. Then if they find accommodations insufficient, they order the people of the house to procure bedding

and table materials for other brother officers who also wish to reside there. Water, gas, and other charges must be paid by the proprietor.

"Families who are thus turned out of their dwellings must often live in the courtyards of great mosques, and an appalling number of Muslim houses have been burnt down lately by fires which have been caused by England's glorious friends the Greeks. The idea is to compel the Turkish majority to quit Constantinople, bag and baggage, and to go somewhere to perish in misery. To the complaint of one very old and sick Turkish lady, who objected to being turned out of her home, the English officer serving the order replied: 'We are the victors.'

"Several thousand of the Turkish prisoners of war in the English hands have now returned to their country. Eighty per cent of these men returned are so sick because of their captivity that they are incapable of working for the rest of their lives. More than half of them have been totally or partially blinded, not through fighting, but because of conditions in the camps of Africa and Asia. The chief grievances of these men is that in spite of their often made remonstrances, doctors of Armenian nationality were placed in charge of them by English officers. The blinded men naturally suspect the existence of inhuman treachery in the application of the medicines prescribed by such doctors, who were their enemies.

"Among the vast variety of troops brought to Constantinople by the Entente Powers, to exhibit perhaps their crushing sway over countless races of humanity, **Indian soldiers seem to be the only sympathetic fellows.** Apparently they are beginning to realise the gravity of the situation of the principal defenders of the Orient against the West European aggression. They, themselves, belong, of course, to the aggrieved Orient. Signs of fraternisation have more than once been suspected between Indian soldiers and individual Turks, and it was noticed that Indian detachments quartered here and there had been subjected to frequent removals. Some months ago it was rumored that an English transport was sunk, presumably by a stray mine, while passing through the Dardanelles, with Indian troops alone on board."

The *Muslim Outlook* further gives a report of the disappearance of prominent Turkish men, who are taken from their beds in the middle of the night by Englishmen. They are never heard from afterward, but merely disappear from the face of the earth, leaving behind their tortured family.

The English spies are everywhere, the report states, and "traitor hunting" has become the great sport in the Orient. Any Turk suspected of pro-Turkish sentiments, or pro-Russian or pro-progressive tendencies, is a "traitor," and money is available at any time to run him to his death. Three Englishmen of high position are particularly active among the Turks, the Arabs and Egyptians, and appear to be in charge of much of the spy work.

The New British Empire

IN *The Century* for October, 1920, Mr. Judson C. Welliver contributes an illuminating and interesting article on *The New British Empire*.

"Where do England and the empire stand in the world? What lies ahead of them?" asks he.

"It seems fair to say," he continues, "that of all countries, Great Britain today is most intently watching the distant lights and least distracting herself with the mud and mire."

"England secure in its isolation, its fleets ruling the seas, would alone be safe. Its colonies had been greatly extended, the world had become its market, its industrial capacity was immeasurably increased."

"Today she makes France her deputy to police Europe, while she, avoiding the uncomfortable frictions, looms in the background as the final arbiter, the just judge, the real power. France dare not trust Germany; so she is compelled to hate Germany, and to have Germany always hate her. England dares to be disinterested friend of Germany, the counselor of Italy, the Lady Bountiful to ruined Austria, monitor to Spain, patron of Greece, ancient ally of Portugal, guarantor of Belgium, candid friend of the Northern neutrals, and through the clever co-operation of her labor leaders and her thrifty merchants, at once the most sympathetic observer of Russia's trials and the least unscrupulous provider of Russia's necessities. She is in a position to grieve sincerely at Greece's disappointment in Thrace, and to make away with the big loot of the Ottoman dominions. She wishes quite genuinely that Mr. Wilson could have saved Shantung to China, and meanwhile marks off for herself a sphere of domination in the Yangtse basin worth half a dozen Shantungs. She can quite appreciate the harrowed feelings of Chinese who dislike Japan's control of northern China railroads, and meanwhile she plans to build fifty thousand miles of British-owned railroads in middle and southern China. She pledges to give Egypt back to the Egyptians, and then finds that a lucky clause of the peace treaty has curiously enough thrust Egypt into the imperial British pocket! She makes a treaty of commerce, amity, and alliance with Persia, and the cynical world reads it as substantially the annexation of Persia to the empire! She becomes protector of the Jews in Palestine and of the Arabs in Hedjaz, incidentally strengthening her grip over Suez."

"These things Great Britain accomplishes in virtue of her fortunate endowment of both nearness and remoteness. She pervades all the seas and continents, and yet is nobody's too intimate neighbor. . . . America shrinks from responsibility in Armenia; nobody wants it; and so London offers a competent administrator to head the commission to rule it. Always ready to assume shadowy titles and heavy mortgages, she succeeded long ago to the French and Dutch and Spanish in America, the Dutch and French in the East. Now she takes over the estates of Germany in Africa and the Pacific, shoulders Persia, becomes chief engineer of the Bagdad Railroad,

protector of the Arabs, mistress of Mesopotamia, lord of the Caucasus, and sponsor for Palestine."

"Today the British empire may, with all conservatism, be estimated at eight times the area and five times the population of the Roman dominions. It has maintained a military and naval personnel a dozen times that which Gibbon credits to Rome."

"There has never been under single sway so great a part of the earth as is now British. Before the World War the empire was credited with 13,153,712 square miles, distributed thus:

	Square Miles.
In Europe	121,512
In Asia	2,187,550
In Africa	3,618,245
In North America	3,893,020
In Central America	8,600
In the West Indies.....	11,300
In South America	97,800
In Australasia	3,214,685

13,153,712

"To the foregoing now may be added the areas acquired in the late war and later peace. The Library of Congress states them thus:

Area	Sq. Miles.	Population.
German colonies and dependencies in Africa, the Pacific, and the South Seas	1,027,620	11,897,092
Palestine, including Sanjak of Jerusalem and Villayet of Lebanon..	7,790	541,600
Mesopotamia	143,250	2,000,000
Arabia (Hedjaz and Yemen)	107,380	1,060,000
Persia	628,000	9,500,000
Egypt	350,000	12,569,000
	2,264,040	37,567,692

"Thus is made up an empire of 15,417,752 square miles and about 500,000,000 souls. In three continents, North America, Africa, and Australia, the empire is the largest landed proprietor; in the fourth, Asia, her 3,073,970 square miles represent nearly twice the extent of imperial Rome!

"Of her 500,000,000 souls, about 65,000,000 are self-governing citizens; the rest, subjects."

"It is enough to point out that the empire includes about a third of the world's people, and somewhat more than a quarter of its land."

"We quarantine," concludes Mr. Welliver, "against Bolshevism as a plague; England trades with it and finds the profits highly satisfactory. . . . She hopes to be 'happy though married!'"

The facts are clear, though not complete. For the sake of the peace and harmony in the world, it should have been told what the self-contented Britishers have done with 435,000,000 souls of the Human family.

Notes and News

Indian Troops Used for British Militarism

That nearly 125,000 Indian troops are used to suppress Persia, Mesopotamia, Turkey and other Near Eastern countries has been revealed by Winston Churchill, Secretary of War of Great Britain, in the British Parliament in an answer to Allen Parkinson, M. P. The following are the present strengths of British and Indian troops respectively, and the approximate monthly cost in the areas named:

	British	Indian	Cost
Mesopotamia and North			
West Persia	17,000	83,500	\$12,500,000
Constantinople	11,000	8,000	\$ 2,475,000
Egypt	12,000	14,000	\$ 3,125,000
Palestine	6,500	18,000	\$ 3,050,000

What a sad tragedy that the Indian people are forcibly taken to extend the boundaries of British imperial freedom to various parts of the world!

British Bureaucracy Got Frightened

In view of the inauguration of the non-operation movement in India, the British government in a feverish excitement prays to the people not to overthrow British rule in India. In a statement issued from Simla, November 6, 1920, the British government says that "it is to enlightened public opinion that they must chiefly trust for the dissipation of the danger that now envelops (British rule in) India." The statement further says that "the movement (of non-cooperation) is unconstitutional in that its object is the paralysis and subversive of the existing administration."

Why all such shedding of crocodile tears? The people of India are determined to manage their own affairs. They are not preparing to invade England. It is the opportune moment that the British government should pack up bags and baggage and leave the Indian people alone to establish their own sovereignty in their own country.

The British Destroying Shipping Industry of India

At one time India boasted of having excellent shipping industry. Her boats used to sail in all parts of the world—Rome, Greece, Phoenicia, Java and various other islands of the Indian Ocean. Those days are gone and the shipping industry is utterly ruined. The little effort which the Indian people desire to employ to revive the lost industry is thwarted by the British govern-

ment. How the indigenous industry is destroyed has been revealed by Mr. B. F. Bharucha, an Indian publicist. He says:

"Few are aware how lighters, barges, small country craft, steam launches and sailing ships were requisitioned by British government. Even the very few steamers owned by Indians were commandeered by government, taken into the war zone; and many were sunk by enemies; and the compensation paid by government, both for hire and for loss, had been most inadequate. I know of a specific case in which the owners had only one steamer; it was fully chartered for one voyage. They prayed the government to allow the ship to complete her charter; but to no avail! The ship was sunk near Gibraltar, and owners who had paid Rs. 1,425,000 for the ship, were given Rs. 875,000 by government! And though three years have elapsed, the matter is unsettled!

"Railway lines were stripped! Bogeys, wagons and engines have been exported! We Indians are put to endless hardships for want of carriages, and that too in times of peace!

"It is important to note that one of the main causes of the high prices of foodstuffs, building materials, etc., is the lack of transport. And with railways stripped and steamships and sailing crafts requisitioned and never replaced by government, the dearth of transport is naturally felt."

Mining Engineering in Ancient India

Mr. A. Merriya Smith, M. I. M. M. (London), has contributed a series of articles in *Commerce*, in which he throws very useful and interesting information about the development of Mining Engineering in India in the third century B. C. He says in part thus:

"Chinese travellers in India mention that in Asoka's (the great Buddhist Emperor of India) time (B. C. 250) there was a well established Mining Department with mining engineers, mine inspectors, laboratories, etc. The Portuguese Jesuit fathers (16th century A. D.) writing of Chinese travel in very early times, mention the existence of Chinese writings in the library at Hankow which give an account of Asoka's Mining Department and of a book of instructions to his officers engaged in this work. Recent research has brought to light a copy of this work and the epigraphists of the Mysore government are at present engaged in making a translation of it. Mention is made of the seaport of Puri in Orissa as a place of call for Chinese merchants who exchanged their silver for gold, mined in the neighbouring districts. The rate of exchange was twelve of silver to one of gold."

A Plausible Program

The attitude of the people to continue constructive activities has well been expressed in the Surma Valley Conference recently held in Sylhet, India. The conference urges the people to adopt the following program:

1. To refuse to take service under English planters and merchants and gradual withdrawal of those already under service.
2. Non-acceptance of cases by lawyers from such planters and merchants.
3. Refusal on the part of the people to grant fresh leases or to renew old ones.
4. To abstain from attending any function to which such non-official Englishmen are invited.
5. To oppose imperial preference and encourage trade in Indian raw materials with friendly countries outside the British empire.
6. To boycott all articles of luxury imported from the United Kingdom and restrict use of other foreign goods within such limits as insufficiency of indigenous production imperatively necessitates.
7. To withdraw all Indian money so far as possible from British banks in India and patronise for the purposes of foreign trade non-British banks.
8. To start trade unions with a view to organisation and education of Indian laboring classes of their rights and liberties.
9. To gradually withdraw Indian labor from all industrial concerns supported by British management.
10. To demand immediate repeal of all legislation dealing with labor in India which militates against elementary freedom of man in regard to disposal of his labor.
11. To organise home industries in every village with a view to meet essential necessities of life.

In 1866, when the English Indigo Planters adopted the methods of persecution and oppression, the peasants revolted. The result was that the indigo cultivation was practically wiped out in India. It is our sincere belief that if the program as it has been outlined in accordance with the principles of the non-cooperation movement is carried out with courage and conviction like the peasants of 1866, the British commerce, industry and plantation will receive a death-blow.

Political Sufferers' Conference

During the time of special session of Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in the first week of September, 1920, there was a very interesting gathering of a group of people who had suffered incarceration for the independence of their Motherland in the hands of the British. Mr. Lajpat Rai was in the chair. Several thousand

people who served sentences of imprisonment in the British jails have formed a permanent society. The purposes of the organisation have well been expressed by Mr. Pulin Behary Das, a pioneer revolutionist. He said:

"We shall belong to no party but to the nation—whichever is for the nation shall command our services, whether he carries a party label or not. The ideal of Indian brotherhood for which we stand is not to be limited in its application to the educated classes alone; it must embrace all the Brahman and the non-Brahman, the high-caste and so-called 'untouchables.' In fact we have determined on erasing the word 'untouchable' from the category of our thought and the page of our country's history."

These are noble words. We enthusiastically welcome such an organisation which shall efface caste, creed and provincialism. A new India will be built up by all those who know how to bear sufferings for an ideal and those who will give their service to the cause of the Motherland.

India's Independence Movement Supported by Illinois Labor

Declaring its moral support to the independence movement of India, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in its annual convention held at Galesburg, Illinois, October 18-23, 1920, adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas the American labor movement has repeatedly supported the principles of nationality and democracy for all people, and

"Whereas the people of India are toiling under the most undemocratic tyrannical alien rule, and struggling for achieving national independence for three hundred and fifteen millions of people;

"Be it resolved, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in its annual convention, held in Galesburg, Illinois, October 18 to 23, extends its moral support to the cause of the independence of India.

"Be it further resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Senate, House of Representatives and the State Department of the United States, and to all the national labor bodies of England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Japan and other countries."

Mr. Taraknath Das, Executive Secretary of the Friends of Freedom for India, presented the resolution with a speech in which he described the iniquity of the alien British rule in India.

The increasing interest of the labor for the absolute independence of India is inspiring to the millions who are struggling for freedom. The sooner the exploited masses realise the identity of interests, the nearer will be the dawn of a new era of emancipation of the people all over the world. Our cordial thanks are extended to the Illinois Federation of Labor.

India's Sympathy With the Irish Martyrs

Voicing the sentiments of the people of India, the Hindustan Gadar Party sent the following telegram to President Eamon De Valera of the Republic of Ireland on the death of Martyr Mayor MacSwiney of Cork, Ireland:

"The Hindustan Gadar Party mourns with you and other Irish patriots in the death of Martyr Mayor MacSwiney. Please convey our sincere condolence to Mrs. MacSwiney and the bereaved family.

"We assure you our complete cooperation in carrying out the principles and ideals in defense of which MacSwiney's blood has slowly been sapped by the British government.

"The deliberate and cold-blooded murder will be answered by the millions in a manner that shall forever stop the blood-thirstiness of the British and raise the flag of Freedom over all the countries devastated and desolated by the most imperialistic government of the world.

“(Signed) BISHAN SINGH,
Secretary.”

"Only when we prefer death to bondage can our countries be free," wired Dr. Eamon De Valera, President of the Irish Republic, in a telegram to the Friends of Freedom for India, New York City, in reply to a telegram of renewed faith from the latter organisation. President De Valera's telegram reads:

"Washington, D. C.—Your telegram renewing pledges of faith and everlasting friendship for the Irish Republic will be appreciated by the people of Ireland. May MacSwiney's spirit inspire the people of India as it inspires us, teaching us that only when we prefer death to bondage can our countries be free.

"EAMON DE VALERA."

On the day that Mayor MacSwiney's death was announced in America, the Friends of Freedom for India had sent a telegram to President De Valera, stating:

"Following the death of Lord Mayor MacSwiney, accept our renewed pledges of faith and everlasting friendship for the Irish Republic, and convey our deep appreciation to the Irish people. The superhuman height to which MacSwiney arose will inspire the people of India to renewed determination to end for ever the British empire."

When the Bolshevik Meets the British

In order to counteract Bolshevism in India, the British government has established a bureau in Simla, India. Its maintenance will cost \$45,000, which will be exacted from the people of India. One Edmund Candler, an Englishman, is the head of the bureau. A great feature of this official publicity campaign is the use of the Kinema.

We shall watchfully await to see the result of meeting of this East and the West.

The British Barbarities in Egypt

The grave allegations against the conduct of a section of the British army whilst engaged in repressing the revolt have been made by the Egyptian Nationalists. They produce sixteen affidavits which allege the following, among other occurrences:

Cairo.—Hundreds killed, wounded and imprisoned by British soldiers, who swept the streets with machine guns during a peaceful demonstration of protest against the deportation of the Egyptian leaders. A ten year old girl was assaulted by several soldiers until she died.

Chobak.—British soldiers pillaged town, killed 21, wounded 12, outraged women, buried 5 Egyptians to their waists and cut them to pieces, and burned 144 of the 200 houses.

El Chabanat.—Detachment of British soldiers pillaged village, burned it, and left 4000 persons without shelter.

Azizia and Bedrechieu.—Soldiers searched both villages for arms and burned a number of houses.

Choubra-el-Charieh and Kaffr-el-Hagga.—Alleging that a shot had been fired at an English patrol, soldiers condemned all male inhabitants to be flogged on the stomach and back. (Photographs were produced.)

Upper Egypt.—British general decreed that every Egyptian, including high dignitaries, must salute the British officers in the streets. Those who did not obey the order were dragged before courts martial.

The recent massacre at Corke Park in Ireland and the Punjab massacre a year ago in India, sufficiently corroborate these allegations, and prove beyond any question or doubt that the British character has not changed.

Penalty on the Punjab

The blood of the Punjab was spilled by the British machine guns and bombs in April, 1919. Since then the people of the Punjab, India, are forced to pay the penalty of being butchered by the British. Those who were saved are now demanded to give compensation to those English officials who took the trouble of murdering their relatives. Here are the sums forcibly taken from the people by the British government:

Amritsar	Rs. 1,900,000
Gujranwalla Town	250,000
Kasur Town	125,000
Wazirabad	66,000
Sheikhpora sub-division	27,000
Remaining towns	3,000
	and under

A Pacifist's Attitude

The Daily Express of London is responsible for the following news:

"Mr. Gandhi, in a seditious speech at Lucknow (India), on October 15, said it was intended to organize Hindustan into a great lashkar (armed band) and that men should practise discipline. He wanted justice for the Punjab and freedom for the country. The government, he declared, was ruling India by deceit.

"He pleaded for non-cooperation and Hindu and Muhamedan unity, and said that those who joined the Indian Army committed sin, and Indians going to Mesopotamia to cut the throats of men there committed the sin of converting themselves into slaves.

"If they followed the teachings of non-cooperation they would get Swaraj (Independence) in one year. Mr. Gandhi added that before they used swords they would warn European women and children. Mohammad Ali also made a highly inflammatory speech."

Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. Mohammed Ali are the two leading men who command universal respect from all classes of people. Mr. Gandhi is, by nature, a staunch pacifist. He, too, is changed.

Home Rule League Changed to Swarajya Sabha

The All-India Home Rule League which was working to secure self-government within the British empire has been changed to Swarajya Sabha. The Swarajya Sabha means the League to attain Independence of India. The word Swarajya literally means self-rule which recognises no other sovereignty. The objects of the Swarajya Sabha are:

1. To secure complete Swaraj for India according to the wishes of the Indian people.
2. To carry on a continuous propaganda with a view to organising the people for peaceful and effective action to achieve such Swaraj, and to take such action whenever necessary.

Late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was the soul of this movement. We are sure, he would have been happy to see such a healthy change brought about under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, a man of saintly character. We congratulate the organizers of the Swarajya Sabha. Their action will stimulate a desire in all the Indians to sweep away the disillusionment about rights and privileges, peace and security within the British empire. India is awakened. Let not the Indians abroad lag behind their compatriots in India.

The Sikh League Advocates Boycotting the British

In its second annual session held in Lahore the Sikh Political League of the Punjab has upheld the decision of the Indian National Congress. There were 2000 delegates and 5000 visitors, mostly ex-soldiers and peasants, present in the conference. The non-cooperation movement has been strongly supported and the Congress program accepted. Immediate Swarajya (Independence) has been declared to be the aim of the people. Many of the soldiers have returned their war medals and other honors.

The significance of the Sikh League decision lies in the fact that there is not a single community or section of the country which has not expressed its determination to paralyse the process of governmental machinery. If the people can, forgetting their communal differences, stick together, Mahatma Gandhi's prophesy to win Independence of India within a year is not chimerical.

The Revolt of Assam Coolie

That the indentured labor in the Assam Tea Plantation is determined to break the shackles of bondage has been disclosed in an official communique issued from the India Office. It says:

"The following information has been received by the Secretary of State for India from the British government in India in regard to the riots which occurred towards the end of September in the tea gardens in the Lakshmipur District of Assam (a province of India).

"Coolies of eight gardens within a six-mile radius of Dum Duma went on strike for higher wages. They looted the local market and Marwari shops, assaulted an assistant manager and garden officers, and damaged officers' bungalows. The superintendent of police, Furze, went to the spot with the police, but he and the constables were assaulted. A few platoons of the Assam Rifles were despatched and order was restored. No further disturbance has occurred. Furze sustained fracture of right ulna, injury to right knee, and two head wounds, besides contusions. Sang, assistant manager of Dhoedam Tea Garden, received severe head wounds and contusions. Two constables were injured."

No casualty has been given on the side of the Indian labor. However, we are gratified to see that the movement to recognize the rights of labor is directed into proper channel. May we not hope that these tea plantations which have been watered by Indian blood shall belong to all those who toil and till there?



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with a view: To maintain the right of asylum for political refugees from India.

To present the case for the independence of India.

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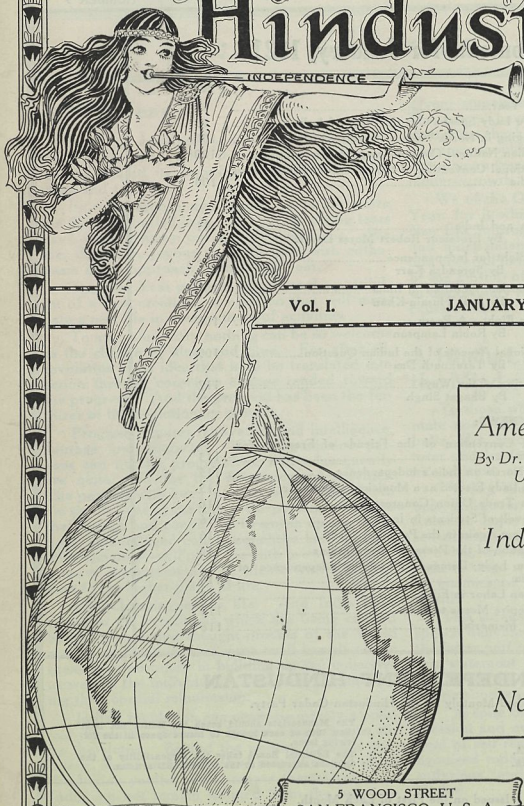
The Friends of Freedom For India

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The Independent Hindustan



*A Monthly Review of
Political, Economic,
Social and Intellectual
Independence of India*

Vol. I.

JANUARY, 1921

No. 5

America and India

*By Dr. Morss Lovett, Dean of the
University of Chicago*

India's Fight for Independence

Editorials

Notes and News

5 WOOD STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, U. S. A.

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THE INDEPENDENT HINDUSTAN

A MONTHLY REVIEW

of Political, Economic, Social and Intellectual Independence of India.

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VOL. I

SAN FRANCISCO, JANUARY, 1921

No. 5

:: Editorials ::

A New Year

Nineteen hundred and twenty tossed and tumbled and slipped by, just as every day passes, leaving behind its lingering memories for us to muse and to dream.

Its reminiscence may inspire us to scrutinize the thoughts buried in the old, but the trying tears have washed away our worm-eaten ideas. We are, therefore, joyous and enflamed with enthusiasm at the approach of the New Year.

The New Year presents before us the possibility of a new creation—a creation that will incubate a new life in every sphere of activities.

To a revolutionary nothing can be so welcome as the change of ideas and time. For after all, revolution is an idea that is to be translated into action through conscious change tended toward the progress. And the progress has been the fertilizer of the evolutionary growth.

Progress requires innovation and intelligence, courage and character. The slug-minded persons can not be progressives, and consequently are quite unfit for the revolutionary activities. The persons with keen intellect which can discern the significance of the time—the persons who have the courage and conviction to smash up the traditions, camouflaged conventionalities and conservative clinging—will pave the path toward the progressive consummation of ideals which hie the man to the higher plane of life.

Ever-changingness is life. And India must adapt to the conditions which are being created by the cumulative thought-process of the world and its application, and must avail herself of the greatest opportunity in building up the collective as well as the individualistic life and in establishing their cordial relationship.

India's revolution can never be merely a political revolution, which is but the beginning to stir up the sloths. Behind the politics rests the economic, social and intellectual revolution for which the Indian youths must prepare themselves. As India can not remain isolated from the functioning of the world forces, a new program has to be mapped out and a new policy has to be formulated. Invocation of the Old will be a cry in the wilderness.

The revolutionaries of India have, therefore,

a very stupendous but noble task before them. The forces have to be organized not only to shatter the shackle of bondage of foreign rule, but also they should be directed to make every man and woman free—free from all that hampers and hinders growth.

We of the Old but of the New greet the New Year, for it whispers in our years the birth of a New Era, impregnated with freedom of individual and independence of nation. Let us be happy and cheerful in the hope of realization of the ideal of the kinship of mankind, and in the possibilities of opportunity that awaits us for the service to the cause of humanity.

A Hindu Lady Speaks Out the Mind of India

To those who are still in doubt as to the ultimate goal of the present political movement in India, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the great poetess, lecturer and leader of the people, has given a definite, distinct and determined answer. She says:

"Today the people of India are asking not only self-government within the empire like the Colonies enjoy, but an absolute independence, self-determination—the right to choose our mode of living, the right to form our own alliances, the right to wage war, fulfilling our destiny as friends or enemies of any given power in the modern world."

This is taken from a portion of Mrs. Naidu's speech delivered at the Claxton Hall, London, in the latter part of November. The significance of this statement lies in the fact that Mrs. Naidu represents the Indian womanhood and is a leading personage in the modern political renaissance.

"In spite of martial law, in spite of every repression and every tyranny, India will reach that goal of self-realization for which you and I have agonized today with our prayers, our hopes, our sufferings, and I trust our sacrifice," she concluded.

There could not have been nobler utterances to inspire the Indians to serve and suffer for the great cause of emancipation. We wish every Indian wherever he may be and whatever position he may be in will realize the responsibility

that is devolved upon him in the crisis in India. There should not be any faltering or fumbling. It is the time when we must take the destiny of India in our own hands, and we are sure that the liberty-loving people of the world will shower blessings on us as we march on toward the victory.

War Raging in the North Western Frontier of India

While India is on the verge of revolution, the people of borderland between Afghanistan and India have already declared war against the British supremacy in Asia.

There are over 400,000 fighting men who owe no allegiance to any earthly king. As they follow the Mohammedan religion, it is but natural that they will make the common cause with the people of India and other Moslems in Mesopotamia and Arabia.

As the British is the only power which menaces Asia today, the Khyber Pass, gateway to Asia, will soon be a scene of bloody warfare. The frontier people are wedging through so that the cooperation between Indian revolutionaries and the people of Central Asia and Eastern Europe becomes a possibility.

This marks the beginning of another great war in which India will be the center of conflict. Already troops are being shipped from Australia and New Zealand. According to the private information it is stated that there are nearly 40,000 Australians taken for the service in India. What stand the British labor will take in this crisis can only be speculated. We are not, however, very sanguine, as the "Blacks and Tans," who constitute the vast majority of the English workmen, are running amuck in Ireland.

The situation calls for thorough grasp and understanding. The revolutionaries in India must perfect the plans without wasting a moment's time with intelligence and scientific coolness. Out of the strifes and struggles, storms and stress, India will then emerge as a free and independent nation with a new conception in economic and social program.

The Indian National Congress for Independence

The sub-committee, which was appointed by the Indian National Congress to draft the amendments to the constitution, has made a radical change in the Congress Constitution. The proposed object of the Congress is:

The object of the Indian National Congress is

the attainment of Swaraj (self-rule based on undivided sovereignty) by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

The existing Congress creed which aims at the attainment of the colonial form of responsible government has been done away with, and it proves that the people of India no longer desire to keep any connection with the British.

The Congress could make no other decision. The masses are awakened to determine their own destiny, and it is the opportune moment that India's aspirations should be made clear and distinct.

The National Convention of the Friends of Freedom for India

Elsewhere we are publishing the report of the First National Convention of the Friends of Freedom for India held at Hotel McAlpin, New York City, December 5, 1920.

That the Americans are quite alive to the principles of the Declaration of Independence is evident from the fact that over 400 delegates and a great many distinguished citizens of the United States, representing several millions of the American people, actively participated in the deliberations of the proceedings of the Convention and registered their utmost sympathy and interest in the struggle of the workers for India's independence.

A very important decision has been made in regard to the selection of an American Commission on India's independence. This commission is expected to go to India and investigate the charges of British misrule in India, and after returning they are going to report their findings to the people of this country. An indictment covering twelve charges against the British rule in India has been embodied in a resolution.

Mr. Gilbert Roe, chairman of the convention, made it clear that the United States can not stand aside in the present crisis in India. "Whatever threatens the peace of the world, threatens our peace, and whatever nation today seeks by force to govern and selfishly exploit a great and alien people, threatens the peace of the world," said Mr. Roe.

United States Senator George W. Norris assured the workers for India's independence of the moral and material support of the people of the United States.

We most heartily congratulate the organizers of the convention and we are sure that the interest and enthusiasm that has been displayed in the convention will inspire immeasurably the people of India.

Wish you a Happy and Successful New Year

America and India

ONE of the most characteristic and natural attitudes of public opinion in the United States has been that of sympathy with the national aspirations of subject peoples. Historically such sympathy was the result of circumstances attending the birth of the American nation. Revolution in America has always meant political revolution in the specific sense of the assertion of the right of self-government, and as such it has been a sacred word. Whenever a subject people has sought to throw off the bonds of its oppressors Americans have remembered their own origin and have given sympathy and support. To Greece in revolt against the Turk, to the South American states against Spain, to Italy and Hungary against Austria, to Ireland against England, the American people have, within the limits of diplomacy, shown themselves friendly. When the demand of India for independence is heard in the United States, we can not doubt that the same attitude will prevail.

That public opinion in America is a force which will exert strong influence in determining the future of India is certain. Already this influence is one of the major factors in the Irish problem. It has entered powerfully into the solution of the Egyptian problem. But the question is raised whether opinion in America does not stop short of supporting India in the demand for independence, and favor rather some form of home rule within the British Empire. To this the answer may be given firmly in the negative. Indeed, it would be against all antecedent probability to find Americans thinking in this way. The American idea of patriotism is a forthright, perhaps primitive, conception which does not take account of the subtleties of autonomy and limited sovereignty. Does America bless and honor Washington, Adams and Franklin as winners of her freedom, or as strategists on a board of local control? Did she sympathize with South America as striving to be free, or to improve its place in the Spanish Empire? With the ambition of Italy to be a nation, or to be a self-governing province of Austria?

Indeed, it may be said that the only freedom which the typical American thinks worthy of consideration is complete independence. A question of home rule is a question of detail, of local politics, more or less, which does not interest him. Undoubtedly the reason for the contempt with which the average American regards the Canadian is owing to the fact that the latter is the acquiescent subject of a foreign king. No amount of argument as to the material advantages accruing to Canada by remaining within the empire will make such supineness seem dignified or reasonable to the American. So long as the official programme of Irish patriotism was

home rule the subject failed to inspire enthusiasm among Americans—in fact, it bored them. It was a matter of parochial politics. But once the clearcut demand for freedom is heard and the whole question is raised to a higher level of interest and dignity. The American who was idly inclined to think that the Irish might as well compromise a little more or a little less for the sake of peace is almost ready to write Irish freedom into his political platforms. And it may be asserted that the surest way to kill American interest in the Indian revolution is to represent it as that form of tempest in a tea pot, a struggle for local autonomy. It may be prophesied that when it is clear that young India wants complete freedom and is willing to die for it, then Americans will know how to recognize a sister nation and prepare to bid her welcome to a place among the free peoples of the earth.

It is perfectly true that as a result of alliance in finance and in war, and especially of unlimited propaganda, there is a party in the United States which places the British Empire first among the creations of human statesmanship and would sacrifice the world to its necessities. Logically this party would condemn the Continental Congress as illegal revolutionary junta, and LaFayette as a mischievous busy-body in matters which did not concern him. This party is as un-American as the Federalists. On the other hand, the demonstration of the myth of the beneficent British imperial administration has been dreadfully exposed in Ireland, and the utter unfitness of the British to rule anywhere but in their own island amply demonstrated. It will not take long for Americans to apply the lesson of Ireland to India—to see that the ferocious policy of hunger blockade, reprisals, and frightfulness will be repeated on a scale commensurate to India's hundreds of millions, to put Amritsar against Balbriggan, Rowlatt and Dyer against Greenwood and Tudor.

The political thought and traditions of America are anti-imperialistic—Mexico, the Philippines, and Hayti to the contrary notwithstanding. So true is this that far-seeing men who dread the consequences to world peace of a misunderstanding between England and America recognize that the chief cause of such falling out will be the difference of philosophy involved in the terms Empire and United States. Against that day the names of Palmerstone, Lloyd George, Curzon and Churchill will not be the ones to conjure with, nor yet Gladstone, Morley and Grey. They will be Cobden, Bright, and Wilfrid Blunt—anti-imperialists, Englishmen whom Americans delight to honor. Under their leadership there will be peace always between England and America, justice and absolute freedom for India.

—ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

India's Fight For Independence

[This Address was prepared for the National Convention of the Friends of Freedom for India, held at Hotel McAlpin, New York City, December 5, 1920.—Ed.]

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I rejoice to have this opportunity of voicing the sentiments of the rank and file of India in appreciation of the interests you are taking, the sympathy you are showing and the service you are rendering to the cause of Independence of India. The presence of such a representative gathering of the Americans who are born of the spirit of the Declaration of Independence tells inspiringly and encouragingly to the oppressed and struggling people of the earth that the Stars and Stripes floats where freedom remains enflamed into the hearts of the people.

I talk to you, ladies and gentlemen, by the command of the sense of duty that urges every Indian to feel closely and keenly the kinship of mankind. And your assurance of cooperation in consummation of the highest ideal which every individual—every nation—every race can have—I mean the absolute freedom of individual—and independence of a nation—cannot but be a fountain of joy from which the millions will drink the nectar of nationalism which seeks to establish the brotherhood of nations.

India's sufferings and struggles, my friends, are the product of a system which has been paralyzing the process of progress. And the movement which we have launched today is aimed at the destruction of the root which helps nurture that obnoxious and inhuman system—system of imperialism. It is not the time to paint the picture. No Indian needs to tell you about the unbearable conditions forced upon India by a nation maddened by barbaric instinct. Pick up a daily paper and substitute the word India for Ireland, you will find that the Son of Erin and Son of Ind beneath the skin have the identical marks of oppression.

Facts are not wanting and proofs are not lacking. It is the attitude of the mind which is needed to solve the problem.

If India's problem was only purely the concern of the people of India, we would not have come before you and steal your precious time. The component parts of the world are so interdependent that destruction of one determines the destruction of another. To put the problem in a nut-shell—India is being sandwiched between British Imperialism on the one hand, and Capitalism on the other. That is the reason you hear the cry of the millions of men, women and children who are being squeezed of their last drop of blood.

We are convinced of one thing—that the evolutionary growth is impossible without revolution. Revolution in thought, revolution in ideas and ideals, revolution in action—revolu-

tion is necessary. It may be bloodless and may be bloody. It is immaterial to the people whose vitality is being vamped in every moment of their existence.

Ladies and gentlemen, for a time unrighteousness has prevailed, physical force has triumphed, and the mad dance of barbarism has shaken the very foundation of justice, liberty and peace. The British fraud, forgery and knavish cunningness have no doubt outwitted the sublime serenity of the Indian people.

Have we remained silent in seance, and dreamy and drowsy at the dawn of a New Era before us? No!

Generation after generation we are bearing the marks of those footsteps which have trampled our rights. We have harbored in the bottom of our hearts the wrong and injustice.

In order to remove the general impression of India's docility, I want to tell you a few of the achievements which the revolutionaries have tried to attain since the British march towards India. Success or failure of the revolutionary attempts of the Indian people can be read in the light of the situation they were facing.

It was a period of transition—a transition in which every healthy, normal nation will try to adjust the conditions commensurate with the trend of the times. The Mughal Empire was on the point of dismemberment and the Indian people were planning as scientifically as possible to reconstruct the national solidarity. The ungrateful British, who were given shelter and extended hospitality by the generous-hearted Indian people began to conspire against the union of the people. Exactly the very kind of conspiracy which the British government did during the time of the Civil War in this country, in satisfying their devilish delight in an effort to make the union impossible.

After the control of a portion of the territories of India, the British furthered their schemes and wrested province after province until the whole of India came under their sway.

Undoubtedly the people for the time being became helpless. But the zeal and ardor with which they were trying to build up their country on a solid basis were utilized in destruction of a system which was accidentally thrown upon them. The revolutionary waves, therefore, rolled on like the waves of the stormy ocean.

As far back as 1772, the Sannvasi revolt in Bengal succeeded in stopping collection of taxes levied by the British officials. Many of the methods described by Bankim Chandra Chatterji in his famous novel, "Ananda Math" (Abbey of Bliss), are employed even by the

present-day revolutionaries. The song which he wrote has become the national song of India, and known as "Bande Mataram" (Hail Motherland!)

Those Sannyasis consecrated and devoted their lives to the cause of the Motherland, and they said:

"We have no mother; we have no father, no brother, no wife, no child, no hearth, no home. We acknowledge nothing save the Motherland."

The sentiments of the Sannyasis ring in the ears of the young revolutionaries, and their ideals inspire them in their march towards the emancipation of their Motherland.

In 1812, the period of general political upheaval throughout the world, there was a widespread evidence of revolutionary activities in India. Owing to the successful manoeuvre of the revolutionaries, the Crown became afraid and took control of the sovereignty from the East India Company, and the Government of India Bill was passed in 1833. This bill recognized the equality of the Indian people with the English. But no substantial rights were given—for rights could not be given—they must be obtained. The bill only transferred control from one hand to the other.

As the Indian people had never placed their faith upon the honesty of the British, the people went on with their own program.

Not until 1857 a well-organized war of independence was fought. It was a revolution based on military direction. The people knew that the nature of the imperialistic nation had not changed. The peace-loving people could not rest in peace. The significance of the 1857 revolution lay in the fact that it was the revolution of the masses. And I doubt if it had ever failed if the intelligentsia were really intelligent enough to seize the opportunity with sincerity and honesty.

Nine years after the War of Independence, the peasants of India rose in revolt against the tyranny and terror of the English indigo planters. The German aniline industry had not yet developed, and the world had to depend upon India for the source of supply of dye. The English planters were so avaricious that the conditions of the peasants were not only made miserable, but they became unbearable. The blood-boiling incidents described in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" pale into insignificance in comparison with what the Indian peasants had to undergo in the English indigo plantations. The dramas depicting the torture and inhuman treatment of the peasants were staged. *Nil Darpan* (mirror that reflects the conditions in indigo plantations), a four-act play by Dinabandhu Mitra, was a masterly contribution to revolutionary literature.

The public were roused and they took up the matter in all seriousness and earnestness. The lecturers and educators were sent among the peasants. Meetings were held everywhere and it was firmly resolved that the entire system must be rooted out from the soil of India. The

peasants as they were organized became determined and resolute that they would not work for the English planters. And the result was the peasant revolt in 1866, which utterly destroyed the English indigo plantation system. That revolutionary spirit is echoed in the Assam Tea Plantation today.

In 1878 Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy of India, passed the Vernacular Press Act. This act aimed at the suppression of the newspapers published in Indian languages. The discontent that was brewing was inflamed by the reactionary and repressive measure. In introducing the bill, the legal member said:

"But there is a large and increasing class of native newspapers which would seem to exist only for the sake of spreading seditious principles, of bringing the government and its English officers into contempt, and of exciting antagonism between the governing race and the people of the country. This description of writing is not of very recent growth, but there has been a marked increase in it of late, and especially during the last three or four years. During the past twelve months it has been worse than ever, the writers gaining in boldness. Their principal topics are the injustice and tyranny of the British government, its utter want of consideration towards its native subjects, and the insolence and pride of Englishmen in India, both official and non-official. There is no crime, however heinous, and no meanness, however vile, which, according to these writers, is not habitually practiced by their English rulers."

In view of these confessions, no one perhaps would ridicule the Indian people that they were contented under the British rule.

Following the Vernacular Press Act, the Illbert Bill controversy arose. The strong agitation that was going on in 1883-86 not only threatened the safety of the British rule, but it unified the people in an unprecedented manner. The Illbert Bill proposed to transfer the jurisdiction of the Indian jurists over English subjects to English judges. Lord Ripon, however, was forced to repeal the law.

The result of this movement was hastening the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885, which intended to carry on constitutional agitation.

In 1894 the Marathas of the Bombay Province inaugurated a Sarvajanic Ganpati, or Public Ganpati celebration. This festival indicates the first revolutionary activities in Bombay. At this time Damodar and Balkrishna Chapekar, the two Brothers of Poona, formed a society for physical and military training. One of the speakers in one of the celebrations in 1897 is reported to have said:

"We are all striving to gain our lost independence, and this terrible load is to be uplifted by us all in combination. It will never be proper to place obstacles in the way of any person who, with a true mind, follows the path of uplifting

this burden in the manner he deems fit."

Under the guidance of the Chapekar Association, revolutionary activities were carried on. The late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak supported the methods of the revolutionaries in his *Kesari* and consequently suffered incarceration at the hands of the British. And it is because of his revolutionary mental attitude that Mr. Tilak was recognized as the leading patriot of India.

It was in 1905, the modern revolutionary organizations had been perfected with scientific precision. The immediate cause was the partition of Bengal, the product of divide and rule policy. Partition aimed at the destruction of the union of two communities in Bengal—the Hindus and Mohammedans.

On the one hand, the constitutional agitation started, and on the other hand, organizations were being perfected in every center.

Various Samitis, or Associations, were organized for military drill and physical training. The most important of all these Samitis were the Anusilan Samiti and the Yugantar Samiti. These Associations were semi-open in the beginning, but the persecution of the British government drove them into secret channels.

The official organ of the revolutionaries was *Yugantar* (New Era), edited by Bhupendra Dutta, at present an exile abroad. The *Yugantar* began to prepare the mind of the people. Another paper, *Sandhya*, really reached the masses. In one of its issues the *Sandhya*, nearly fourteen years ago, said:

"We want complete independence. The country cannot prosper so long as the veriest shred of the Feringhis supremacy over it is left. Swadeshi, boycott, all are meaningless to us, if they are not the means of retrieving our whole and complete independence. . . . Rights granted by the Feringhis (Englishmen) as favor, we shall reject, and we shall work out our own salvation."

The press and the political workers were thus inspiring the minds of the people with the highest ideal of emancipation.

The revolt of the students was one of the remarkable achievements in this period. They began to boycott the government schools—which they termed as *Golan Khānā* (manufactories of slaves). Their action gave rise to the growth of the National Educational movement, and the National Council of Education came into existence. Its activities, though suppressed by the British government, will remain memorable in the history of revolutionary movements.

In Bombay, the Abhinav Bharat Society and Nav Bharat Societies were formed, and carried on revolutionary activities.

In the meanwhile the movement spread far into the foreign countries. Shyamaji Krishna Varma founded the Indian Sociologist in London. But subsequently he was forced to move to Paris.

In the India House in London at that time, a

group of Indian revolutionaries was organizing the forces. Vinayak Savarkar, the leading factor in that movement, created an international sensation while he escaped from the boat at a French port and entered into French territories.

In Paris Madame Cama published the *Bandemataram*, a monthly revolutionary organ, which brought a great many Indian youths under the revolutionary banner.

In America, though there were individualistic attempts to carry on the independence movement, but it was not until 1913 when the Hindustan Gadar party was established. The Hindustan Gadar party brought a new lease of life. The revolutionary activities ran into the hearts of the masses—and the Gadar party may justly take pride in the fact that it has been the instrument to bring about the cooperation between the intelligentsia and the rank and file.

The World War broke out in 1914, earlier than was anticipated. However, the revolutionaries in all parts of India became united, and planned for an organized uprising. It was a great opportunity, both from the military and diplomatic standpoint. But wartime stringent measures were also in the way.

The organizations abroad did their best to help the revolutionary organizations at home. The San Francisco case to overthrow British rule in India will be remembered as one of the remarkable cases of the struggle for human liberty.

An attempt was made to make a united uprising after the armistice, when the Indian soldiers would come back discontented and bitter against the British method of forcing the Indian youth to fight for British imperialism.

The seeming failures have become the landmarks of the path towards success, which will be attained but once.

The Punjab massacre in 1919 and the Khilafat movement have fused together the various elements of India into national solidarity.

Today no one talks about reform measures to be doled out by the British government. The revival of the boycott movement which gave birth to the modern revolutionary movement will undoubtedly bring about a new era within a short time. Even those who, a few days ago, were clamoring for home rule within the British Empire have changed the All-India Home Rule League to Swarajya Sabha, the purpose of which is to attain full and complete Swarajya, self-rule based on undivided sovereignty, according to the wishes of the people.

The cry of independence, which has been reaching throughout the length and breadth of the world, is the cry of the product of the tactics, means and methods employed by the revolutionaries. India is changed. No one, no power, divine or earthly, can stop the 315 millions to obtain the complete independence of their own country.

Ladies and gentlemen, India is determined to fight her own battles. Whether India is fit for

freedom is a kind of hackneyed doubt which will remain in the crevice of a cracked brain. I have no stupid disillusion about maintaining the integrity of the British Empire.

It is the British Empire which is menacing the world's relationship. And the foundation of the British Empire rests on India.

Should India be prepared for peace or for war? India has at least seventy million people of the fighting age. And if we eliminate even half of that number, in accordance with strict military standard, we shall yet have nearly thirty to thirty-five millions who could be made the finest military unit. Whether this huge military force should be utilized in the game of killing, entirely depends upon the sound statesmanship of the liberty-loving people of the world.

How serious is the problem will be evident from the use of Indian troops by the British government for imperial aggrandizement. It is revealed by Churchill, the British Secretary of War, in the British Parliament, that there are nearly 125,000 Indian troops being used in the Near East. They are distributed as follows:

Mesopotamia and Northwest Persia.....	83,500
Constantinople	8,000
Egypt	14,000
Palestine	18,000

Now, with these troops England is leaving no stone unturned in suppressing the aspirations of the people of those countries.

The British shamelessness went further than this. Recently in a meeting of the League of Nations held in Geneva, Robert Cecil had the audacity of asking for \$20,000,000 from the United States government in order that Armenia may be saved from being Bolshevized. No, not that. What England wants is to make Armenia as a base of operation against the united cooperation of the revolutionaries of the Near and Central East and India. And England's pious sons demand of you to pay the bill, because you have shown wonderful idealism in making the world safe for democracy.

The people of Asia know too well about the British hypocrisy and cunningness.

I am tempted to make a prediction: It is not far off when there will be a league to establish peace, not a league to rob. And that league will be the league of the people who are opposed to imperialism. You will have to choose between the two—imperialism and anti-imperialism. There is no half-way house.

It is for this reason I urge you to think seriously about the position India holds in the world politics.

India is going to be free from British rule and autocracy as the Russian people have become from the Czar, in spite of the conspiracy of the imperialists of the world. The Indian people want not only political independence, but also the kind of independence which will be perma-

nent, only having sound economic and social program.

The trade unions which are uniting the workers, and the strikes which are paralyzing the capitalistic industrial process, indicate the real significance of the revolutionary movement.

You may ask me, "What can we do?" What can you do?

It is not the time for you to sigh or sob, pity the poor heathen. The Indian people may appreciate—even may be moved—by your emotional feelings, but they want from you genuine interest in the independence movement.

Study the Indian situation from all those who have consecrated their lives for freedom and independence. We have no desire, even if we have the means, to rouse the reformists and imperialists. We want you to cooperate with us in carrying on an educational campaign.

Secondly, see that your men and money are not used to throttle the aspirations of the people of India, Ireland, Persia, Mesopotamia and other countries.

We do not want you to go to fight our own battles, as some of the imperialists who claim to have kinship of blood, urge you to give succor and aid them to carry on aggression. We do not desire to pick up a quarrel with the English people. But do you think for a moment who are those "Black and Tans?" The English lord's son does not serve as a private. It is the working people of England who are dictated to carry on devastation. If the English laborers are sincere and have courage, intelligence and honesty, it is high time they should root out the existing governmental system and overthrow kingship and send King George with his paraphernalia of slavery to his cousin, to saw wood. If the English labor is helpless, why do you not, as champion of liberty and democracy, urge them to join with Indian revolutionists—315 millions will gladly extend their cordial hands.

I thank you for your patience and courtesy. Voicing the sentiments of the 315 millions of India, I, on behalf of the Hindustan Gadar party, wish to express our gratefulness for your stand by the side of justice and righteousness, liberty and equality. The realization of the ideals of freedom will be nearer if you can share the feelings of those who are struggling for freedom.

If you are sincere in your belief and honest in your convictions of liberty; if you still uphold the immortal words of the Declaration of Independence and principles embodied in the Constitution; if you like to see American ideals planted into the fertile soils of Hindustan and other oppressed countries, cooperate with us to destroy British imperialism and raise the banner of freedom—political, economic, social and intellectual, all over the world.

—SURENDRA KARR,
The Hindustan Gadar Party.

Hindu-Moslem Question in India

[This speech was delivered by Mr. S. F. Husain-Khan, a graduate of Aligarh College, the most famous Mohammedan institution of learning in Asia, before the National Convention of the Friends of Freedom for India, held in New York City, December 5, 1920.—Editor.]

I AM glad to see an American gathering to hear the political situation in India discussed by Indians. I am an Indian myself, proud of his Hindustan nationality, proud of his religion—Mohammedanism.

The people of this country have been told that Indian Moslems are not interested in politics of today. Other falsehoods, still more insidious, have been told about Indian Moslems. Efforts have been made to spread the impression that we are not Indians. We are Indians, our ancestors were Indians, and we are children of the soil of India. And Indians of the Moslem faith are as much interested in the independence of their country as are their brothers of other religions, whether Sikhs, Hindus, Parsees or Christians.

On questions of politics we stand with other religious groups as one, in India. It is the policy of those interested in denying the right of independence to the people of Ireland, Egypt, India and Turkey, and the Near and Middle Eastern countries, to use the religious club and arouse religious prejudices. And the British government, especially, is appealing to the "Christian world" to defeat India.

I am not here to discuss religious questions. The Indian question is not a religious question. It is a national question, which concerns Indians and the world at large. On that question the various religious faiths of India are united. I, a Mohammedan, am here to tell you the part which Indians of my faith have played and are playing today in the movement to secure the independence of their country.

In India, there are 70,000,000, or one-third of the population of the country, of my faith. In the Near and Middle East, and in Egypt and Afghanistan, there are 68,000,000 other followers of Islam.

The stories told by the British propagandists that the Hindus and Mohammedans of India have always fought each other because of religious prejudices have no foundation in fact, in Indian history. During both the Hindu and Mohammedan periods, there was no discrimination against a man in politics because of his religion. When, in Indian history, Hindus and Moslems quarrelled, it was not over religious issues, but over domestic problems alone.

Under the great Emperors of India, Mohammedan or Hindu, there were always men of importance in the State who held varying ideas about religion. In the councils and armies of these rulers, men—and women also—held high

positions regardless of religion. Akbar, the greatest of Moslem rulers in India, had no religious prejudices at all. One of the teachers of his sons was a Christian. Most of his ministers were Hindus, like Todarmal and Beerbul and Mansingh. Similarly, Baber, his grandfather, who ruled in the sixteenth century, had Hindus high up in his Cabinet. And later on in the seventeenth century, thousands of important Hindus occupied positions in Aurangzeb's reign. The same situation obtained under the leadership of Tipu, the great Mohammedan who withstood the advance of the British to the very last.

On the other hand, the commander-in-chief of Shivaji's forces was a Mohammedan. Shivaji was the Hindu leader of the seventeenth century.

Today, there are many native states which prove the statement that there is no disunity between the two religious groups. Under the present Mohammedan government of the Nizam of Hyderabad, the majority of the population are of the Hindu faith, and similarly under the Hindu raja of Kashmir, 90 per cent of the population are Mohammedans. There are officials of the two faiths serving in both governments.

More emphasis can be laid on the point that there are national questions in which both the religions take equal part. For example, in the Home Rule League of the past—which has been destroyed today—Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsees and Christians were active. In the National Congress meetings—the constitutional body—the same faiths were represented in the delegate bodies, and as presidents and officers. In the secret revolutionary movement, the young Mohammedan men joined with their Hindu brothers to drive the British from their country.

In many Indian Moslem festivals, particularly the Maharrum and Shahbrat festivals, Hindus took part along with their Moslem brothers.

From the beginning of British rule in India, the British government adopted the policy of "divide and rule," just as it tried the same plan in other countries. As in other countries, it succeeded—for a time. Today it does not succeed. As recently as 1857, the natural tendency of the Indian people was to solve their national differences among themselves in a sane, cool manner. In the great revolution of 1857, when the Indian people struck for freedom, Hindu leaders like Nana Sahib, the Mohammedan leaders like Azimullah Khan, fought side by side to regain control of their own country. The Hindus were in an overwhelming majority in that revolution, yet

they elected a Mohammedan, Bahadur Shah, as ruler of India during that period. When the Indians had failed in the revolution, British officials visited Bahadur Shah, the old ruler, and told him that they had come to offer him a "peace" token. They presented him with a box. He opened it, and on the inside were the heads of his two sons!

The way the British government has long tried to create trouble between the Mohammedans and Hindus is known to every person of intelligence. It has spread literature in the government-controlled schools; it has spread its poison in the press of the country; it has paid huge sums to Hindu and Mohammedan traitors alike to disturb the religious rites of the different communities.

Starting with 1905, the beginning of the organized secret revolutionary movement and of the boycott of British goods, every city in India witnessed religious fights between the Hindus and Mohammedans. For a number of years this continued, until the situation was shameful. The army of government *provocateurs* and the huge sums of money spent for creating the riots will never be known until India breaks open the secret archives of the British government. The most scandalous of the government-prepared and provoked riots took place in 1918, in the Arrah riots, when a group of Hindus were paid to attack the Mohammedan community. But the Hindus who saw through the whole shameless affair themselves rushed to rescue of the Mohammedans and saved them. This was as late as 1918, and the hand of the government was so evident that efforts were made to close the whole affair.

It has always been the practice of the government in India to try and ally itself with the Mohammedans against the Hindus in some communities where the Mohammedans were in the minority. For example, the students of Aligarh College, the great Mohammedan seat of learning in Asia, of which I am a graduate, were nearly always assured of government positions without the asking. Graduates from other colleges were refused.

But today the students of Aligarh, my classmates, have walked out of the college, have demanded that all connection with the British government cease, that all "tainted money"—meaning government money—be refused, and that only Indians and Indian money be used in managing and financing the college. The students of Aligarh are leading in the national movement among college students, which demands the severance of all ties with the British government, and the control of schools by Indians. Here, one of the strongholds of the British government has crashed to earth. The Aligarh students, with the Hindu students in the same university, and the Hindu students in other centers, are now as one in their work for the independence of India.

The policy of the government to set the two communities against each other whenever opportunity afforded, and to accentuate differences,

was always carried out if possible. This policy was especially marked at the time of the Amritsar massacre in April of last year, when the British tried to set the two people against each other by secret desecration of Hindu temples and Mohammedan mosques. But we saw through their game. Their efforts proved failures. We, the Indian people, regardless of religion, united in the Swadeshi and Satyagraha and passive resistance movement. When we united, the British government pronounced to the world that a revolution had taken place.

The government, which for a century had said its presence was necessary in India because the Mohammedan and Hindu communities could not unite and live as brothers, now suddenly announced to the world that British rule was necessary in India because the two faiths were united! The logic of imperialism!

The later developments in the non-cooperation movement show that the Mohammedans and Hindus are absolutely one in their struggle. It is reported that 20,000 of them have left India and settled in Afghanistan. And that the Amir of Afghanistan welcomed them with great enthusiasm, giving them land, means of life, homes, and granting Hindus the same citizenship rights and opportunities to serve the government as the Mohammedan citizens received.

The non-cooperation movement is a direct action against the British government. It originated over the dismemberment of Turkey. Indian troops, Mohammedans and Hindus alike, are being used to subject Turkey, Persia, Mesopotamia and the Arabs. The movement is led by M. K. Gandhi, a Hindu, loved and respected in India as is no other man.

The reason for the movement is, not only that Indian troops are being used to subject other people, but for historic reasons as well. When war broke out, Indian Mussulmans were alarmed at Turkey's drift toward war. They sent warnings to the Turkish government not to enter the war against the Allies, who were fighting for democracy. And at the same time the British government agreed to protect the Mohammedan holy places in Arabia, Mesopotamia and other places.

Turkey did enter the war against the Allies, the cause of which must be known better to the Turks themselves than to us. But in the meantime the British statesmen had come out with pledges to respect the territorial integrity of Turkey, stating that the Allies had no intention of subjecting the Mohammedan countries. In India, Mohammedans enlisted in thousands from all over India, and they gave every possible help in money and other articles for the war. But the British were not satisfied and sent special private manifestoes to nobles and leaders, saying that the percentage of Muslim volunteers was too low, to which a special meeting was held in Poona, Bombay Presidency, and a reply sent that more than

45 per cent of the population of that province had enlisted.

These forces were sent to Mesopotamia, Africa and France, where entire regiments were wiped out fighting against their own religious brethren for what they believed to be a democratic principle. Some of the best regiments that perished were from Hyderabad, Bhopal and Rampur, all Mohammedan States.

The result is known to you all. A treaty has been forced upon Turkey which is based upon racial bigotry and religious fanaticism. Turkey, **the key to the control of the land routes to India**, is torn to pieces by the British Empire—in the name of Christianity and democracy! England at last controls all the routes to India, all the strategic strongholds for the continued subjection of India.

A Khalifat delegation, headed by a great Indian Moslem, went to Europe to enlighten public opinion there. He waited upon His Holiness the Pope, and was given a sympathetic and gracious hearing. He was planning to come to America, but when it seemed that even Europe was not prepared to listen, he did not come here, knowing that America had been kept in the dark about India and about Islamic demands.

But the head of the delegation, Mr. Mohamed Ali, has returned to India to work with Mr. Gandhi in the direct action movement against the British government. Mohamed Ali, and his brother, Shaukat Ali, are men of great power. During the war they were imprisoned by the British government because they spoke and acted the truth. During their imprisonment, their old mother, Abadi Bano, came from her home and

to the best of her ability carried on the work which they were prevented from doing. She appeared before the two great Congresses, the Indian National Congress and the All-Indian Moslem League, and spoke the aspirations of India. When the British government offered to parole her sons if they would abide by certain restrictions, she replied that if they did she would disown them as sons.

Today India is in revolution. A revolution without arms. A revolution where the people have nothing but truth on their side. They have successfully boycotted every British enterprise, and even British labor feels it. Because some seventeen British mills have been closed down and thousands of English workers are without work. This means the real test for the English working class. We, of course, know they will not endure it. We believe they will fight the battles of the British government in order to hold India, the source of their food and raw materials.

We know that we must depend upon ourselves alone. As Mohamed Ali said upon his return to India from Europe, "we must depend entirely on ourselves." "Swarajya, or independence, is our goal," he said; "non-cooperation is the means." Speaking further, he said:

"Steadfast organization, formation of Councils of Action, world-wide propaganda are the needs of the movement for India. The non-cooperation movement has come to stay and its success will be more phenomenal than in Ireland. Unity is our watchword."

—S. F. HUSAIN-KHAN.

Why We Fight

These are but old truths that we fight about,
Dreams born in ancient night;
The race-old strife to bring the right about—
That is for what we fight.

To rouse the slave and pleb from stupor, then
To end the rule of might;
And so of all mankind make supermen—
That is for what we fight.

To save all that we have inherited,
All we have built by right;
And so win peace, if peace is merited—
That is for what we fight.

To cleanse the earth of foul autocracy,
Bring freedom, life and light;
To haste the day of true democracy—
Ah, that is why we fight!

ROBIN LAMPSON.

International Aspects of the Indian Question

[This speech was delivered by Mr. Taraknath Das, Executive Secretary of the Friends of Freedom for India, before its National Convention, held in New York City, December 5, 1920—Editor.]

INDIA'S position in the British world empire can be better understood if we remember that the British Empire is really an Asiatic empire, and that India is the heart of it. With the acquisition of India, the British Empire began to expand in Africa and Australasia. British imperialists, such as Lord Curzon and others, term India as "the brightest jewel in the British crown." And they mean it. The day England loses India, she loses practically her entire empire in Asia, Africa, if not in Australasia. And that means the end of the British Empire.

General Homer Lea, in his monumental work, "The Day of the Saxon," has shown that India is the point of military strategy of the British Empire. And the economic situation in India under British rule has been shown by dozens of authors, among them "Country Life in India," by Herbert Compton, "Prosperous British India," by Sir William Digby, "Economic History of India," by Romesh C. Dutt, and dozens of others.

By her economic, military and political control of India, Britain is using India's strength for world imperialism and against the sovereignty of other nations and peoples. Thus, India's fight for independence is the fight for world freedom against world imperialism.

British world policies have been in the past, as at present, for the preservation and extension of the British Empire at any cost. This policy has been followed by the liberals, conservatives and coalitionists, and so far as we can see, the British Labor Party does not differ in any way from the former parties. The only difference is that the British Labor Party uses the word "alliance" instead of "Empire." It is the difference between brutal frankness and hypocrisy.

At the present time, British world policies are anti-Russian, anti-Japanese, and somewhat pro-American and pro-German. Japan menaces British supremacy and prestige in Asia, both in the political and commercial arena. Russia, with her revolutionary attitude toward subjected peoples, is a thunder of terror for Britain. Germany, crushed, is no longer an enemy of England, and thus British imperialists are trying to win her friendship and play her against French ambitions on the one hand and Russian revolutionary advances on the other. Britain has no love for America, but she wants America as her aid and instrument in fighting Japan in Asia. America and Japan, Britain's two serious competitors in

world commerce and world political supremacy, would both be seriously weakened or destroyed if they could be forced into a war. And for the same far reaching purpose, Britain has favored and aided the estrangement between China and Japan.

In other words, Britain's policy is to play one nation against another. Today she is playing Japan against America, Japan and America against Russia, and France against Russia. She knows that if her policy should fail, there would arise a world combination of all oppressed peoples like Ireland, Egypt, India, Persia, and such Powers as Russia, Germany, Japan, China and America, against her.

One of the first duties of Nationalist India is to expose and break the alliances of the British Empire. Nationalist India has started its own foreign relations with various nations. Details of this can not be given, as the world is confidential. But as a matter of general information, it is sufficient to say that it has relations with Russia, Germany, China, Egypt, Persia, Japan, Turkey, and other countries. And the Nationalist Indians are certainly one with the Irish Republic and the supporters of the Irish Republic.

India today is kept under British rule, not merely through the strength of the British Empire, but through the cooperation of other nations. India would not be subjected today, Ireland would not be subjected to the most brutal savagery in history were it not that other nations, America in particular, silently cooperate with the British Empire.

Therefore, the cornerstone of the foreign policy of Indian nationalists, or revolutionists, is to bring India in touch with all the peoples and the nations of the world in order that Britain's control of the foreign relations of the world shall be broken. Even the Indian Constitutional leaders—particularly those who are with Mr. M. K. Gandhi, are realizing the importance and necessity of establishing direct foreign relations with all the peoples and nations of the world.

The forces that have aided Great Britain in the past in keeping control of India are:

- (1) The Anglo-Japanese Alliance.
- (2) The Anglo-Russian Entente.
- (3) The Anglo-French Entente.
- (4) The Anglo-Italian tacit understandings;
- and
- (5) The Anglo-American Cooperation.

Some of these forces are still in operation against India. Others have turned in favor of India against British Imperialism. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, by which Japan is bound to guard British interests in Asia, and prevent an uprising in India, is still in force; but in spirit it is dead as far as Japan is concerned. Leading Japanese see now that Japan's greatest enemy is Britain, and that Britain is conspiring to destroy her just as she conspired against the destruction of Germany. The Japanese people realize that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has been a source of greater benefit to Britain than to Japan. Through it, Britain destroyed Old Russia, and Germany, her then formidable enemies.

Britain's drive against the sovereignty of all Asia is so obvious that anyone can see it. It is seen in her plan to establish the strongest naval base in Singapore, of increasing the navy of Australia, of her control and virtual annexation of the Chinese Province of Tibet, touching Mongolia and India. By her hold on Tibet, Britain has solidified her interests through Tibet, Szechuan and the Yangtze Valley. Her intrigue is seen in the British-aided anti-Japanese agitation in China and the United States. And she is master of China's economic life.

Therefore, the foreign policy of India is to be a friend of Japan, and a friend of all Asian countries.

Indo-Russian Relations

The relations between India and Russia are closer today than ever before. In the past, Imperial Russia was one of Britain's worst enemies. Britain fought that imperialism through Turkey and Japan that her supremacy in Asia might remain. Kipling, and others of his kind, spread hatred against Russia by telling the story of "the Bear that Walks on Two Legs." But then England made an alliance with Russia, her enemy, to subdue Asia, to divide up Persia, to bring Afghanistan under her influence, to annex Tibet, and to destroy Germany.

But imperialist Russia is gone. Revolutionary Russia is avowedly an enemy of imperialism in any form. She has given up her spheres of influence and extra-territorial rights in China, she has championed the cause of Persian, Egyptian, Turkish and Indian independence. She recognized the Irish Republic. She has entered into friendly relations with Afghanistan. And I can assure you that one of the principal reasons for the waging of war against Russia, has been Britain's fear that Soviet Russia will inspire and unite with the Indian people to destroy the British Empire.

Under these circumstances, what should be the policy of the Indian people, Indian nationalists or revolutionists, toward Russia? Our answer is "friendship" and alliance against the British Empire.

Russia fully realizes the importance of a free and independent India. The day India becomes

independent, that very day the dream of the British imperialists, among whom Lord Curzon is best known to you, becomes a myth, so far as the establishment of an empire from the Suez to Singapore is concerned.

That empire is a menace to the sovereignty of all Europe and Asia as well. It is a menace to Russia. Indian soldiers—so Britain plans—will be used as mercenaries to build that empire. The one enemy who can challenge her in doing this is Russia, who can give the moral inspiration and the material necessities for the overthrow of the British plan. And Russia is doing it. Thus, once and for all, let me, as one of the representatives of the Indian nationalists working for Indian independence, make it clear to the American public and the people of the world, that Independent India, as a part of its general policy of peaceful relations with all peoples and nations, cherishes the idea of establishing the most cordial and the closest possible relation with the Soviet Republic of Russia, the greatest enemy of British imperialism and the British Asiatic Empire.

Indo-French Relations

France, of all the imperial European nations, understands that the world war has shifted the balance of power from Europe to Asia. Various French statesmen, scholars and business men are in China and India, studying the situation. Today France is working with Japan just as if she were in alliance.

France, with her eyes on Asia, is regarding British plans with suspicion. She has experienced British duplicity in the past, so far as African and Asian questions are concerned. And today French and British interests are at variance in Asia and Africa.

France does Britain's bidding in such matters as might be to her benefit, such as the war against Soviet Russia. But free India would be willing to cooperate with France against British Imperialism in various parts of the world, provided the French government could guarantee India that she will not menace the independence of other nations or peoples. If France's motive is to follow a temporary and a make-shift policy in world affairs, she can remain contented with her friendly relations with Japan, alone. But if she has any far-sighted policy, she should remember that India, the natural enemy of Britain, is the friend of France, unless France merely wishes to duplicate Britain's plans of world conquests in Asia. But with mutual understanding, France and free India would be helpful to each other. If France wishes to lead in the world of idealism, as she did at the time of the French revolution and afterwards, then it is imperative for her to side with free India and with the other countries fighting British Imperialism.

The people of India will extend a friendly hand to France when France gives the distinct understanding that she will cease playing Britain's game, and will never use her strength or influence against the cause of human freedom. The same

condition India makes with other nations or peoples with whom she cooperates.

Indo-American Relations

The traditional policy of America has been for freedom and friendship with the people of Asia. If this policy is to be maintained, so far as India is concerned at least, if America favors freedom for three hundred and fifteen millions of people of India, then she should modify her policy toward Britain. No longer should her policy toward India be determined by Britain's policy.

The United States should be at peace with all people, and she should not give support or aid, either directly or indirectly, to any nation to enslave other people. Yet the United States becomes a factor in, and cooperates with, Great Britain when she passively watches the enslavement of the people of Egypt, Persia, Mesopotamia, India, Ireland, Tibet, Burma, the Straits Settlements, and other countries. Over four hundred and forty millions of people are deprived of their birthright of freedom by the British people. And America is as much responsible for it as the British Empire.

When the South American people tried to free themselves from the yoke of Spain, America championed them.

During the Great War, the United States championed the right of all oppressed peoples **except those under British domination.** The United States shows that she has a double standard of international morality by her actions. And if she were not a tool of British Imperialism, she would take a stand for world freedom against the British Empire. If she continues to support Britain in her wars of tyranny, then she will find herself classed with Britain in the minds of the oppressed of the earth, and the subject peoples will know that they must fight both Great Britain and the United States.

There was a time when the United States was regarded as the leader in the freedom of oppressed peoples. Will she now permit herself to be known as the partner, or instrument of the greatest slave holding nation on earth?

India will sooner or later achieve her independence. Her independence will be the source of Asian independence from imperialist policies. What will be the policy of independent India toward America?

The establishment of a free, independent Republic of India should be a tribute to the ideal established by America in 1776. Will America continue with her policy of aiding the British Empire when this occurs, as it is today?

Such a stand on the part of America will be disastrous for America in the long run. India has a population of three hundred and fifteen million. China, her close friend, has four hundred million. Russia, her ally, is going to be stronger. The Near and Middle Eastern countries are her close friends. This block of states will be in a position to insure the peace of the world, or to do the contrary. It is to the interest

of America to have peace with Asia. It is not to the interest of America to support the British Empire in its subjugation of Asia. Because, at the most, America is building upon sand if she does it. Asia will be free. And free Asia should be a friend of America.

Indo-Chinese Relations

The history of Indo-Chinese relations covers a period of over four thousand years of peace and close friendship. We—subjected India—saw for the first time Indian mercenaries used against China in the opium wars, by which Britain forced poison down the throats of the Chinese people. Britain poisoned the people of China, she has poisoned the people of India, and she is poisoning the people of the world by the opium which she grows in India, manufactures many derivatives, and sells as she would sell cigarettes.

We, the Indian revolutionists, are fully conscious of the injury to the world when we are subjected and forced to do the bidding of Britain. We regret that Indian soldiers and police are on Chinese soil today as watch-dogs of Britain. We regret that the tributary states of Tibet, Burma and other sections have been taken from China by Britain, through the use of Indian mercenaries. This has been possible only because of British sway in India. Because of British control of India, China has lost all her seaports, the richest valley in her country, the Yangtze Valley.

Nationalist India regrets this, and makes the solemn promise to the Chinese people and to the world that an independent India will aid China, actively, in doing away with foreign control of her soil and economic resources, with all extra-territorial rights, with spheres of influence, and will remain in friendship with and act with China in achieving absolute freedom and world progress. They will insure the peace of Asia by taking care of their own affairs and telling other people to do the same.

Indo-German Relations

From the standpoint of those who believe in the independence of Asian people, Germany of today is in a position to inspire confidence. Because Germany has been shorn of all territories in Asia. She can not conquer Asia, India, or any other countries. In the past, India never once suffered from Germany. But on the other hand, the Indian people had in Germany their best customer and a friend. A friend, because Germany was a natural enemy of Britain; and the natural enemies of Britain are the friends of India, and we are their friends.

Indo-German relations will depend solely upon the world situation, and that in turn will depend largely upon the German attitude toward Asia. If Germany joins with Russia in the policy of aiding the Asian peoples to gain independence, and restore full sovereignty of China and India, then Germany will be our close friend.

(To be concluded)

—TARAKNATH DAS.

The Parting of the Ways

INDIA at last is ready and determined to destroy and defy the tyranny and savagery of an invader, whose brutal sway has inflicted incalculable wrongs upon the peace-loving people. The travails and agonies have given birth to a United India whose motto is: Self-reliance. The mendicant attitude has forever been renounced, and India will no longer excite compassion by moping, puling, and whining for British justice.

British justice has been tested at Amritsar, where thousands of innocent men, women and children have been brutally and cold-bloodedly massacred. It is a kind of justice which seeks to create dissension between the Hindus, Muhammadans and Sikhs by adopting the policy of divide and rule. It is a kind of justice which has created artificial famines to impoverish, effeminate and deteriorate the Indian masses, and has devised ways and means to tax the people to the last drop of their blood, so that,

"All these ills and thousand untold
Destroy our liberty and rob our gold."

India has got nothing from England excepting ill-usage, slavery, and chains. The manhood of the people has been used against the countries which were India's natural allies and friends, and against whom there was no bitter feeling. The English justice is nothing but cant and hypocrisy. Like the elephant the English have two sets of teeth, one for public show and another for private use.

Under the circumstances, the people of India can take up no other better weapon than withholding cooperation from the British government. The people will be traitor to the cause of humanity if they further assist the arch gaoler of the world. They have, therefore, inaugurated the non-cooperation movement.

Speaking of the non-cooperation movement Mahatma M. K. Gandhi, the leader of the people, says: "Non-cooperation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice. Non-cooperation in an angry atmosphere is an impossibility." He also admits that "If India possessed the sword, she would not have listened to the gospel of non-cooperation."

The Indian National Congress, non-official Parliament, indorsing the non-cooperation movement has passed the following resolution at its special session held in Calcutta, last September, 1920:

"That this Congress is of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive, non-violent non-cooperation (with the British government in India) until India's wrongs are righted and Swarajya (self-rule based on undivided sovereignty) is established."

Thus the parting of the ways has begun. And India is united in her efforts against the English invasion of hearth and home. Terror no longer scares them. Fearlessly and courageously the people of India are marching to obtain Swarajya. The continuation of "English robbery has cemented the patriots and the heroes forever."

The program of the non-cooperation movement has already brought successful results. It has awakened the spirit of freedom. It has made a radical departure from old time Indian politics. It has awakened in the mind the glories of the past independence. It has inspired the people to shun the British goods. It has brought home to the people of England that the British banditti must be suppressed.

The Indian masses, without minding the danger and difficulties, are determined and resolute to make every sacrifice to make themselves free, for they realize that there is no happiness without freedom.

In this parting of the ways between the people of India and England, one thing is very clear: that is the beginning of War of Independence.

Patriots of India, be steadfast in your fight for freedom. America, the land of the free and home of the brave does sympathize with you, and will give every moral help to you and to the oppressed everywhere. America is glad that you are severing all connection with those who persecute and revile you. The sooner you break all ties with the oppressor and the autocrat, the better.

—BHAGAT SINGH.

Throughout the New Year *The Independent Hindustan* will come to you every month. With all good wishes from.....

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Notes and News

National Convention of the Friends of Freedom for India

FOR the first time in the history of America, the American people, in accordance with their love for liberty, have decided to appoint a commission of five to go to India and investigate the charges of outrages and persecution against the British rule in India, at a national convention held under the auspices of the Friends of Freedom for India at Hotel McAlpin, New York City, December 5, 1920.

It was the first convention of the Friends of Freedom for India to present the case of India, its present situation and its future aspirations to the American public, as well as ways and means of American aid to the people of India in achieving their independence. Over 400 delegates, representing 100 organizations, attended the convention. They came from American, Irish and labor organizations and from various Socialist party branches.

Professor Robert Morss Lovett of the University of Chicago and President of the Friends of Freedom for India, introduced the permanent Chairman of the day, Mr. Gilbert Roe, the noted attorney of New York City. Mr. Roe said that the British Empire was built on the principle of colonial exploitation, a principle which must go as feudalism and slavery went.

"We in America cannot stand aside and say that what happens in India or Ireland is none of our concern," he asserted. "We as a nation are dedicated to the principle that governments derive their power from the consent of the governed. Whatever threatens the peace of the world threatens our peace, and whatever nation today seeks by force to govern and selfishly exploit a great and alien people threatens the peace of the world."

The most interesting part of the program was a symposium of "Conditions and Problems of India," discussed by the representative Indians. "America's Duty Toward India's Independence Movement" was discussed by the American citizens. Among others, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar on "Education in India"; Mr. Basanta Koomar Roy on "Effects of Economic Exploitation in India"; Mr. S. F. Husain-Khan and Mr. T. H. K. Rezmie on "Mohammedan-Hindu Question"; Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghose on "India's Fight for Independence"; Mr. Taraknath Das on "International Aspects of the Indian Question," and Mr. Mohamed Ali Sarwat, correspondent of the Egyptian

paper *El Akbar*, spoke on the Egyptian Nationalist movement.

The following among others took part in the discussion:

Major Eugene F. Kinkead, Frank P. Walsh, M. Toscan Bennett, Roger N. Baldwin, Mary White Ovington, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Professor Franklin Edgerton of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich, Royal J. France, Hon. Cornelius C. Moore of Providence, Rose Shneiderman, Seymour Stedman, Peter Golden, Dr. J. A. Bullinger, Edward F. McSweeney of Boston, Fred Biedenkapp, Elizabeth Gurly Flynn, Dudley Field Malone, Josephine B. Bennett, Rev. John H. Dooley, Samuel Rabinovitch, Abraham Lefkowitz.

In speaking of India's struggle for independence, Mr. Ghose said: "Today we are using moral and material forces to compel England to withdraw her army of occupation from India. If they fail, we shall not hesitate to use physical force, if necessary, to the limit. We are three hundred million strong."

"Bloodshed can be avoided," reiterated Mr. Ghose, "if the moral and material forces of the world compel England to withdraw her army of occupation and retire to the confines of her insignificant little island."

"The day England loses India the British Empire falls like a house of cards," stated Mr. Das. "If India knows that America will not aid England, the Indian revolution will come much more quickly. America should not have a double standard in dealing with Asia. We expect America not to go back on her tradition."

The Student revolt in India was described by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, who told of the part which the students of Aligarh and other universities were taking in the boycott movement against the British government.

Mr. S. F. Husain-Khan denied reports that the Hindus and Mohammedans quarrel among themselves, and said that the British government tried to foment quarrels for the purpose of keeping the various communities divided.

"Hindus and Mohammedans are united on political questions," he stated, "and with them are the Christians, the Sikhs and the Parsees."

Charges that the five great English universities in India are established to provide a supply

of slaves, clods and workers for the British administrative machinery were made by T. H. K. Rezmie, a student at Columbia University.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

1. Greetings to Mahatma M. K. Gandhi, Messrs. Mohammed Ali and Saikat Ali, the leaders of the Swaraj (self-rule based on undivided sovereignty), and Non-Cooperation movements.

2. Greetings to the leaders of the movement for Independence in Ireland, Egypt, Mesopotamia and South Africa.

3. Condemning persecution of the political refugees and calling upon the incoming administration to protect traditional right of asylum for political refugees on American soil and to sever all connection with the British agents seeking to prosecute those representatives of the Indian people who are lawfully presenting their cause to the people of the United States.

4. Petitioning the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate to grant a hearing to the representatives of the Friends of Freedom for India in case the United States is called upon to acquiesce, tacitly at least, to any provision of a league, association or international arrangement whereby the United States will have to recognize British rule in India.

5. A fair trial by jury of all those aliens who are threatened with deportation.

6. Supporting the H. R. 585, pending in the United States Congress, which condemns the British opium monopoly.

7. Cabled to Mahatma M. K. Gandhi, the leader of the Swaraj movement in India:

"Master of yourself, leader of a great people, forger of a new weapon whereby the spirit of a nation may engage in a victorious struggle with the material force of the oppressing stranger;

"We, the American Friends of Freedom for India, assembled in a convention in New York City, U. S. A., with delegates representing several millions of people, send you greetings.

"May your courage and self-sacrifice continue to inspire the Indian people, and lead them to attain their independence as we attained ours."

8. Indictments against the British rule in India were made:

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the first annual convention of the American Friends of Freedom for India, acting upon such evidence and reports as have been represented to us by representative Indians and upon such documentary evidence as is available to all, make the following charges against the alien rule of Great Britain in India:

(1) We charge that for over 150 years the official oligarchy of Great Britain has ruled and dominated India in the exclusive interest of the British Empire and that such rule has been opposed to the welfare of all the Indian people.

(2) We charge that as a direct result of British exploitation the native industrial system

has broken down and has almost wholly disappeared, so that workers in the native crafts have been forced to abandon their accustomed and preferred callings to work on the land and in factories in order to provide such foodstuffs and other products as British imperial necessities demand.

(3) We charge that, as general ignorance and illiteracy were a necessary condition to the successful exploitation of the resources and people of India, Great Britain has steadily and persistently cut off the means of education, as is evidenced by the educational appropriation of \$1,838,338 out of an annual budget of about \$600,000,000. As a result the Indian people of today have not opportunities equal to those which existed prior to the time that British rule seized India.

(4) We charge that, through a carefully fostered system of scanty credit, excessive taxation, enforced exportation and beggarly pay, Great Britain has literally starved the people of India by the millions, in spite of the fact that India, left to herself, would be able to raise sufficient food to nourish her entire population.

(5) We charge that under British rule native women have been drawn into the horrors of prostitution in order to satisfy the lust of the soldiery who, for the purpose of supporting the mastery of the foreign rule, have been maintained under unnatural conditions in tremendous numbers at the expense of the Indian people.

(6) We charge that, with the double object of financial extortion and of drugging the free spirit of India, Great Britain has devised a system of opium monopoly and traffic which not only deliberately seeks to corrupt the body and mind of the Indian people, but to extract the last penny from those whom it succeeds in corrupting, and further, that the responsible managers of this system have been sought to create new drug victims among the little children.

(7) We charge that, under British rule, deeds of violence, deaths from plague, venereal disease, sickness and misery have increased.

(8) We charge that British rule has sought to destroy the indigenous culture of India, its philosophy, art and literature, to crush the pride of the people and to alienate them from their traditions and to hold them up to the contempt of the world as an ignorant people.

(9) We charge that the policy of the British rule in India has been systematic destruction of initiative in administration and executive control of all public functions, in order to make self-government in India impossible in the course of time, and on the partial success of which policy the British justify before the world the necessity of the prolongation of their control.

(10) We charge that during the past few years a course of ruthless suppression and oppression has been entered upon by Great Britain in order to overcome the rising tide of indignation and the demand for freedom which have

been the inevitable result of foreign rule, so that today in all of India, the native population is deprived of the very last vestige of those human rights which our Declaration of Independence declared inalienable.

(11) We charge that there is today a demand throughout the whole of India for independence from the rule of Great Britain; that this demand is based, among others, upon acts similar to those of which we complained in our Declaration of Independence.

(12) We charge that Great Britain has, in order to conceal her iniquitous conduct, created an extensive system of propaganda and espionage and persecution throughout the world, which has been skillfully employed in this country, and that all real news and correct account of what is now happening in India has been wholly suppressed except for what come through by underground means at the risk of the life and liberty of the messenger.

Therefore be it Resolved, That, in view of the charges hereinbefore made upon what seems to us to be good and sufficient evidence, we do hereby authorize and direct the Executive Committee of the Friends of Freedom for India, acting by and with the advice of the National Council and the Hindusthanee Advisory Board, to appoint a committee of five which shall be known as the India Investigation Commission, whose duty it shall be to proceed at once to India to make a thorough and impartial investigation of these charges and to report back to the Friends of Freedom for India and to the American people, together with their recommendations in the premises.

Senator Norris on India's Independence

Nothing but complete erasure of the entire treaty, as formed at the Versailles conference, can do justice to the people of the world, and in particular to the desire of the Indian revolutionaries for independence, declared United States Senator George W. Norris, speaking at a mass meeting in the Lexington Opera House, December 5, 1920.

The meeting was held in connection with the National Convention called by the Friends of Freedom for India to enlist the co-operation of the Americans for the cause of India's Independence from British rule.

In course of his speech Senator Norris championed the cause of the workers for India's Independence, and made a plea for self-determination for Ireland and Soviet Russia.

"Had the pre-war pledges of our leaders been carried out," he said, "we would have had a peace treaty that we could have said 'Amen' to. But in it all there is one gratifying thing. The speeches of the war to recruits were not altogether in vain. Having heard the message of freedom once, it is not forgotten so easily.

"In substance, the treaty offered us carries

out the secret treaties of the Allies to divide up the world. These very same treaties were made before the war. The victory that was won on the battlefield was given away by the autocrats of Versailles, whose treaty was founded on treachery and deceit. It was then when the heart of the world was broken.

"They had made specific promises and broken them. While they gave their promises, their pockets were bulging in an attempt to hide the secret treaties.

"But they do not realize the great spread of the desire for liberty. This spirit has moved the people of India, Ireland and Egypt. From the day of the armistice it has been necessary for England to use machine guns and bombs in these countries.

"Reservations cannot make the peace treaty good. The sin and the treachery will remain. Nothing but an amendment will do. That amendment must be to strike the whole damn thing out."

Among other speakers were Mr. Philip Francis, editorial writer for the New York American, who presided; Mr. Basanta Koomar Roy, editor of the India News Service; and Mr. Joseph Schlossberg of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Mr. Francis said that an alliance of the Soviet government with the workers of Asia would mean the death of Great Britain. Mr. Schlossberg brought a message of solidarity for the class-conscious Hindu workers.

"The Amalgamated knows what solidarity is," said Mr. Schlossberg. "It is made up of thirty different nationalities. We are now on the eve of a lockout by the employers. Because we know how much the belief in a just cause is worth fighting for, we extend our fullest sympathy to the Hindu revolutionary movement."

Mr. Basanta Koomar Roy aroused the audience to a high pitch of enthusiasm with a plea for co-operation between all the oppressed peoples of the lands controlled by the British Empire. "From the peaks of the Himalayas to the gardens of Ceylon," he concluded, "the students, the artisans and the women of my motherland are girding themselves for a telling blow against the oppressors."

A Hindu Lady Elected as a Municipal Councillor

A lady has been elected as a Municipal Councillor in Indore, a modern city in Central Provinces, which is under the rule of the Indians themselves.

It is to be hoped that the example will be followed by other municipalities. Whenever there is any opportunity, the people of India are ready to adopt the progressive methods. If India would not have been under the British, radical reorganization in political and social institutions could have been expected.

All-India Trade Union Congress

How labor consciousness is awakened all over the world will be evident from the fact that recently in Bombay an All-India Trade Union Congress, having the representation of over five million organized wage earners, was held. Mr. Lajpat Rai was in the chair.

The ways and methods have been devised whereby it is hoped that the entire labor of India will be organized and brought under one federation. It is encouraging to notice that the Indian labor is resolved to take its proper place in the economic scheme of the society. Indian labor must recognize the international significance of the labor movement, and should bear it in mind that the cause of labor is one. Our only wish is that they may not lapse into the old political plottings, but come out at once with a definite and clear economic program which will reorganize Indian society on an entirely new basis and which may set an example to the toiling masses of the world.

More Revolt of Students in India

The example of the students at Aligarh College, the famous institution of learning in the Moslem world, who boycotted the British government college, has been followed by the students all over India. As a result, a National University has been established in Aligarh, having Mr. Mohammed Ali, a noted scholar, as its president.

The students of Khalsa College, the Islamia College and the D. A. V. College at Lahore have gone on strike. The Calcutta Madrasah has been forced by the students to change to a national college.

The students are holding meetings everywhere and demanding that the schools and colleges should have no affiliation with the British government universities. They have formed volunteer corps, who go to the guardians and parents and prevail upon them to dissociate with the British.

In the meanwhile, as a part of the Non-Cooperation movement, the leaders are devising ways and means to establish national schools and colleges exclusively under national control.

Martial Law Again in the Punjab

Owing to the revolutionary spirit prevalent in the Punjab, as the British government communicque states, the Lieutenant Governor has declared the districts of Lahore, Amritsar, Gujranwala and Sheikhupura as proclaimed areas. It means that no meeting will be allowed to be held without the permission of the British officials.

The curfew law will be introduced, and the hideousness of the British terror in the Punjab in 1919 will be revived.

We can be certain of the results of repression. Martial law will instill into the people a martial spirit, and it will be a short cut to freedom.

A Federation of the Peasants' Associations

Over five thousand people recently assembled to organize a Federation of the Indian Peasants in Oudh, India. Within the last few months, over one hundred and fifty Kisan Sabhas (Peasants' Unions) have been established in various villages of the districts of Partabgarh and Sultanpur in the united provinces. The objects of the newly organized OUDH KISHAN SABHA (Federation of the Indian Peasants) are as follows:

1. To improve the conditions of the tenantry.
2. To promote amity between Kishans and Zemindars.
3. To do everything for the advancement of the cause of the country.
4. To establish Panchayats (arbitration courts) for the settlement of all disputes between tenants.

Seventy to eighty per cent of the people of India are agriculturists. It is therefore a very hopeful sign that they are organizing themselves. That the co-operation of the labor and peasant federations will infuse a new conception in the future politico-economic program can never be doubted.

A Hindu Lady Demands Absolute Independence of India

In the heart of London, a crowded conference was held in the latter part of November, 1920, under the auspices of the London Indian Association, to discuss about the crisis in India. A great many distinguished persons were present to take part in the deliberations. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the famous Hindu poetess, scholar and lecturer, opened the discussion. The central idea which moves the Indian situation, according to Mrs. Naidu, is the absolute and complete independence of India and secession from the British Empire. Her speech is very significant, because she is a leading representative of Indian womanhood. A part of her address is as follows:

"We are here tonight to speak of the present crisis, but every crisis has a history. Every crisis is a climax of certain sorrows and of causes that lead to that crisis. I need not take you back even five years for an adequate understanding of the crisis in India today. . . . Today the people of India are asking not only self-government in

the empire like colonies enjoy, but **AN ABSOLUTE INDEPENDENCE**—self-determination, the right to choose our mode of living, the right to form our own alliances, the right to wage war, fulfilling our destiny as friends or enemies of any given power of the modern world.

"That is the position today. The time has gone by for mere rhetoric. Seven years ago we stood up and made speeches of brilliant rhetoric and the government in Westminster did not blink an eyelash. Today we have to appear with the far-reaching responsibility of every word we utter being realized by a fully awakened and resolute nation in India. What has led up to this crisis? What has been the process that the empire confers? That, in essence, is the crisis in self-government. There has been repression upon repression, violation upon violation, of every pledge given to a subject people, and of every birth-right.

"Last year we saw the passing of the Bill of Reform for India, which raised the Indian people to the height of the lowliest British miner in Yorkshire. . . . Mr. Montague asked us to forget the past. Why, he asked, should the living hold comradeship with the sorrows of the dead?

"Mussulman and Hindu are together in this crisis. Both have the common heritage of slavery today and both have the common hope of freedom tomorrow. How troublous for me has been my struggle against the forces of bureaucracy over the matter of the Punjab. What did it matter that a few women of the Punjab were martyred and a few children were killed by martial law? What did it matter? Life is cheap in India. Do they not die by millions when there is influenza or cholera? There must be sacrifice for the preservation of the imperial prestige. My answer to that is, that to forget is the very confession of a country's cowardice and slavery. Does beaten Germany forget? It is for the victorious England, for the victorious Allies to forget, and then forgiveness is a purifying message. When England forgets willingly that indemnity she demands of Germany, I will lead a crusade against those who demand reparation for the murdered people of the Punjab. Our aspirations and ideals in India do not mean a campaign of hate. There may be sporadic disturbances here, spasmodic enthusiasm there. I am not concerned with the details today. I am concerned with the great ideal and what it will mean if you are brave enough. It means the most intensive development of the nation's resources and energies. It means if you are loyal, if you are brave, if you are willing to sacrifice in deed and not merely on the platform, it means our own education, our legal arbitration; it means the revival of industry, the conserving of our own fiscal possibilities, it means the united demand of a nation for the right to live or die according to its own choice."

"I shall soon return to India," Mrs. Naidu concluded, "in the very thick of the struggle, and

my message to them is that the ideal cannot be destroyed. No matter how weakly it may be presented, the truth will come out. No matter how disloyal you and I may be—shame to us—India cannot remain in her slavery. In spite of martial law, in spite of every repression and every tyranny, India will reach that goal of self-realization for which you and I have agonized today with our prayers, our hopes, our suffering, and I trust our sacrifice."

The Indian Labor in Fiji

The following is an excerpt of a letter from a friend who lately visited the Fiji Islands, where the indentured labor system until recently was existing:

We only had four hours there (Fiji), but we utilized the time by meeting the most active representative Indians who were left there, since Manilal has been deported, and learned all we could from them. We are taking back some materials for the Indian papers, and have got Mr. Manilal's address in New Zealand, and will try and get in touch with him. The condition of our people in Fiji is pitiable in the extreme, and there are thousands and thousands of applications for repatriation—and apart from the economic hardships which weigh most heavily and the causes of all the misery and dissatisfaction, the status of any Indian there is terrible. Educational facilities there are none, except a few mission schools, whose chief object is to proselytize and alienate, and the economic pressure deprives the people of any opportunity to improve themselves physically, mentally or morally. There are schools and colleges for the Fijians—but none for the Indians, who are refused admittance to either English or Fijian schools, and can only go to the mission schools. There is no ill feeling at all between Hindus and Moslems. The greatest friendliness and co-operation prevail; caste and purdah are not strictly observed.

"You will be delighted to hear that in the recent strike the moral force of the women was very great, and they exhorted their men to hold out, even when the latter were weakening. A women's association had been formed to educate and elevate the women and children, but owing to the deportation of Mr. and Mrs. Manilal and the terrorization subsequent to the strike, it has become inactive. The only section of Indians who are not with their countrymen are the converted Christians (who receive pecuniary benefits), and a few, as one finds everywhere, who will always look to immediate self-interest rather than the interest of the community as a whole. The half castes, too, are favored by the Englishmen and side with them. The restrictions on the Indians are galling. No Indian of any degree may leave his residence after 11 P. M. This rule applies to Fijians, but not to any Englishman or Mongolians, also the bars are closed to

Indians and Fijians. The latter regulation appears to be beneficial, but the distinction is to be deprecated. If prohibition is necessary, let it be applied to all, as in the U. S. A.

"The huts and dwelling places are miserable. I was surprised to learn that the Indian population in Fiji is 60,000, the Fijian 90,000 and the English 5000. There is good material in Fiji, but they suffer from lack of leaders and guidance. A good leader or a few men could do a lot to awaken the people into a realization of the conditions and a desire to elevate themselves. There is one Dr. Mitra, some distance from Suva, who has attempted to do some educational work, and we met a Moulavie, who has recently come there for the spiritual uplift of his people.

"The desire for repatriation is universal—or to go to Demerara. You remember South America offers field for Indian immigration. It might be diverted from Fiji with advantage. Some of the obstacles in the way of repatriation are lack of accommodation in steamers, and many of the people cannot sell their land or possessions except at a great sacrifice. The planters realize and admit they cannot get on without Indian labor, but they are not willing to even give them wages that they can live on, let alone other conditions.

"What a contrast between Honolulu and Suva! Honolulu is developed by enterprise, science and education. The people have the same opportunities and advantages and show it in their development, and yet it has been under America a less time than Suva under the British. I don't think any Hawaiian would wish to change place with a Fijian, although throughout the world it is bruited that the English are the best colonizers."

What Empire Means to India

Mahatma M. K. Gandhi, the most respected leader of the people, in an open letter to every Englishman in India makes the following charges against the British Imperialism:

Exploitation of India's resources for the benefit of Great Britain.

An ever-increasing military expenditure, and a civil service, the most expensive in the world.

Extravagant working of every department in utter disregard of India's poverty.

Disarmament and consequent emasculation of

a whole nation lest an armed nation might imperil the lives of a handful of Englishmen in our midst.

Traffic in intoxicating liquors and drugs for the purpose of sustaining a top-heavy administration.

Progressively repressive legislation in order to suppress an evergrowing agitation seeking to give expression to a nation's agony.

Degrading treatment of Indians residing in British Dominions.

Disregard of our feelings by glorifying the Punjab administration and flouting the Mussulman sentiment.

The charges are by no means exhaustive. Mr. Gandhi forgot to mention about the taxation, which in India is the heaviest in the world, in proportion to per capita income of the people. From twenty-five to seventy-five per cent land revenues are exacted from the ryots—poor peasants. The famine is therefore chronic and takes the tolls of thousands of lives every year.

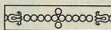
A Tilak Memorial

Mr. Shyamaji Krishnavarma, editor of the *Indians Sociologist*, has offered a sum of Rs. 10,000 for the endowment of a Lectureship in honor of the late Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, whose self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of his country's liberation from a galling foreign yoke have justly earned for him the lasting gratitude of all his countrymen. The following are the conditions:

1. That the Lectureship shall be called The Bal Gangadhar Tilak Lectureship, in connection with which a lecture or lectures should be delivered annually by a competent scholar or statesman of any country or nationality.

2. That the lecturer shall be selected, for the first three years, by Mr. M. K. Gandhi, the leader of the non-cooperation movement in India, and in subsequent years annually by the President of the Indian National Congress for the time being, who shall fix the lecturer's remuneration, the time and place for the delivery of the lecture or lectures to be the same as the Indian National Congress determines its own assembly.

3. That the annual lecturer shall discourse on the best means of acquiring and safeguarding *Swarajya* or National Independence consistent with freedom, justice and the right of asylum accorded to political refugees.



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Can a liberty-loving American remain silent when inhuman brutalities, oppression, persecution and massacre are being carried on by the most militaristic nation in the world? Did we not make pledges to make the world safe for democracy? Do you know one-fifth of the whole human race is struggling for freedom? What would you have done if someone spent millions of dollars to keep you ignorant?

That is precisely what the British are doing in all parts of the world. You must know the truth. We, the American citizens, have organized

The Friends of Freedom For India

with a view: To maintain the right of asylum for political refugees from India.
To present the case for the independence of India.

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The Independent Hindustan

INDEPENDENCE

*A Monthly Review of
Political, Economic,
Social and Intellectual
Independence of India*

Vol. I.

FEBRUARY, 1921

No. 6

*Peasants Revolt
in India*

India's Decision:

*Attainment of Swaraj and
Refusal to Pay Taxes to the
British Government*

Notes and News

5 WOOD STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, U. S. A.

Two Dollars the Year

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THE INDEPENDENT HINDUSTAN

A MONTHLY REVIEW

of Political, Economic, Social and Intellectual Independence of India.

VOLUME I.

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VOL. I

SAN FRANCISCO, FEBRUARY, 1921

No. 6

:: Editorials ::

Peasants' Revolt in India

The Peasants' Revolt, which is just rolling on, signifies the beginning of a new war of independence in India.

It is reported that the revolution, which started in the Rai Bareilly district, southwest of Lucknow, has spread to Sultanpur, sixty miles to the northeast, to Faizabad district of the Oudh province, and to Muzafferpur in the Bengal presidency. Six hundred persons have been arrested in Sultanpur alone. Troops and armed police have been summoned to suppress the revolutionary outbreaks. Much bloodshed has resulted, it is stated, from fighting and clash.

The immediate cause, the government dispatch states, is the efforts of the British to scuttle "Soviets" established by the peasantry. The British government is afraid to send soldiers as the people are threatening to annihilate them.

It is a happy augury that the peasants have taken the initiative. Nearly eighty per cent of the people of India are agriculturists, and their loyalty to land and tenacity of purpose is a tremendous factor in making the revolutionary movement a success. It should be recollected that it was the farmers who were the principal instrumentalities in the American War of Independence. And even today, the success of Soviet Russia is due to the peasants who are assured of security and safety of their small holdings.

Moreover, five million industrial workers in India have been organized. They are determined to paralyze the British industrial process. Strikes are being organized among the employees in the postal, telegraph, and railway services. Non-payment of taxes has been included in the program of the Indian National Congress, and the Indian soldiers and police are urged to boycott the British and serve, instead, in the revolutionary army.

Bloody warfare is not the aim of the Indian people. But they have made up their mind to win the independence of their country at all costs. The responsibility of brutalizing the human nature, therefore, entirely rests with the British government.

All those who are really sincere and honest

in their belief in freedom and independence must see to it that nothing is put in the way of Indian revolutionaries who are actuated with a desire to usher a new era in the economic, political and social world.

To the Indians, we urge that they must not be slackers in the struggle for freedom. Education, wealth, energy, intelligence and service are demanded of them in the supreme crisis in India today.

India's Decision

In the last session of the Indian National Congress held in Nagpur, it has been decided that no taxes are to be given to the British government. The British council, courts, school and colleges and commerce are to be boycotted. The national educational institutions and court of arbitrations are to be established.

A perfect program of action has been outlined. The national volunteer corps to be known as the "Indian National Service" will see to it that the decision of the Congress is carried out effectively in every village.

The Congress clearly sets forth its object as "the attainment of *Swaraj* (self-rule based on undivided sovereignty) by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means."

That secession from the British Empire is the goal of the Indian people needs perhaps no explanation.

The political conditions around India indicate that if the people use intelligently the will-force, the realization of their wishes is not remote. There should not be any illusion about the peaceful withdrawal of the British. It can be said with certainty that a duplicate of the Blacks and Tans will be turned loose among the peace-loving people of India.

It is an opportune time for the friends of India to serve a great cause of humanity. They can at this moment, through their respective governments, compel England to withdraw as speedily as possible, thereby saving the world from bitterness, indignation and revenge which cripple the fineness of human life.

Recognition of the Republic of Ireland

Time and again the people of Ireland have advocated peace. Over eighty per cent of the population have registered their votes in favor of secession from the British Empire and of the establishment of the Republic of Ireland. It is up to the Irish people to decide what form of government they should adopt, and what alliances they should make. Every thinking person knows that the progressive ideas will be accepted much more readily in free Ireland than in foreign dominated Ireland. If for no other reason, but a single fact should be conceded that Ireland should belong to the Irish people and they have every right to manage their own affairs in their own way unhindered and unhampered by any alien.

In face of these simple truths, the English have inaugurated a reign of terror. No reason can change the mentality of those who are dominated by criminal instinct and are bent upon bayonet and brigandage. There is no dearth of facts to convince even a clam-brained person. The crimes committed by the Blacks and Tans of an organized government are infinitely worse than the outrages perpetrated by Germany, during the time of war, upon Belgium.

Here is an opportunity for the people of the United States to serve a great cause of humanity. They may urge their government to recognize the Republic of Ireland. The motto which the Sinn Feiners have adopted will steer them through storms and stress, today or tomorrow, in spite of the criminal conspiracy of the English. But the American people can still prove to the world that the immortal words of the Declaration of Independence are enflamed in every American home and hearth.

It must be borne in mind that bankrupt as she is, England will never dare to invite any friction with the United States. The entire British Empire is ablaze with fire of discontent. With the cause of Ireland is bound up the cause of India, Persia, Egypt, Mesopotamia and other east and near eastern countries. Dismemberment of the British Empire will give freedom to three-fourth of humanity. Breathes there a person who does not rejoice over such a prospect?

India—suffering, struggling and revolutionary India—has already, through the Indian National Congress, the Sikh League, the All-India Moslem League and other representative national bodies, expressed the desire to make a common cause with the Irish. The day of reckoning for the British is undoubtedly near. And at this time, the American people can again demand affection and love from the world if they stand by the side of the oppressed people of the earth for liberty, justice and righteousness.

A King's Representative

The people of India will attach very little importance to the appointment of Lord Reading as the Viceroy of India. There are a great many sharp spikes on the throne of India today. Lord Reading's sorry plight will only amuse the morose.

In view of the war of independence which has just begun, the people have no time to concern themselves with the coming and going of a king's representative. As long as the British have the strength to dominate, a slave will be in India to rule the people and throttle their aspirations.

But very few perhaps have tried to acquaint themselves with the ulterior motive of the British government in selecting Lord Reading, a gentleman of the Jewish race, as the head of the British government in India at this time.

The British are prompted with the same desire as they had when they took control of Palestine and appointed a Jewish High Commissioner there.

England is bankrupt. She is anxious to win the sympathy and confidence of the Jewish people. If a few Rothschilds help, there may be a possibility for the British to recuperate. We will not be at all surprised to find that a good natured Mr. Henry Ford has been played into the hands of the British propagandists to inaugurate anti-semitic propaganda. It is for the sordid interest of England, she desires that the Jewish people should be hated in America, Europe and Asia.

In making a few Jewish people "Lords" and "Sirs" and enslaving them to high British offices, England is carrying on a clever piece of imperialistic policy.

As the situation in India is very tense, the British are determined to sacrifice Lord Reading at the altar of imperialism. England thinks that she can thereby alienate the affection and respect of the Indian people from the Jewish race, and vice versa.

In this England is sadly mistaken. The Jewish people as well as the Indians know full well that if any injury is done to Lord Reading in India or Sir Herbert Samuel in Jerusalem, it would be because they represent the British government.

The Jewish people are intelligent enough to understand that England dares not to send an Englishman to India, at the time of revolution, as she did not, during the time of German onrush in the last war in the fields of France and Flanders, where Indians, Canadians and other Colonials were placed before the German machine guns.

We are confident that the Jewish people, whose fine culture, intelligence and understanding are adjusting the world's relationship, have sympathy and interest in India's struggle for independence.

India's Decision

In an unequivocal, unambiguous, and unmistakable term, India has definitely determined her own destiny. The people no longer desire to be dictated to decide what form of life they should live. In the momentous period of world's history, India's intelligence has stood the acid test and it has been proven beyond any question or doubt that the fate of India cannot be thrown into the driftway of destruction and degradation to be tossed and tumbled.

In the last sessions of the Indian National Congress, held in Nagpur, the people, through their duly elected representatives, have spoken out their minds. The Congress has unanimously adopted as its creed—*Swaraj* (independence based on undivided sovereignty), which the grand old man of India, late Dada Bhai Naoroji, set before the country as its goal in the Congress held in Calcutta, 1906.

The object of the Congress has been made plain, clear and distinct. It says that "the object of the Congress is the attainment of *Swaraj* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." The subtle directness of the language has a great political significance.

The Nationalist leaders recognize that to make fetish of an idea of British connection is suicidal to the emancipation movement as well as to the growth of the individuality in the nationhood.

Those who were crying for political lollipops—Home Rule within the British Empire—found out their sad mistakes. The question often suggests if India is intelligent enough to take care of herself, why, then, fetter the destiny of India with that of England?

England never represents the decency and fineness of human life. She is grotesque and crude, though foreign associations have polished her to an extent. She delights in brutality. The vast majority of the English people is enslaved—enslaved to tradition, capitalism and kingship. Fear dominates their spirit, and through frenzied feverishness they desire to subdue wealth and races so that they can have the mastery of the world. Auto-intoxicated as they are, it is futile attempt to make the English people change their angle of vision.

Can India, with her fine culture, sense of universal kinship, and peaceful mind, associate with England whose name stinks to the nostrils of the cultured people of the world? No.

It is for this reason, India has thought fit to break the hegemony of the British Empire. This decision of the Indian National Congress definitely determines the task before the people. The Congress consciously takes upon itself the great responsibility of accomplishing what the militaristic allies failed to do. India is resolved

to make—may be not the entire world, but at least three-fourth of the world—safe for democracy.

The London Times correspondent, in a dispatch from Allahabad, states that "the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, has definitely decided to inaugurate a revolutionary movement and to organize a formidable band of agents to ensure the carrying of its subversive campaign.

"The *Swadeshi* (Sinn Fein) movement during the anti-partition agitation in Bengal proved that attempts to boycott foreign (British) goods must inevitably lead to violence, and this boycott is now included in the Congress program.

"The dead set to be made against the members of the new councils has serious possibilities but the most sinister part of the resolutions adopted is the decision to refuse to pay taxes, which is to be put into operation at a date to be fixed by the Congress or the Congress Committee."

One hundred and fifty years ago the Colonies of America refused to pay taxes to the King of England. The result was the outbreak of revolution which gave the American people independence and a federated republic. Without questioning the veracity of the London Times correspondent, it can be assumed that a new war of independence has just begun.

During the boycott movement in Bengal, the people did not take the initiative of violence. It was the British government's ruthless repression that drove the revolutionary movement into secret channels.

If we rightly judge the human nature, we can safely assert that the British will utilize every means of destruction of human lives. Artillery, aeroplanes, tanks and machine guns will be used without any stint or limit. The Croake massacre, Amritsar massacre, Black and Tans' mad dance and dynamiting in Ireland conclusively prove what is awaited in India. Mr. Mahomed Jinnah truly indicated that independence could only be won by bloodshed.

India revolts at the thought of unnecessary warfare. She does not want to do any harm to anyone. She wants her own country from sod to the sky to belong to her own people. It entirely rests with the British whether they want to withdraw peacefully from India or remain there embattled and embedded in blood and iron.

Sir Valentile Chirol, the imperial propagandist, warns the British government that "merely repressive measures against Gandhism may prove futile."

The rank and file do not feed themselves on theory and empty phrases of idealism. The unjust actions of the British government have accumulated to such a volume that it is impossible to

retard the people from following the mandates of Mr. Gandhi and the Indian National Congress.

Even a man like Mr. Chintamani, a reactionary moderate who presided at the third annual sessions of the National Liberal Federation held in Madras, thoroughly condemned the British government's general policy in regard to Amritsar massacre and Caliphate question. He declared that "the treatment of Indians, the continued employment of Indian troops, in Mesopotamia and elsewhere in Central Asia had rendered the people ready to accept the remedy which had been preached so widely by their revered political Sannyasi, Mr. Gandhi." These remaining hand-ful moderates also state their goal as complete self-government on the basis of absolute equality and proportional representation within the British commonwealth.

There is not a single section or group of people of India upon whom the British government can count for support and sympathy for its policy.

The decision of the Indian National Congress is the decision of the Indian people.

As the British is not likely to withdraw, the question how India is going to win her independence may arise.

Mr. Shaikat Ali said that the army was ready if anyone could lead it. To which Mr. Mahomed Ali replied that the British Empire was dead in India.

The London Times correspondent indicates what is likely to be the program of action. He says that "the speeches of Mr. Gandhi and other leaders afford a better indication of what is likely to be attempted than the verbose declaration of policy. Mr. Gandhi urged that soldiers and police (Indian) ought not to obey orders when these were against their conscience, and the president advocated starving the British traders and planters by withdrawing labor. The president also suggested organizing strikes among the employees in the postal, telegraph, and railway services."

Mr. Vijayaraghava Achariar, presiding officer of the Congress, said: "We can starve English planters, merchants, traders and manufacturers with an increasing scarcity of labor into gradual exhaustion and a satisfactory mentality towards us."

It is thus clear that simultaneous industrial and political revolt is contemplated. Already in the united provinces near Lucknow and in the Bengal presidency near Muzufferpur, the peasants have revolted.

Thousands of them are organized and trying to make the British administration an impossibility. The British government is sending out the militia to suppress the outbreaks. When the peasants, industrial workers, and intelligentsia combine together, the goal of India's movement is assured.

That the present revolutionary movement is the product of cool, calculated and deliberate

thought, will be evident from the outline of the programs which have been adopted in the Congress.

Mr. C. R. Das moved a resolution, which was passed without a single dissenting vote, detailing the steps to be taken to complete peaceful non-cooperation:

Committees are to be organized in each village or group of villages, with a provincial central organization in the principal cities of each province for the purpose of accelerating the progress of non-cooperation. A band of national workers is to be organized for the service, to be called the "India National Service."

Effective steps will be taken to raise the national fund to be called the "All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund," in order to finance the foregoing national service and the non-cooperation movement in general.

Merchants and traders, in order to make India economically independent, are to be called upon to carry out a gradual boycott of British trade relations and to encourage hand spinning and hand weaving.

A scheme of economic boycott is to be planned and formulated by a committee of experts.

Lawyers are to be called to make a greater effort to suspend practice and devote their attention to national service. In other words, National Court of Arbitration should be established.

National schools and colleges and universities are to be established. Students of sixteen and over are to be called upon to withdraw from government-aided and government-owned institutions and either devote themselves to the non-cooperation movement or continue their studies in national institutions. Parents are to be called upon to withdraw their children under sixteen from government-aided and owned schools, and provision is to be made for training in national schools.

It is evident that boycott of British government schools, court, council and commerce is mapped out. The government schools are already being boycotted and national universities are established.

In order to make the program effective, the India National Service will be established and volunteer corps will work in every village.

All these require finance. Aside from collection and donation, non-payment of taxes which should be turned into national fund is an essential factor. The organizers of the non-cooperation movement have not overlooked this phase of the question.

India has made the decision. We can be buoyantly hopeful of the cordial and active co-operation of all those who are against imperialism. The British labor, if they are intelligent enough, must organize themselves, and instead of giving advice gratis to Russia, Ireland and India, they must cooperate with the Indian revolutionaries in

(Continued on page 129.)

The Rising Tide of Anti-Imperialism

A good deal of attention has lately been paid to the "rising tide of color," as one writer has put it. If all the prophets are right, the white race is indeed threatened with a grave danger. Seeing an opportunity to make capital, a part of the capitalist press has been whooping and stirring up race hatred and color prejudice. The presses have been working overtime in some countries poisoning the minds of the people with mental dope about this terrible thing called the "rising tide of color."

But what really is this rising tide of color? Is the white race really threatened with destruction and ruin or degradation and slavery due to the growth of the colored races, as some of the prophets with an axe to grind would have us believe?

Without going into the subject exhaustively and taking Asia as an example, and as the subject of most of the present color controversy, let us briefly analyze this rising tide of color.

We will devote our attention to India, China, Japan and the Near East. First take India. India has been the land of aryan culture and civilization long before the English gave up painting their bodies and wearing barks of the trees. What do we behold here? For generations the people of India, over three hundred millions of them, have been subjected to an alien rule by the British, in the interests of the British, or at least British imperialism. Slavery, famine, degradation, brutality, that would not ever find a parallel in the treatment of subject peoples by the Roman Empire, have been the everlasting and everpresent lot of the Indian masses.

Now these oppressed and exploited Indian people are awakening. The British imperialists are having nightmares and picturing to themselves what the result will be of a free and independent India. Their retainers are working overtime filling the minds of the British people and other members of the Eur-American races with poisonous piffle about the terrors of this rising tide of Hindu people. Being imperialists and concerned only with their dividends gotten from the toil and sweat of the enslaved Hindu toilers, these people can't see any good to come from a free people. It is not color that concerns them, but their ill-gotten gains.

Then take China. For tens of years the Chinese people have been subjected to "spheres of influence" and to the imperialism of England, France, Germany and other European countries. And Japan also has had a finger in the pie. Without any thought for the welfare of the Chinese people these powers have made an imperialistic stamping ground out of China. The toiler of China has had a double load to carry—the exploiter at home, and the exploiter from foreign lands. With the result that in addition to his

extreme poverty the Chinaman, like the Indian, has had to suffer periodic famine in which millions perish. Right at this present moment China is experiencing a terrible famine which will doubtless carry off millions of these poor, exploited Chinese, who if they were free from the imperialist and the exploiter would be able to very well supply their bodily needs.

But then the Chinese are awakening. This awakening constitutes a menace to the white race, we are told. Yes, it constitutes a menace to the exploiters and imperialists of the white race, to those who believe in the Divine origin of the existing economic and social order with its exploitation of the many by the few, and to those who defend and uphold this order. Most of those shouting off their heads about the rising tide of color belong to this class or are retainers of those who profit materially by the enslavement of those of color.

Then again we have the Japanese. The case of the Japanese is somewhat different to those of the Hindus and Chinese. Japan itself is an imperialistic power and is engaged in China and Korea in much the same game as England is engaged in India. That is, official, imperialist Japan is not the masses of Japan. They are exploited and enslaved by their own exploiters and imperialists much the same as in the case of the Chinese masses. They don't have, however, the foreign imperialism to deal with as China and India have.

Now, like the Hindus and Chinese, the Japanese masses are awakening. Their imperialists are having nightmares and trying to stave off the day of reckoning.

Lastly, we have the case of the Near East. The people of Persia and Mesopotamia and other Near Eastern countries have for years been under the iron heel of England, Czarist Russia and France. The imperialists of these powers have gone into the Near East and had a merry old time gobbling up the wealth of these countries. England and Czarist Russia divided up Persia to suit themselves and never gave a thought to the Persian people. If any Persian dared protest or voice his opinion on the subject he was dealt with according to the accepted and improved methods of the so-called civilized countries.

Today we find England overrunning Mesopotamia and other parts of the Near East, hauling out the oil and whatever she can get her greedy hands on. She has made the Near East "safe for democracy," and no mistake!

But again the people of the Near East are awakening also. Soviet Russia threatens to put the kibosh on the game of England and France by driving into the Near East and allying with the local inhabitants. It seems that these people are looking towards Soviet Russia for coopera-

tion, which is doubtless one reason why Lloyd George is so troubled about Soviet Russia.

Yes, there is a rising tide of color. But it is not a menace to the white race as the prophets would have us believe. It is a menace to the exploiting imperialists of the white race, not the workers of the white race. The brutal imperialist of Britain, France or any other country must go is the decision of the people of Asia. They have seen the light and they are tired of the beneficent rule of the alien exploiter who only thinks of personal gain. All they demand is to be free from the slavery of the imperialist, and they have no designs against any European or American race.

The people of Asia have no distrust or hatred of the white man when they know the white man

is not out for plunder and exploitation. Look at Soviet Russia. Missions representing Asian peoples have been in Moscow negotiating with the Soviets for help and have met, treated and been treated as brothers and equals. We have heard nothing from Soviet Russia about the menace of the rising tide of color or drawing the color line or unassimilability of colored peoples, such as is frequently heard in the most highly civilized and "enlightened" countries of the West. When a man is on the square, and realizes that all races are of one blood, he cannot honestly harbor race hatred and color prejudice. And he realizes that if the brotherhood of man is to be anything but a hollow mockery it must take in the people of Asia on a footing of equality, fraternity, and cooperation.

—ARTHUR THOMSON.

Amritsar

Miles and miles of ocean we
Have sailed to get to India.
We're some thousand sent to see
Those cursed heathens are made obey.
The Indian sun is baking hot,
The sky is redder than the Czar,
But we feel glad, for we have had
Some fighting fun at Amritsar.
Oh, bloody, bleeding Amritsar,
Whose shrieking cry was heard afar,
They leaped and yelled as they were felled
In maddened mounds at Amritsar.

Oh! that was shooting safe and sure,
They had no guns to answer back.
The sport was short. They can't endure
A well-prepared surprise attack.
We made a strong, strategic ring;
The bounders got a taste of war;
'Twas grand to hear our bullets sing
And find the flesh at Amritsar.
Oh, bloody, bleeding Amritsar,
Whose dying groans were heard afar,
They leaped and yelled as they were felled
In maddened mounds at Amritsar.

You could not miss them if you tried;
There, standing like a solid wall,
They had no place to duck or hide.
Oh, what a sight to see them fall!
It took some speed to pick them off
A-surging through the gates ajar,
With flowing robes, 'twould make you laugh,
That writhing mass at Amritsar.
Oh, bloody, bleeding Amritsar;
How loud they prayed at Amritsar;
The leaden rain cured all the pain
Of wounded men at Amritsar.

—KEVIN.

Where is the Flag of England?

By HENRY LABOUCHERE

Editor *Truth*, London, Former M. P.

Let the winds of the world make answer!
North, South, East and West—
Wherever there's wealth to covet,
Or land that can be possessed;
Wherever are savage races,
To cozen, coerce and scare,
Ye shall find the vaunted ensign,
For the flag of England is there.

Aye, it waves o'er the blazing hovels,
Whence African victims fly,
To be shot by explosive bullets,
Or to wretchedly starve and die,
And where the beachcomber tarries,
Isles of the Southern Sea,
At the peak of his hellish vessel,
This, the English flag flies free.

The Maori full oft hath cursed it,
With the bitterest dying breath,
And the Arab has hissed his hatred,
As he spits at its folds in death;
The hapless fellah has feared it,
On Tel-el-Kebir's parched plain,
And the Zulu's blood has stained it,
With a deep indelible stain.

It has floated o'er scenes of pillage,
It has flaunted o'er deeds of shame,
It has waved o'er the fell marauder,
As he ravished with sword and flame.
It has looked upon ruthless slaughter,
And massacre dire and grim,
It has heard the shrieks of the victims
Drown even the jingo hymn.

Where is the flag of England?
Seek the land where the natives rot;
Where decay and assured extinction
Must soon be the people's lot.
Go, search for the once glad islands,
Where disease and death are rife,
And the greed of a callous commerce,
Now battens on human life.

Where is the flag of England?
Go, sail where the galleons come,
With shoddy and loaded cottons,
And beer and Bibles and rum,
Go, too, where brute force has triumphed,
And hypocrisy makes its lair;
And your question will find its answer,
For the flag of England is there.

India's Decision

(Continued from page 126.)

destroying the integrity of British capitalistic imperialism. It must be borne in mind that India occupies a very unique and important place in the political and economic world. A nation that is to be born with three hundred and fifteen million free men and women having their minds open to new ideas deserves special attention.

No one—no combination of powers—will dare, for instance, to disturb Russia, having free India as her partner. Evolutionary growth of the Soviets from *Mir* will find its germ in the *Panchayat* in India. The remarkable co-incidence between Russian proverb—"What the *Mir* has settled, is God's own judgment," and the Hindu adage—"There is God in the *Panch*" connotes deeper meaning than it is at present anticipated. The old *lauhitadhyajya* (red flag) of the Buddhistic period (B. C.) mentioned in the *Tattabodhini* may again appear in the hands of a body of persons as their emblem which George Washington carried to hasten the birth of the United States of America.

Much speculation is being made as to the

future form of government in India. I do not desire to make any prediction. But it is certain that the revolutionaries who are directing the forces to make India free will see to it that the reactionary standpointism does not find any room in India, faint-hearted liberalism does not make mockery of the people's rights and a new India is born with the progressive ideas of the most advanced school which professes to bring about a conscious change in economic, social, political order of mankind.

India's mission is therefore inculcated with a noble spirit of service. What a glorious day it will be to see Ireland, India, Egypt, Persia, China, Near and Middle East free and independent from British imperialism!

The elimination of the menace of imperialism will be a great boon to the world's progress, prosperity and peace. The struggle in which India has plunged herself should be made a part and parcel of all those who believe in the freedom of humanity. *Bandemataram*.

—SURENDRA KARR.

International Aspects of the Indian Question

(Concluded from the previous issue.)

Indo-Irish Alliance

Those of us working for the independence of India have taken steps, and will continue to take steps to form alliances and understandings with all the forces operating against the British Empire. One of the most important and active alliances into which we have entered is the Indo-Irish Alliance.

This close alliance has been in operation for some time. President De Valera, last year, gave his official sanction to it by declaring in its favor in a speech, delivered at the dinner given in his honor in New York City, by the Friends of Freedom for India. There he solemnly swore friendship with the Indian people, and they in turn have sworn friendship to Ireland in her struggle against our common foe. This bond of friendship has been sanctified by the blood of Irish soldiers in India, some of whom lately refused to serve the British, and were shot for their refusal.

There are Irish soldiers on Indian soil, helping to keep our people in subjection; and during the war there were Indian soldiers on Irish soil to shoot down the Irish people. Today there are Indian soldiers on Egyptian soil and in Persia, and Mesopotamia. That is the way the British work.

As an ally of the Irish Republic, we wish to tell all who are working for Irish independence and the recognition of their Republic, that **the British should be fought in every part of the world, and particularly in Asia.** They should ally themselves with every force operating against British imperialism, and they should not believe the British propaganda which still uses them against other peoples.

Through India, Britain can be paralyzed sooner than through any other channel. Then it is desirable that there should be more concentrated diplomatic, military action between these two allies. And their vision should be clear and not beclouded by the British propaganda against Britain's enemies. We should not believe the London-manufactured lies about Russia. Because that propaganda is manufactured from British fear of Russia's campaign against British rule in India.

Indo-Egyptian Relations

Everybody knows that Britain acquired the Suez Canal to control the routes to India. To control the Suez Canal, she needed Egypt. A book entitled "The Secret History of the Occupa-

tion of Egypt," by Blunt, gives details of British hypocrisy, including that of the British imperialist, Gladstone, who paraded under the cover of liberalism.

As long as India remains under British control, England can use millions of men against Egyptian aspirations, as she has done in the case of Turkey and Persia. In fact, Indian soldiers conquered Egypt. They guarded Egypt during the world war. They fought Turkey in the Canal Zone. Today they are stationed in Egypt to thwart the progress of the Egyptian revolution.

Indian nationalists bitterly regret that we are not in a position to induce Indian soldiers on Egyptian soil to fight against England, and together with the Egyptian people secure Egyptian independence. The Indian revolutionists know that as long as England controls Egypt and the Canal Zone, the British navy can bring quick reinforcements against Indian revolutionary forces, both by land and by sea. Because today, Britain holds every land, sea and air approach to India. For one hundred years she has built it up in order to guard and hold India. These reasons of mutual interest make it possible for the Egyptians and the Indians to make common cause against England, not merely from an idealistic point of view of the struggle for liberty, but from the standpoint of mutual interest and self-preservation.

The bond of alliance between Egypt and India is growing. Egypt has ignored Milner's plan of establishing a British protectorate in Egypt, and has decided to send its ablest leaders to India to confer with the Indian leaders for common action, leading to absolute independence of the two nations. It would be of untold value if the Irish Republic would send some of their officials to be present at the same conference in India.

We support with all our power the cause of Egyptian independence, and of an Indo-Egyptian alliance. The cause of Egyptian independence is one of the most important factors in world independence and the destruction of British imperialism. An Indo-Irish-Egyptian alliance is the nucleus of a world alliance against the British Empire.

Indo-Persian Relations

The history of the Indian War of Independence of 1857 shows that India and Persia formed an alliance against Great Britain. Persia was anxious to join with revolutionary India, but

failed to do so for fear of a Turkish attack. Turkey at that time was pro-British, because she feared Russia, who was menacing her from all directions. Indo-Persian cooperation is vital for the existence of both nations, particularly for Persia, if she wishes to achieve and remain independent, as she does. Indian nationalists have not only established most cordial relations with the Persian nationalists, who, in conjunction with Russia, have declared for and are fighting for establishing a republic in Persia, free from all foreign control.

The fact that some of the Indian soldiers sent to Persia to fight against the Persian people, have deserted the British army and have joined the Persian forces shows that a time will soon come when millions of Indian soldiers will fight for Persian freedom against British aggression.

Indo-Afghan Alliance

The position of Afghanistan, lying as it does between northern India and Russia, is very important, from the viewpoint of independent India's relations with Russia, Central Asia, Persia and Turkey.

Fortunately, an alliance between independent Afghanistan and revolutionary India already exists, and this alliance undoubtedly will be strengthened with the establishment of a republic in India. During the rising tide of revolution in India, thousands of Indian revolutionists took refuge in Afghanistan, and not one so far has been betrayed by the Afghan people or the Afghan government. There was no attempt on the part of this little Mohammedan country to deport them back to India to their death. There was no attempt to deprive them of citizenship. Instead, they were welcomed and offered the same human and citizenship rights as the Afghan citizens themselves.

In the summer of this year (1920) Great Britain tried to start a campaign against Afghanistan; but the Indian railroad workers struck and averted the plan.

An Afghan-Indian alliance is the key to an Indo-Russian alliance, an Indo-Persian alliance, an Indo-Turkish, or Indo-Arab alliance against British aggression in Asia.

Britain declares through its propagandists that the Indian nationalist movement is a pro-Mohammedan movement. This is to prejudice the Christian world against India. We should remember that anything emanating from the British government or from the propagandists of the British government is a lie. At the time of the Crimean War, and later as well, Britain made alliances with Mohammedan Turkey against Orthodox Christian Russia. Britain made an alliance with Buddhist Japan to fight Christian Russia and Christian Germany.

And the Indian revolutionists are determined to ally themselves with all the forces of the world that are opposed to Britain. The Indian inde-

pendence movement is for the independence of India and for world freedom; it does not care for creed, color or race, and it will work for the achievement of its goal through Asian independence. Just as Britain has had no scruples in subjecting Christians, Mohammedans, Buddhists or Hindus, so will we ally ourselves with them and overthrow the British Empire.

Indo-Turkish Relations

You should study and know the truth about Turkey. You should know the reason for the destruction of the Young Turkish Parliamentary movement by the British Empire, because a progressive, modern Turkey meant a strong Turkey. And such a country would have meant that Britain could not appeal to the world so strongly for the control of Turkey—which means the control of the land routes to Persia and India.

During the world war, many Indian patriots went to Turkey to fight against England. One of these men, Enver Pasha, now leading the armies of the Middle East against England, once told these Indians that the best way any people could aid Turkey to reestablish a modern, progressive government, would be to destroy British rule in India.

And it was the Indian forces that were responsible for bringing about the abject subjection of the Ottoman Empire. And that destruction means nothing on earth but the establishment of British control of the Middle East, of Egypt and Persia and the control of all the land routes to India. Britain works in a thousand ways to achieve her purpose. She will talk of Mohammedanism in order to prejudice you who are Christians. She will talk of Armenian atrocities, although Turkey never dared to do what Britain has done in India and Ireland and Egypt. She gives as a reason for the destruction of Turkey the massacre of Armenians. But if anyone suggests the destruction of the British Empire because of the torture of Ireland, Egypt or India, Britain arms herself to the teeth and secures the assistance of the United States in helping her continue her murders.

Turkey is a strategic position for the control of India. In this connection it is imperative for India to be on friendly terms with Turkey. Today Soviet Russia and nationalist Turkey are in alliance. So long as these two powerful forces in the Middle East and Central Asia are for independence of the subject nations of Asia, independent India advocates friendship with them.

India and Africa

Freedom of all people is our ideal, and freedom of the people of Africa is not beyond the pale of Indian foreign policies. Free Africa will be a great boon to India. All the arguments for the continued subjection of Africa are very familiar to us. They have the familiar ring of

British motive behind them. They have been used against India for two centuries. And when we hear them we know why they are falsehoods. We know that if Africa were not a wealthy country, if labor were not cheap and plentiful, if the people refused to be easily drugged, that Britain would not now hold most of the continent, particularly all Eastern Africa.

India has played a great part in the development of Africa. But today the English carefully exclude Indians from those parts of Africa which are rich in natural resources. Africa, too, it seems, is to be made a "white man's country!"

India needs a field for immigration. She can find it in Africa if Africa is free, instead of being brutally subjected, and its people silently tortured even under the eyes of a Christian world. From the economic, political and cultural point of view, India has great interest in free Africa, and the Indian people will cooperate with those forces working for the independence of Africa.

India and European Nations in General

India's policy toward all the peoples of the world is friendly. We wish world public opinion for our cause; we wish to lay our facts before the court of world opinion. We ask you to listen, and then to send your own investigators to ascertain for themselves what the importance and condition of India is. Our natural right is liberty. If you are still swayed by British arguments of any sort, send your own men to investigate those arguments.

Many western scholars are now discussing the question of the "Rising Tide of Color," "The Coming Race War," the "Threatened War Against World Domination by White Men." They argue that if the yellow, brown and black races join, then the white man will have a very poor show in the struggle. And to them, the white man is the superior, superman, born to rule! They are arguing that a conflict of color can be avoided, and that even a color conflict could be won by the white-skinned men, if the Indian people can be won to the side of the white men. The Indian people can be won by giving them concessions, they argue.

In other words, we are to be taken into the sacred fold and help enslave our brothers!

Men like Putnam Weale, author of "The Conflict of Color;" Fred Fisher, author of "The Silent Revolution in India;" Tyler Dennett, author of "The Democratic Movement in Asia," are advocates of using India for white man's world domination.

To these men, and to the world, we wish to announce that independent India will not be a tool for any race, color or creed, least of all for those capitalistic, imperialistic nations whose business it is to subject men of another color and creed who happen to be insufficiently armed.

Nationalist India is fighting for an ideal, a world ideal, an ideal where human life will be of supreme value rather than property being the standard of value. We are fighting against racial and class injustice.

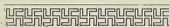
The past war, and other wars, were fought mainly for economic reasons. As long as there remains the possibility of exploiting Asia and Africa, or any other part of the world by various groups of financial agencies, backed by political powers of the great nations, there will be war.

At the present moment, the freedom of Asia and Africa are requisites for world peace. The independence of India is the greatest requisite for the independence of Asia and Africa, because the major part of Africa and Asia is under the control of England. Indian forces are being used to hold the peoples of these parts of the world under British subjection. The moment India becomes free and independent, Britain will have to fight her own battles in Asia and Africa, in the face of three hundred and fifteen millions of people in India. And she can not do it. She can not even feed herself more than two weeks if India launches a military blow and cripples her.

We know that the chief reason for the terrible massacre of Irishmen today is Britain's fear of Irish success upon the Indian people. The Indian papers have been openly championing Ireland's cause, speaking of the great success of a little island of four million people. It is the greatest example to India. Britain knows it. So she is crushing the life out of Ireland in the face of the whole world, because Ireland typifies an ideal which inspires the subjected peoples everywhere.

Indian revolutionists, against the difficulties of reaching a tremendous population in India, against an economic and political and military system which has its stranglehold upon every man in India, peasant and prince, are strengthening their forces. They are reaching out and allying themselves with every world force operating against the British Empire. They wish to ally themselves with the American people in order that the Indian people, and the Asian people as a whole may in the future know that the American people were not merely following in the footsteps of the British Empire, but that they stood for an ideal—human freedom, human liberation irrespective of race, color or creed.

—TARAKNATH DAS.



The Pulse of the Press

The Ecclesiastical Expenditure

THE WAY in which the revenues of India are spent has come in for a good deal of criticism; and the extravagance of the British government in certain departments, and its stinginess in others, has attracted a good deal of public attention during recent years. But there are still several heads of expenditure which have not received their proper share of attention from Indian nationalists. One of these is the ecclesiastical expenditure of the government of India. The Indian taxpayer pays about twenty lakhs of rupees (the figures are for 1915-16) annually for the maintenance of the Christian church establishment in India, which is not only unjust and against the declared policy of the government, but considering the number of persons likely to benefit by it, an unconscionably heavy charge on the revenues of India.

Every religion is free to propagate and popularize its ideas; and no reasonable man can object to the work of proselytizing done by the followers of any religion, be it Christianity, Hinduism or Islam. Nor can any legitimate objection be taken to the maintenance of a church establishment or a priesthood for the spiritual guidance of the followers of any faith. But the government in India is committed to a policy of strict religious neutrality, which has a positive as well as a negative side. In order to preserve an attitude of strict neutrality, the government is not only bound not to interfere with the religious activities of any of its subjects, but also not to support or "favor" any religion. In the Proclamation of 1858, the queen-empress definitely pledged her royal word that no "favor" would be shown to any religion or creed in India; and this policy of government's complete religious neutrality has been stated and re-stated times out of number in the declarations and pronouncements made by British sovereigns and statesmen. So far as the positive side of this neutrality goes, it will be admitted on all hands that the government has on the whole allowed complete religious freedom, of course with legitimate reservations, to all its subjects. But the same cannot be said of the negative implications of this policy of neutrality. The government is bound by its pledged word to refrain from assisting or financing any church in India. This is the opinion not only of all thinking Indians but also of liberal minded Europeans. Four years ago, a publicist, while dealing with this subject, made the following remarks:

"Another most unjust imposition on Indian revenues, and one of a peculiarly irritating kind,

is that of the alien church establishment. The Bishop of Calcutta draws Rs. 45,980 and the Bishops of Madras and Bombay, Rs. 25,000 each. The Bishops of Lahore, Lucknow, Nagpur and Rangoon draws Rs. 10,200 a year for five years and then Rs. 12,000 a year, the salaries of 'senior chaplains.' There are 134 Anglican and 11 Presbyterian chaplains receiving regular salaries, while Roman Catholics and Wesleyans receive 'block grants,' and the churches of all four 'may be built, furnished and repaired, wholly or partly, at the government expense' . . . Thus, Indian money is spent in supporting a vast agency."

In addition to the objection that the government has no justification for employing divines and preachers of a particular faith or subsidizing the church establishment of any religion, the charge that it imposes on the revenues of the country is out of all proportion to the requirements or the numerical strength of the persons likely to benefit by it, and highly disproportionate in relation to the legitimate heads of expenditure in the Indian budget. The total number of Christians residing in British India is 2,492,284, which is made up as follows:

Europeans	178,908
Anglo-Indians	86,612
Indian Christians	2,226,764

The annual ecclesiastical expenditure incurred by the government thus works on at about a rupee per head, which is more than five times the expenditure per head on education for the whole of India and about eleven times the money spent by the government per head on medical relief (1915-16 figures).

Thus the price that India has to pay for the up-keep of the ecclesiastical establishment is exorbitant in all conscience, in spite of which the demands for an increase of pay and allowances made by the chaplains and other ranks of the clergy have been largely accepted by the government. The government of India have come upon a resolution, dated the 18th November, 1918, on "the revision in the pay of chaplains on the Ecclesiastical Establishment, as well as the rate of allowances given to other clergy." Hereafter, the starting salary of the chaplains (Anglican and Scottish) will be Rs. 60 which will increase by annual increments of Rs. 25 for 8 years, after which the annual increase would be, Rs. 50 for the next 10 years. In the 19th year of their service, and thereafter, the salary would be Rs. 135 a month. The allowances paid to aid the clergy (Anglican and Scottish), the Roman Catholic chaplains in civil stations, and the clergy employed at railway centers have also been materially increased. This increase is an unwarranted expenditure and will be resented by all who do not want the revenues of the country to be frittered away

to the detriment of the educational and economic advance of the people who contribute towards them.

The Europeans as well as the Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians are an influential, enlightened and wealthy community, and are quite competent to maintain their own churches and clergymen. It is, therefore, we venture to think, an unmerited slur on their honor and religious enthusiasm to suppose that they require state aid to maintain and equip their religious institutions. We are sure that if only they try the Christians in India will have no difficulty in dispensing with government money by raising sufficient funds for the maintenance of their church establishment, especially with the aid of the vast sums of money that are contributed every year by America, England and other Christian countries for propagating Christianity in India. We, therefore, appeal not only to the government to discontinue this improper charge on the Indian revenues, but also to the Christians in India to show to the world at large that they do not want the Indian taxpayer to pay for their ministrations, and that the looking after the physical needs of their spiritual preceptors is not the concern of a secular government.

—*The Tribune*, Lahore, India.

Repression and Non-Cooperation

It is significant that even the "Bengalee" has warned the government "with the greatest emphasis it can command" against the rumored action of the latter to suppress the non-cooperation movement. It asks the government to "leave non-cooperation severely alone" and doubts not that the movement will die of inanition without public support. Our contemporary says that repression will only give the movement an "artificial lease of life." There is much truth in these remarks of our contemporary. The success of the non-cooperation movement essentially depends on the measure of public support it will receive. If the public do not support it, it is bound to die. It is not at all based on terrorism and no violence has resulted from the campaign in connection with it. The leaders of the movement have always emphasized on its peaceful character and their exhortation has been strictly obeyed. Witness the events at Aligarh which is at the present moment the center of the movement. If, in spite of these facts the government chooses to adopt repressive measures against it, the people will be more than ever convinced that not persuasion but force was the only method to which the government was amenable. If non-cooperation is the weapon of a people in despair, it is at least peaceful. But it would not be to the interest of the government if the conviction was brought home to the minds of the people that it was not through peace but war that the Indians

could expect to gain their political freedom.

Ireland and Egypt have already done much to shake the confidence of those who believe in the peaceful evolution of freedom of dependent nationalities within the British Empire. It was not till the Sinn Fein movement turned into active violence that the British government showed any real desire to give the Irish what they were agitating for over a century. The Lloyd George government, however cruel they may be in their reprisals, are all the same anxious to conciliate Sinn Fein by giving Ireland as large a measure of freedom as is compatible with the safety of England. And as Sinn Fein has expressed its determination to be content with nothing less than complete separation, statesmen like Earl Grey and Mr. Asquith are busy devising plans to give Ireland a separate navy and army; in fact they would be content if only the Irish were pleased to recognize the nominal sovereignty of England. It is said that the fatal objection against the schemes of Earl Grey and Mr. Asquith are that they can not guarantee that the Sinn Feiners will accept their schemes if offered, and not their inherent unacceptability. However much Mr. Lloyd George may thunder against the outrages of Sinn Fein and express his determination and that of his government not to give way to violence, the fact is patent that it is to violence that they are giving way. The same is true of Egypt. In fact, till the Egyptians adopted methods of terrorism and violence the action of the British government did not indicate any desire to grant even that measure of freedom which they have now offered to that country.

It would be a woeful day if by the adoption of repressive measures against a peaceful movement like non-cooperation in India which has not been attended with breaches of peace anywhere, the government in this country further accentuate the belief that India will have to convert herself into a bigger Ireland or an Egypt to gain her freedom.

—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, India.

New War

From information recently to hand it would appear that the great British dependency of India is about to become the base of extensive military operations looking to the conquest of all Central Asia, the Transcaspian territories of the former Russian Empire and of Northern Persia. While the British government is carrying on desultory negotiations with the Soviet government, with the object of gaining time, we learn that rush preparations are on foot in Australia for the formation of an army, and that in New Zealand the organization of a fully equipped army corps is in progress, Admiral Jellicoe being busy with the naval plans for its transportation to India. It is further reported that in anticipation of the landing of these forces in India, staff officers have already arrived there from Australia and are engaged

studying the details of transportation over the routes leading into Russian and Chinese Turkestan through the Himalayas, and through Persia into the Transcaspian Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara and to the Eastern Caucasus oil region on the Caspian.

Press dispatches say that the Soviet government is congratulating itself on the quiet prevailing on all the fronts which have for three years been the objects of attack; but it should not be over confident. This Australian move makes it look more like the lull in the storm before the full force of the hurricane breaks all along the line, for it is not to be supposed for a moment that Anglo-Saxon perfidy and the French imperialistic craze are slumbering.

The chief interest to us here, as onlookers, is the part that the people and princes of India will play in the approaching events. What the majority of the princes may do is almost a foregone conclusion in our belief. They are simply slaves of the Foreign Raj, and have always supported it in its tyranny and oppression of the helpless people of India. Called "nobles," the majority are the most ignoble of bootlickers. The Indian people themselves, on the other hand, have shown a remarkable spirit of resistance to the foreign oppressor, and numbers have yielded their lives, sacrifices on the altar of their country's freedom. But they are unarmed and without the means to combat the savage foreign beast which would, without compunction, lay their homes in ruin with bombs from the safety of air machines as on the Northwest frontier, and make war by the latest methods in vogue in so-called Christian and civilized Europe on women and children and the infirm—the demon of starvation.

Afghanistan would find itself isolated and shut off from contact with the only ally it can now look to, so that it could hardly give effective support to any insurrectionary movement that might be attempted in India; and the attitude of Japan is problematical. It certainly would not be to Japan's advantage to have all Central Asia, with the vast natural resources it is known to contain, and the hinterland of China pass under the hands of England or, for the matter of that, of any other non-Asiatic power. Deprived of the freedom of trade with the interior of Asia its navy would have little to protect on the seas, and the break up of Russia would, in the end, leave Japan helpless against the aggressive greed of the Western imperialist powers, unless they, within measurable time, go down before a general revolution.

That England should use Australia against Asia as a catspaw is a thing naturally to be expected, seeing the fear of the Australians of an Asiatic immigrant invasion, but in consenting to

be so used it may prove to be a boomerang. If the simultaneous attack on Soviet Russia which, no doubt, is being prepared from the West and from the Black Sea to cooperate with the British-Australian from India should fail through revolutionary action, and the Soviet government be left free to deal single handed with the invasion from India, the Australians would probably find that they had made a mistake; and the freedom of India would be won through the passes of the Himalayas and on the plain of Panipat.

—*The Gaelic American*, New York.

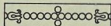
Reform in India

M^R. BERNARD HOUGHTON, a well-known English writer, writing in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia university, New York, December, 1920, concludes on "Reform in India" as follows:

"Three hundred million human beings are politically awake and have begun to move. They may be guided, controlled by sympathy and statesmanship, but they can not be checked without disaster. Will the great body of the (British) civil service show a new mind and work the new constitution in a democratic spirit? It seems unlikely. Their whole training is not democratic but authoritarian. They turn their eyes to the past for precedents; they are blind to the warnings of the present and fearful of a future of self-government. Already Simla (summer capital of British government in India) has given a hint of its intentions in the appointment of the rules committee. It intends to throw itself into the arms of the Moderates, to spurn the *Nationalists who form the great majority of the Indian people*.

Still more significant is the budget for 1920-21. A year and a half after the end of the war the government set aside \$200,000,000 out of a total of \$452,500,000 for the army. It alleges the need for a new equipment. But that is not the real reason. The real reason is that it fears the people and hopes to overawe them by artillery, tanks, aeroplanes and great munitions of war. Fear is the mainspring of the government's policy. It is based on fear, inspired by fear, bound by fear. Is that the spirit which can meet the problems of modern India with any hope of success? It is the old bureaucratic spirit, the spirit of privilege and precedent and aloofness from popular wishes and hopes. No protestations, no "camouflage" will alter this essential fact.

"Against the government of privilege, resting on bayonets, stand the embattled people of India, confident, inspired."



Notes and News

Hindustanees in California Sympathize with Irish and Indian Patriots in India

In a mass meeting, held recently at Stockton, California, the Hindustanees expressed their deep indignation against the barbarous treatment meted out to the Irish and Indian patriots in India, who had opposed the British imperialism and domination in that country. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:

Irish Martyrs in India

Whereas, on July 2, 1920, the Irish soldiers stationed at Jullunder, India, revolted against the British rule and refused to serve the British government;

Whereas, the British government in India, pursuant to its precedents and policies of barbarism, has recently condemned fourteen of the Irish soldiers to death and forty-seven to imprisonment, be it

Resolved, That the Hindustanees assembled in a mass meeting, held under the auspices of the Hindustan Gadar Party at Stockton, California, on January 15, 1921, do hereby express their sense of strong indignation against the atrocious action of the British, and that the Hindustanees express their sincere appreciation of the invaluable services rendered by those Irish martyrs and patriots to the destruction of the British imperial integrity and thereby enhancing the independence of nations suffering under the yoke of the British;

Resolved, further, That the inspiring action of the Irish martyrs and heroes should be followed by the workers for independence to bring about a cordial cooperation between all the people for united action against the despicable and destructive British government; be it further

Resolved, That the copies of these resolutions be sent to all the Irish papers in the United States and to the press in general, and to the Irish societies.

Pillars of India's Swaraj Movement

Whereas, the British government in India, in accordance with its precedents and policies of barbarism, has recently condemned Maulana Jafar Ali Khan, editor of the *Zemindar* and Bhai Mangal Singh, editor of the *Akali*, to imprisonment for their expression in favor of Swaraj (independence) movement according to the dictates of their conscience, be it

Resolved, That the Hindustanees assembled in a mass meeting held under the auspices of the Hindustan Gadar Party at Stockton, California, on January 15, 1921, do hereby express their strong indignation against the iniquity and injus-

tice of the tyrannical British government; be it also

Resolved, That the Hindustanees express their deep appreciation of the services rendered by Maulana Jafar Ali Khan and Bhai Mangal Singh to the cause of independence movement, and hail them as the pillars of India's Swaraj movement.

Strike in Calcutta

The Lahore Tribune publishes the following:

The strike epidemic has spread to the Bengal coal field and among enterprises temporarily paralyzed are the two Kumardhubi enterprises, the engineering works and the fire bricks factory. Several of the collieries in the same neighborhood are affected and there are rumors of the probable extension of the movement to the iron and steel works in the vicinity. The workers' demands are a large increment in their pay and various bonuses.

In addition to the strike of the jute mill workers in Sibpur, Howrah, about 2000 workers of the Radha Kishen and Bharat Abhudery cotton mills went on strike. They demand an increase of 75 per cent wages similar to the jute mill laborers. The cotton laborers are, however, quiet and orderly so far. The Sibpur jute mill strikers cause a great deal of disturbance. Nearly 4000 jute mill hands at Ghurey have struck. There is at present nothing to indicate the end of the strike.

The Sikh Soldiers Are On Hunger Strike

That a division of Number 31 Cavalry, stationed at Allahabad, India, threatened to lay off their arms and refuse to fight under the British government, is revealed in a recent dispatch. The division consists of purely Sikh soldiers.

It is stated that four soldiers—Daleep Singh, Kehar Singh, Lachhman Singh, and Dewa Singh—went home on furlough. And when they came back on duty, they insisted on having with them kirpan (sword) in accordance with their religious customs. The commandant of the division ordered them to take off the swords, but the soldiers refused. The cavalry commandant thereupon sentenced them to 28 days rigorous imprisonment and ordered that the swords should forcibly be taken away.

The soldiers went on hunger strike, and as the labor they were put to do was extremely hard, their health became so much impaired that they had to be taken to the military hospital.

On learning the fate of their comrades in arms, the rest of the soldiers of the division made a threat and refused to serve under the British government.

Students Arrested by the British

Over twelve students in Calcutta, it is reported, have been arrested by the British police for picketing at the polls during the time of election recently held for the new reformed council which the British government has given to the people of India as political lolly-pops. It will be remembered that the people of India have definitely decided to withhold any sort of cooperation from the British government, and the camouflaged councils of the British have been boycotted. The students evidently took the initiative to persuade the voters not to vote and thus help the cause of Swaraj movement.

The polling scenes at Agra, the place noted for Tajmahal, have been described by the Civil and Military Gazette, a British government publication. It says:

"Some voters were roughly handled. The caps and turbans of several were thrown away. Some even received a shoe-beating. Dust and rubbish were thrown at respectable voters and at the superintendent of police. Brickbats were also used. In some cases people were heard shouting, 'Voters will have the boot!' In the crowd were some college students and a large number of school boys. The disorderly and rowdy crowd kept shouting 'Bandemataram,' 'Mahatma Gandhiji ki jai.' The mounted police were used in one place to turn back the crowd. In some mahallas the crowd used violence which led to a free fight."

In accordance with the principles of non-cooperation, those who go to the polls for voting are doing harm to the emancipation movement, for the voters indirectly are supporting the British government. It is, therefore, but natural that the patriotic Indians are roused and see that no one registers his vote.

All-India Trade Union Congress

The following resolutions were passed by the All-India Trade Union Congress held recently at Bombay:

Resolved, That the standing committee for the year be nominated to manage the affairs of the Congress, to provide permanent machinery for collection of information relating to the trade unions, help the unions by advice and otherwise further the cause of the workers of this country until the second session of this Congress is held and adopts a permanent constitution.

That this Congress is of opinion that the government should issue general instructions to the Heads of Districts and the Police Department that no obstruction be placed in the way of workers organizing themselves into unions.

That the recommendation of the International Labor Conference and the Agenda to be placed before the next meeting of the International Labor Conference be referred to the Standing Committee of the Congress for consideration and disposal.

The Tilak School of Politics

For the first time in the history of India, a school to teach socialism and trade unionism has been established in Lahore, Punjab, through the initiative of Lala Lajpat Rai, the noted Nationalist. The school has been named after late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the much respected statesman of India, and it is known as THE TILAK SCHOOL OF POLITICS. Its objects are:

(a) To provide facilities for education in politics, economics, sociology, social psychology, journalism, etc., independent of any official university.

(b) To train political workers.

(c) To provide facilities for research in social sciences.

(d) To prepare and publish books on these subjects in the vernacular of India.

(e) To establish and maintain a well-equipped library in connection with the institution, to be called the "Dwaraka Dass Library."

The curriculum includes:

1. History of India;
2. History of Modern Europe;
3. Outlines of the History of the Asian Countries;
4. Politics, theoretical as well descriptive, including current events;
5. Economics—all branches;
6. Trade Unionism;
7. Socialism.

We wish every success to this new institution, and hope that similar institutions will be established in all parts of India.

Hindu Students in America For Boycotting the British

A resolution indorsing the principle of non-cooperation with the British government was unanimously passed by the Indian students of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at a recent meeting. The resolution also indorsed the adoption by the Indian National Congress of efficient means of spreading propaganda for the movement.

Immediately following its passage, the resolution was cabled to the Indian National Congress, with the students' assurance of support and their wishes for success.

We congratulate the Indian students for their united stand in supporting the program of the non-cooperation movement. It is our sincere desire that after equipping themselves with proper knowledge in various branches of learning, the students will go back home to take an active part in the renaissance movement in India. While they are here, they have the greatest opportunity of studying the most progressive movements in the world which present before us a certain concrete program of works how to make India politically, economically and socially free.

Burmese Women Give Up Ornaments for Education

The representatives of over fifty-eight Women's Associations of Burma met recently in a conference at Rangoon and decided to establish girls' schools in every district. It was also unanimously adopted that the women should refrain from wearing of diamond and gold ornaments, and the money thus saved should be utilized to finance the schools.

The Burmese women are taking a very leading part in boycotting the British movement. They have already declared to boycott cigarettes, canned goods and British-made cloths. In many places, the British cigarettes were confiscated and trampled on.

It is to be hoped that the example of the women of Burma will be followed in all parts of India.

Progress of National Educational Movement

The greatest achievement of the non-cooperation movement in India, which aims at boycotting the British, is the establishment of the National Universities and Schools in all parts of India. In our previous issues we have had the occasion of stating how the revolt of the students resulted in the growth of the National institutions.

The present British governmental educational system is the product of, as Mr. Mahomed Ali, president of the newly created National Moslem University at Aligarh truly indicates, "the incubus of government (British) desiring to control the entire mental development of young India with a view to make them perpetually dependent and servile." In order to counteract this evil, education of the youths should be in the hands of the people.

Realizing the importance of the responsibility for the welfare of the country, the students have taken the initiative and their actions are supported by the people at large. The example of Aligarh College has been followed by the students all over India. The Khalsa College and Islamia College at Lahore, the Calcutta Madrasah, Independent High School at Delhi, National School at Chittagong and many other great institutions of learning are now exclusively under national control. Recently, in Bombay, a National College at Poona and in Gujrat a great National University have been established at Ahmedabad with Mahatma M. K. Gandhi as the Chancellor and it is known as the Gujrat Mahavidyalaya. The objects of the new Gujrat University are as follows:

It holds a systematic study of Asian cultures as no less essential than the study of western science. It does not propose feeding or repeating ancient culture based on traditions, but it aims at dissemination of knowledge about the culture which has been enriched by the experience

of the modern times and proposes to study sympathetically the different cultures that have influenced Indian life and that have come to stay in India.

The spirit of independence is aimed to be fostered not only through religion, politics and history but through vocational training also, which alone can give the country an economic independence.

It aims at checking the unequal distribution of wealth and consequent social discontent by sound industrial education.

We wish every success of these institutions and fervently hope that they remain socialized. The Indian youths should not be deprived of sound education in all phases of scientific socialism and the Soviet system of government so that they may have thorough knowledge how to make political, economic, and social program for their own country in cooperation with the other countries of the world.

Organize National Post Office, Declares Hindu Labor Organizer

As the British government is not willing to concede to the demands of the postal strikers, Mr. Baptista, a prominent labor organizer in Bombay, suggests the following:

"To prolong the struggle till justice is done to the ill-paid, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed workers. I am going to follow in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi and preach non-cooperation with the Post Office and the Tramway Company. I ask all men and women in Bombay to boycott trams and all men and women to boycott the post office as far as possible. I propose to start a National Post Office for Bombay. I have received support from Poona, Surat and Ahmedabad. These cities will collect letters and send them to us for distribution. I am also going asking friends to float an omnibus company next week. In the garb of Mr. Gandhi I shall go about begging in order to repay the loan.

"The workers of India, unite and help. All ye who are educated and love your Motherland, now is the time to help. He who giveth to the poor, giveth to God. This is a struggle for daily bread and better conditions. But it is also a battle for Swaraj (independence). The British government is evidently making the postal strike an occasion to crush the spirit of our workmen."

Sikhs and Non-Cooperation

A SIKH journalist writes thus about the non-cooperation movement among the Sikhs:

The waves of liberty moving the world did not leave the Sikhs untouched. In Dasara days non-cooperation resolution was passed in the second annual session of the Sikh League. On that very day in the open session several persons renounced Lombardaris, titles and medals.

Among the masses the feeling is very strong. Some Panchayets existed even before the Sikh League decided to establish them and several others are growing up day by day. Several villagers have declared their intention not to help the British government in the forthcoming census or any other matter. This awakening among the masses is largely, rather solely, due to the "fearless, impartial" *Akali*, a punjabee daily. Its editor, Sardar Mangal Singh, B. A., has been arrested, and is to be tried, presumably, under articles 124A and 153A. [Bhai Mangal Singh has been sentenced to five years rigorous imprisonment.—Ed.] Several graduates [eighty—Ed.] have offered to take his place.

Boycott of Courts.

In the Golden Temple, Amritsar, there is a sacred place, the *Akal Takhat*, where Shree Hargobind, the sixth Guru of the Sikhs, held his court, decided cases and disputes among the people of the surrounding villages. Now, this place, too, is being used as a court. As yet its jurisdiction extends only to the suburbs of the temple, but all Sikh areas will come under it in time. During the last three or four days some five cases have been dealt with.

The Divali Festival.

It had been the custom here, as everywhere else, to call in the aid of the police for keeping order, though usually they did the reverse. This time in obedience to the non-cooperation resolution, the police was dispensed with and all arrangements were made by the volunteers. All those who had seen the Divali Fair on previous occasions could not but admit the better efficiency of the arrangements. The public blessed volunteers, for they were saved from the constables' rods, and were more conveniently lodged. On previous occasions, the municipality provided chair accommodation to the aristocracy on the Clock Tower platform and the front seats were always occupied by the Englishmen. This time no differentiation was permitted.

Boycott of Councils.

All nationalists have withdrawn their names, only "johukums" are standing; they, too, will find it difficult to attend the councils, as the social pressure will be great.

Boycott of British Schools and Colleges.

The Sikhs have one first grade and one second grade college, and several schools. The managing committee of Khalsa college, Amritsar, consists of members nominated by the British government. The community has been crying for the complete withdrawal of government control, but all in vain. Now the students gave notice to the managing committee that they should sever all connection with the government affiliation, aid and control. The professors have threatened to resign. The students are on strike while the principal declares to have closed the college.

Indian National Congress and Boycott Movement

The London Times correspondent from Bombay writes:

Advices from Nagpur (where Indian National Congress held its sessions) assert that non-cooperators are intensely active at the Congress and show signs of sweeping the board. The extent of their progress is marked by the fact that the Central Provinces, which voted against non-cooperation at a special Congress held in Calcutta, are reported to be preparing a resolution declaring Republicanism the only suitable form of government for India. Active non-cooperators are reported to be in no mood to listen to a whittling down of the program, but rather desirous of extending it. There are rumors that no rent and no taxes campaign may be suggested.

A dispatch from Nagpur to the London Times states:

Mr. Vijayaraghava Achariar, in his presidential address, said that they were bound to adopt some means of forcing Great Britain to grant them freedom immediately. "We can," he said, "starve English planters, merchants, traders, and manufacturers with an increasing scarcity of labor into gradual exhaustion and a satisfactory mentality towards us. The Congress must arrange for the gradual boycott of British goods and the stoppage of exportation of raw products."

Indian Editors Imprisoned by the British

Pursuant to the repressive policy, the British government in India has again adopted terrorism in suppressing the non-cooperation movement. Already incarceration has been inflicted on sixteen of the most leading men, and many more are expected to be apprehended every day.

Recently Bhai Mangal Singh, editor of the *Akali*, which has the largest circulation among the rural population in the Punjab, has been sentenced to five years rigorous imprisonment. Bhai Mangal Singh is a bold and fiery writer. What a respect and love he commands will be evident from the fact that thousands of people from distant villages came to honor him. Nearly 100,000 people assembled in Lahore to express their indignation at the prosecution of beloved publicist. In the court Bhai Mangal Singh refused to take any defense or make any statement, for he believed that advocacy of India's independence could not be tried at the British bar. Before Bhai Mangal Singh took his sentence calmly, his father announced the services of his two other sons to the cause of India's independence. Many friends donated funds to continue the paper, the *Akali*, and some gave away their entire properties to the cause.

Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the *Zeminder*, a cultured scholar and able publicist, has been subjected to a sentence of transportation for five

years in the Andaman Islands, the marshy islands in the Bay of Bengal. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan severely criticised the British government in its attitude toward the Khilafat question.

Another journalist, Mr. Mar Faj Din, editor of the Taj, published in Jabbalpur, and Mr. P. T. Chandra, editor of the Rangoon Mail, have been arrested for propagating the idea of boycotting the British. Maulavi Zafar Mulck, the noted Muhammedan priest of the United Provinces, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

Arrests and incarceration aggravate the situation and simply invite disaster to the British imperial domination in India. Hangings, massacre, and imprisonment have never been able to suppress the growing desire of the independence of the people.

A Questionnaire To The British Labor

Hakim Ramlal Ramnarain, in an open letter to the India, published in London, asks the British labor the following questions:

1. What do you gain if Turkey is partitioned and the oil-wells of Mosul yield a million per cent dividend?

2. What is your profit if a score, more or less, provinces of Persia are each under a bureaucratic Anglo-Indian I. C. S. governor drawing \$15,000 per annum?

3. Will it add a few shillings more to your daily wages if the barren wastes of Mesopotamia are patrolled by Indians rendered desperate to do any unrighteous thing on account of the starvation prevailing in their country?

4. Will it benefit you if a chosen band of aristocrats and their henchmen, who have preyed upon you, and sucked you dry, find congenial nests in East Africa by driving away the Indians who were there years before trying to civilize the Aborigines not by segregation, flogging, exploiting, and shedding tears over their benightedness and exclaiming with true fervor bequeathed to them by the Asian Christ: "In the eyes of the Father the man of a lowly substance but of the true belief will be more honored than the Pharisees and Sadducees with their affluence and hypocrisy?" Kindly answer how you are benefited by the following sad episodes:

(a) What did you gain when the enslaving imperialistic cabinet blockaded Russia, squandered millions of your money, and sacrificed the lives of thousands of your brothers?

(b) Did you profit a farthing by the Greek massacre of Smyrna and the imperialistic jingoism of the Cretan adventurer, Venizelos, and his scum of the Levantines?

(c) When Dyer massacred and wounded thousands of my brothers at the Jallianwalla Bagh, did their blood fertilize the land so that you had a bumper harvest?

(d) Did the Fiji Sugar Company which starved the Indian workers, and then caused mar-

tial law to be proclaimed because the starving wretches had the hardihood to ask for a living wage, present you half a pound of sugar to sweeten your tea?

Revolt Against Capitalism in India

Behind and beneath the political agitation and revolutionary movement in India there are fundamental economic causes. During the last few years the cost of living has increased more than 150 per cent, wages of the workmen and farmers have not increased more than 50 per cent. More than that upwards of fifty millions of Indian people are always on the verge of starvation. Over and above these economic causes the Russian revolution has aroused Indian masses to direct action. Railroad strikes, strikes in steel industry, mines, jute and cotton mills and other industries have been very frequent.

The British government in India is not only opposed to grant even the eight-hour day to the workers, but is taking every means to check the rising tide of labor unrest in India. On various occasions strikers have even been shot down by the British soldiers. At the time when labor is awakening in India the British government is seeking the support of capitalists of India and England as well, thus backing the capitalists in their effort to make unlimited profits at the expense of the poor workers. The following speaks for itself:

The cotton industry has earned large profits as the following figures will reveal: The net profit of the spinning industry of this country (India) for the year 1919 was 110 per cent and that of the weaving mills 116 per cent. While in the year 1916 the spinning mills reaped profits to 68.34 per cent and the dividend declared was 33.14 per cent. In the year 1918 the weaving mills earned 45.66 per cent and the dividend was 24.28 per cent. In the year 1906 the profits on the spinning mills were only 6 per cent and in 1919 they are 110 per cent.

The exploited masses constitute the backbone of the country. The ideal of the Indian revolutionary movement is "the creation of a new social order in which life shall be valued above property and profit." Thus it is inevitable that in the last analysis Indian revolutionary movement is bound to take the turn of a measuring of strength between the exploited and the exploiters, and beyond the shadow of doubt, in course of time, capitalism in India is doomed.

Soviet Russia and Asia

Since the Baku Conference relations between Russia and all Asia, particularly India, are becoming more cordial.

Mr. B. N. Brailsford has lately remarked:

Very large numbers of Turks, Kurds, Per-

sians, Arabs and Tartars are now receiving a regular Red army education in the official college at Baku.

Through the influence of Soviet Russia, the Armenian question has been solved by the establishment of peaceful relations between the Soviet Republic of Armenia and the government of the Nationalist Turkey headed by Mustafa Kamel Pasha. The northern part of Persia has formed a revolutionary Soviet government in opposition to British-made government of Persia which is now a British protectorate.

Soviet Russia is regarded in all China as the real friend of China, as the former has relinquished all spheres of influence and concessions and rights of extra-territoriality in China and the far-sighted Japanese are carefully considering the need of a Russo-Japanese understanding. Soviet Russia has aided Afghanistan to be a truly independent country by the recognition of an Afghan ambassador in Moscow, while India, in her revolutionary ferment, is looking towards the whole-hearted cooperation of that country. That the British government is very nervous about the situation, can be understood from the following official statement:

The Indian government has established a bureau at a cost of \$45,000 to counteract Bolshevism.

It is needless to say that Asia, particularly India is moving fast against western imperialism. Indian opinion can be well understood from the following comment:

It is the domination and exploitation of countries like India, Persia and Mesopotamia in the interests of western capitalists that is the well-spring of the Asiatic movement. It is the ideas common to Bolsheviks and all lovers of freedom and justice, the right of individual to a fair opportunity to show what is in him and to pursue happiness, the right of nations to govern themselves, the hatred of militarism and a secret diplomacy which treats the people as cattle to be bought and sold. It is these ideas which now ferment in Asia and gather strength with each month that passes.

The great significance of Russo-Asian understanding lies in the fact that it must ultimately lead to the destruction of imperialism particularly that of the British Empire in Asia, which means justice and liberty for hundreds of millions of people.

Irish Progressive League For Independence of India

Expressing its sympathy and cooperation with the people of India in their struggle for independence from the British Empire, the Irish Progressive League of New York City has adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, a message of sympathy with the Irish in their struggle for freedom was drafted and dispatched by the Indian National Congress

in session in Nagpur, India, at the same time that a boycott of the coming visit of the Duke of Connaught to the east and a tribute to the memory of Lord Mayor Terence MacSwiney of Cork were voted on, be it therefore

Resolved, That the Irish Progressive League in general meeting assembled, expresses its high sense of appreciation and gratitude to the Indian Congress for its message of support and encouragement to the Irish Republic and assures the Indian people of the ardent and unflinching co-operation of the Irish race in their fight for the liberation of their country from the arrogant tyranny of the British Empire which civilization regards as the meanest and most hypocritical mockery of human oppression that ever cursed the world, and

That copies of this resolution be sent to the Irish and British ambassadors in Washington and to the Indian societies in New York.

British Empire Preparing for a New War

How the British Empire is preparing for another war will be evident from these extracts from a letter from Australia dated November 6, 1920:

Frantic efforts are going on here to get ready an army—and General —, who served in the A. I. F. in France, said recently that Australian troops would be fighting in India within 18 months. New Zealand staff officers are already "on active service" in India getting experience to enable them to take over the New Zealand Expeditionary Force on landing. The scheme is to seize Central Asia (Chinese and Russian Turkestan) despite the secret agreement with Japan, under the pretext that the Bolsheviks have stirred up a rebellion in India.

In New Zealand under sundry pretexts the government has passed a law providing for the complete disarming of the people even to revolvers and war souvenirs (German pistols, etc.) and has re-enacted the war regulations with a number of innovations providing for a complete dictatorship in the event of war. Also secret preparations are in swing to provide Milner with an expeditionary force of 40,000 fully equipped—a complete corps—artillery, air machines, etc. Jellicoe is making the naval dispositions.

What Germany Thinks of England

What Germans think of England can be gleaned from a circular issued by the League of German Patriots. A part of the circular states thus:

England in her desire for commercial supremacy and conquest has saturated every country of the globe with the blood of countless innocent victims. The bleaching bones of millions

of Irish, Indians, Boers and Egyptians tell the tale of the insatiable greed of the British vampire, and bear testimony that in her set purpose to ruin Germany, England has followed the tactics and the beast-of-prey instincts, she has followed for centuries. This has once more been proved by the ferocious butchery in cold blood at Amritsar of 500 harmless Hindus and the wounding and mutilation of 1500 more by a monster in a human shape, the British General Dyer—an act of savagery which surpasses in horror anything which the Germans were falsely accused of doing in Belgium.

Ill-Effects of Alien Rule

Mr. Ben Spoor, a member of the British Parliament, says that the flame of revolt has been lighted in India by the policy of the British repression. He proceeds:

A WAVE of nationalism has swept the country. Indian people have been reminded of their glorious past of that ancient civilization and profound culture which has influenced and still influences the thought of the whole world. Remembering their amazing history they refuse any longer to submit to an alien rule. They believe in their capacity for self-government and have faith in the justice of their claim. It is a claim that cannot be long denied. The world war has created new conditions in India as elsewhere. The old order has passed away. The British have held India by force. We are approaching a new era in which the compulsion of ideas alone will count. Without entering into a detailed discussion as to the character of the British rule in India or as to how far it is responsible for the conditions existing in that unhappy country, one is justified in stating some tragic facts that, once amongst the richest countries in the world, India is one of the poorest. The average income per head works out at about £2 a year. Half the population live on one meal per day. Disease decimates millions of her people every year. The average life in India is 23 years. If the domination of one race by another has not caused this terrible state of affairs, it has not prevented it. Certainly the imposition of western capitalism has not prevented India in that exaggerated inequality in the distribution of wealth which inevitably flows from a system that denies the human factor in industry.

And there are acts and regulations in the statute book of India that are a disgrace to Britain. The executive has armed itself with repressive powers that would not be tolerated for a single instant in any other part of the Empire. Small wonder that the flame of revolt has been lighted. The miracle is that it has not blazed higher. That it will do so very soon seems certain, unless wiser counsels prevail. The situation is extremely critical. A false step now may lead to irretrievable

ruin. On the other hand, if the British government has not entirely lost its political genius and forgotten its traditional faith in freedom, it may take a step that will not only bring liberty and equality to India but will make for the stability of the empire and the peace of the world.

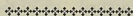
India's Sympathy With Ireland

In a meeting held at Jullunder, Punjab, the Sikh League unanimously adopted resolutions, condemning bitterly the atrocious action of the British government in Ireland. The league strongly expressed its indignation against the British government for the death of Lord Mayor MacSwiney, expressed condolence and sympathy with his family, and offered cordial cooperation for the success of the Republic of Ireland. Similar resolutions have been passed in mass meetings held in Bombay, Calcutta and other places, and by the India National Congress which held its sessions at Nagpur during Christmas holidays.

Black Tea

The Irish Republic published in Chicago, Ill., urges to boycott British brand black tea. It says:

When in the ancient days a terrible plague would sweep over the world a wide swath of death, people would call it a "Black" Plague or a "Black" Death. When some year would be filled with unusual catastrophe it was known as a "Black" Year. To many peoples the tea we know as Black Tea may soon come to have a similar significance as the things we have just mentioned. When you drink a cup of Black Tea you drink the anguish, the bloody sweat of underpaid Hindoos and Ceyloneses. You drink the bitterness of millions of people reduced to slavery and deliberately kept in a besotting ignorance. You drink the filthy greed of England who reaps rich profits out of the slavery of those upon whom she has imposed her will. You drink the blood of those who have died or will die fighting England in Ireland. Black Tea paid its share of the cost of the bullets that murdered Pearse, and Connolly, and Skeffington. Black Tea paid its share of the cost of the murderers who slew Thomas MacCurtain in the presence of his wife. Black Tea paid its share of the cost of the rope which broke the white young neck of Kevin Barry. Black Tea contributed to the murder of the expectant mother, Mrs. Quinn. Black Tea contributes to the upkeep of the Black and Tans. Black Tea and murder. Black Tea and the burning of Cork. Black Tea and homeless thousands. Black Tea and the destroyed creameries. Black Tea, aye, well is it named Black. Will YOU drink it?



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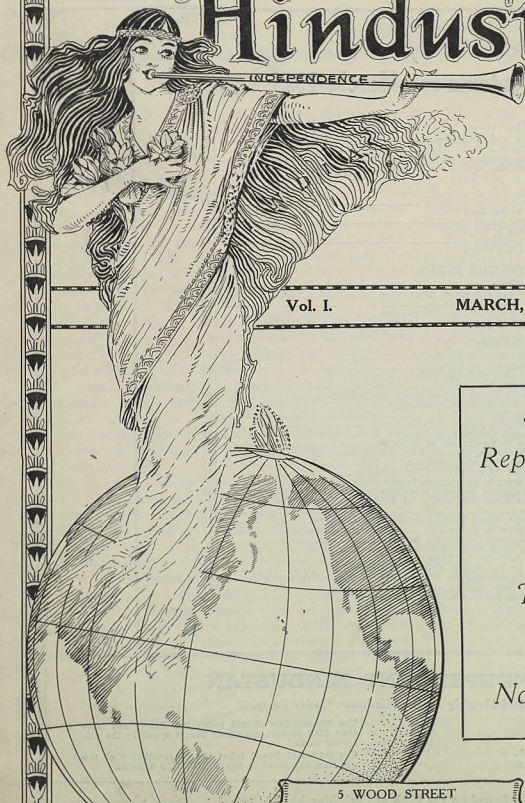
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JUN 14 1921

The Independent Hindustan



*A Monthly Review of
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Social and Intellectual
Independence of India*

Vol. I.

MARCH, 1921

No. 7

*The Village
Republics of India*

Editorials

*The Pulse of
The Press*

Notes and News

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SAN FRANCISCO, U. S. A.

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THE INDEPENDENT HINDUSTAN

A MONTHLY REVIEW

of Political, Economic, Social and Intellectual Independence of India.

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The Independent Hindustan

*A Monthly Review of Political, Economic,
Social and Intellectual Independence of India*

VOL. I

SAN FRANCISCO, MARCH, 1921

No. 7

:: Editorials ::

British Labor and Ourselves

An Indian revolutionary, whose vision is beyond the horizon of his own country, once asked, succinctly and sincerely, a British labor leader if India would secede from the British Empire, what would be the program of the British labor to adjust their economic life.

The British labor leader not only could answer the question but also he could not even imagine that India could break away from the British Empire. His only suggestion was that the Indian people must spend a great deal of money in England to make propaganda works in order to rouse the English people.

Such is the general attitude of the British labor. They often forget that India has paid her price to feed the English people and make England what she is to today.

It is, therefore, their duty to see to it that a portion of the money that has been robbed of India is spent to awaken their own people. It can not be doubted that the British labor has not shared the prestige, power and prosperity of the British Empire.

We have every sympathy and interest in the British laboring people. We believe the cause of labor is one. It is not our intention to starve out the British people, but there is a danger ahead of them. Mr. J. C. Shorrocks, a British capitalist in India, truly states the situation in the columns of the Evening Standard. He warns:

"Look for a moment at some hard facts and figures. Our annual trade with India, based on the most recent figures available, must be at least \$400,000,000. If 'non-cooperation' (boycott movement in India) succeeds we should at one stroke lose to that extent in work and wages, and this at a time when the cry of unemployment, due mainly to the tardy revival of our export industries, is daily growing in strength. Factories which cater for this eastern market could never survive such a blow."

It should be remembered that the possibility of the Indian market was one of the causes of the industrial revolution in England. Now, is the British labor ready to eliminate the present capitalistic imperialism? Do they recognize the hardships and sufferings which await them in the

period of transition, or are they planning to have the collective bargaining?

Upon the answers to these questions will depend how much faith we can have in the British labor for their cooperation in our struggle for independence.

Not for a moment we lose sight of the fact that it is the working people who are used as the Blacks and Tans and ordinary soldiers in the British Indian army.

The only way the British labor can save themselves from the clutches of imperialism is to carve out a definite program in cooperation with the Indian revolutionaries, whose motto is self-reliance.

Secession of India undoubtedly will bring hardships, but much of the sufferings can be mitigated if the British labor give up its nationalistic program and join whole-heartedly with the people of the world who are directing the forces in economic adjustment and amelioration.

The British labor can convince the Indian people of their sincerity and earnestness only if they at once get busy to see to it that not a single British workingman is recruited in the British army and navy, and not a single workingman pollutes his hand by making bombs, bullets and bayonets. In other words, they should actively carry out the mandates of the Indian non-cooperation movement instead of verbose declaration of policy.

May we not hope that the British labor will make their cause as one with the Indian people who are determined to destroy the British system of capitalistic imperialism?

Unleashed Dyer

Dyer de retour. When the news of Amritsar massacre began to percolate through the rigid censorship of the British government, the decent and peace-loving people of the world became shocked and horrified. Puzzled as they were, they rubbed their eyes to be sure that it was not a nightmare. They could not for a moment believe that the cries and agonies of innocent men, women and children could be drowned in the din and noise of the loud declarations and expression

of the high-sounding phrases of the rights and liberties for small nations.

That Dyer deliberately and despicably had dyed his dirty hands with the Indian blood has been verified and confirmed by the confession of the guilty himself. And an actual fact is also known to the world-at-large that the vast majority of the English people, because of his dexterity in massacre, hailed him as a hero and honored him morally and financially.

The same Dyer—Dyer who showed his wanton cowardice by firing upon the unarmed and unarmored people—has come out again with his pernicious plan of arousing his countrymen to do the very thing in which he has won the notoriety. Translating his sword into pen he writes an article in the *Globe* published in England in which he says:

"If the agitators are allowed to make India unbearable for the British and trade impossible, then indeed Indians will 'wade through a sea of blood'; but as I said, the blood of the extremists will flow first."

Let us coolly ask a question. To whom does India belong? Is it to the British who exploit and rob, or to those who have made it their permanent home? Dyer finds faults with the Indian patriots and calls them "rascals and thieves," because they want to have their own country independent and free from any alien nation. Dyer resents that the Indian people should have the audacity of aiming at the establishment of a government of their own in accordance with the most progressive conceptions the world has thus far advanced. He condemns that the people of India should have any desire to develop their industries, commerce, agriculture and natural resources. And for these crimes, Dyer defiantly declares that blood—blood of India should be the price of prestige and power of England.

No wonder that unleashed and unbridled Dyer is domesticated in the Downing street wherefrom he fiendishly flouts the noble aspirations of mankind.

Persons must be devoid of common sense, when they can not perceive the motives deeply rooted in the statements of Dyer who voices the sentiments of the English people. He, on behalf of the English government, has made the challenge to the Indian revolutionaries. This challenge will, no doubt, be accepted and we can assure him that his actions and his profanity will have salient effect upon the massed millions, who, he says, do not know what self-government means.

The rank and file of India may not understand the British-made freedom; but they have learned, without any mistake, what Dyerism is. He and his kind are therefore invited to India to revive his doctrine again. Hospitable and spiritual as they are, the people of India will consider it a privilege to make every arrangement for his soul to have an ablution in the sacred water of the Ganges instead of in the Thames.

Indo-Russian Entente Cordiale

That an Indo-Russian entente cordiale has been definitely established is elicited in a communique recently issued by the India office London. The communique publishes the text of an "order of the day" sent out on October 10 by M. Sokolinkow, Chief Commissar on the Turkestan front, to a Soviet division ordered into the Pamir region on the thresholds of India and China.

"Comrades of the Pamir division," said the order, "you have been given a responsible task. The Soviet republic sends you to garrison the posts on the Pamir, on the frontiers of the friendly countries of Afghanistan and India. The Pamir tableland divides revolutionary Russia from India, which, with its 300,000,000 inhabitants, is enslaved by a handful of Englishmen. On this tableland, you, the signalers of the revolution, must hoist the red flag of the army of liberation. May the peoples of India, who fight against their English oppressors, soon know that friendly help is not far off."

The instructions breathe the spirit of cordial cooperation. The Indian revolutionaries will be inspired and encouraged in their fight to destroy British imperialism.

Today, British Empire alone blocks the path toward peace, progress and prosperity. And it is an opportune moment that the anti-imperialists should unite together in scuttling an empire which has for centuries trampled the rights and liberties of nations of the world.

An alliance between India, Ireland, Russia and China will be an effective weapon in destroying imperialism, and as India holds the thread of the British imperial hegemony, every effort and energy should be utilized to make her free so that three hundred and fifteen liberated millions of India may extend their cordial cooperation to two hundred millions of Russia in ushering a new era in the world.

British Inquisition Against Independent Hindustan

It was not surprising to us when the United States postal administration revealed to us that the British government had forbidden the entry of the Independent Hindustan into India.

In the columns of our magazine, we have tried to prove that the independence of India will lead to the dismemberment of the British Empire upon the ruins of which will rise new nations with new hopes, new aspirations and new aims, and we have never hesitated to point out that the British government is spending millions of dollars, in accordance with the admission of Northcliffe, and resorting to forgery in carrying on the pernicious propaganda to befog the real issues of the world.

The Independent Hindustan may be the target of inquisition, but the power of an idea which rocks the very foundation of the Almighty none can resist.

The Village Republics of India

IN view of the revolutionary movements which are so rampant in India at the present days, and of the decision of the Indian people to set up an independent government of their own in accordance with the wishes of the people, much speculation is being made as to the political future of India.

That the present British domination is slated to be doomed, perhaps, needs no imagination to paint that plaintive picture. The British propagandists and press agents may painfully try to have the faith of the uninformed people pinned to their way of reasoning, but India is united and determined to decide her own destiny by utilizing her own resources and intelligence. In the struggle that has already begun, the students on adjustment of world's relationship and advocates of peoples' rights, are undoubtedly desirous of acquainting themselves with the plans and programs of the revolutionaries who are directing the forces to destroy British imperialism.

It is a mysterious human nature that we always look backward to find the basis of our present day activities which echo perhaps unconscious mind or dream of the past. A new thing, we want to create, no doubt; but a great deal of energy is being spent in collecting the materials indelibly impressed in the past. Besides, when an institution or particular theory is established, and an intelligent group of people considers it to be the most progressive, the innovators are tempted to have a comparative study of the various social institutions.

The following lines are penned not to delve into the discussion whether the Hindu genius evolved out a conception of the present Soviet system existing in Russia or not, but to stimulate a desire among those who may, through close and careful study, find that India's soil is very fertile for transplantation of the ideas which have already shaken the very foundation of the political, economic and social theories. It will be helpful to those who are willing to associate with the revolutionaries of India in founding a new society, if plans and programs would have clearly been stated. The assiduity and interest with which the leading revolutionary intellectuals are searching the foundation of their societies may perhaps at least give a hint as to the conception, in which a new India will be born.

"What the *Mir* has settled, is God's own judgment," says the Russian proverb. "There is God in the *Panch*," says the Hindu adage. *Mir* is the mother of the Soviet, and *Panchayat* is going to be the parents of the future Indian polity.

The vast majority of the Indian people lives in the villages and the proportion varies from about eighty-five to ninety per cent. Nearly

seventy-five per cent people live on agriculture.

These are the people who have kept the past tradition of communal life. The village republics which grew up into the Buddhistic period left a lasting impression upon the social structure of India.

Industrial socialism may not be known to the people, but agrarian communism is a natural system in which the people have been accustomed to live.

Undoubtedly since the advent of the British capitalistic system, the communistic principles have been shattered to pieces, and even in the joint-family where the real cooperative processes work has undergone a great deal of change.

The revival of the village republics, commonly known as *Panchayats*, is being considered by all the political workers in order that they may be made the future political foundations. For these village republics are the repository of rights and liberty of the peoples.

Sir Charles Metcalfe said: "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; but the village community remains the same. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the peoples of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."

These decentralized little republics, which were administered by *Srenis*, or *Soviets* were the bases upon which the central government developed. In other words, local bodies created the central government in India and surrendered only stipulated powers to it, after retaining the original ruling power. This fact is to be borne in mind in comparing with the development of governments in England, Germany, or France, where the local bodies are created from above.

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji rightly observes: "It is too often forgotten that a great deal of socialism and communism (representing advanced democratic ideals of the modern age) is held in solution in the Indian social system. Appropriate expression is found through various institutions which all imply strong collectivistic or communistic sense and institutions in the people, combined with a due restraint of that aggressive individualism and keen proprietary instinct which, under the influence of the Roman Jurisprudence, emphasizing private property and the sacredness of creditor's rights over those of the debtors, have given, in the opinion of the

most thoughtful sociologists and political philosophers, a somewhat wrong direction to the development of nations and states in Europe."

In the days of the village republics the curse of the present caste system did not carve out any social cleavage and crevice where mud and mire so tenaciously cling.

That there was intermarriage prevalent will be evident from the fact that "whomsoever the lover loves, be it low *Chandali* (untouchable low caste), all are alike; in love there is no unlikeness." The society was based on guild system. Every person was allowed to choose his own profession. Dignity of labor was duly recognized.

The village assembly used to hold its sessions in the *Sabha-Sithanu* or *Nigama-Sabha* (town hall). Mr. John Matthai in his village government states that according to the Madras Epigraphic Report for 1912-13, there were village assemblies in South India in the tenth century, A. D., which "appear to have consisted of all the residents of a village including cultivators, professionals, and merchants."

Evidence is abundant that legislation used to be made both by direct representation and election of the representatives. There were six standing committees—Annual Committee, Garden Committee, Tank (Irrigation) Committee, Gold Committee, Committee of Justice and a committee styled *Panch-Vara*.

The chief qualifications of membership in the committees were:

1. The person must own more than a quarter veli (nearly five acres) of tax-paying land.
2. He must live in a house built on his own site.
3. He must be below 70 and above 35 years of age.
4. He must be well educated. Education will make up for a defective property qualification.
5. He must be conversant with business.
6. He must be virtuous and his earnings must be honest.
7. He must not have been on any of the committees for three previous years.
8. One who has been a member before, but failed to render a proper account, and all his relations must be excluded.
9. Those who have been guilty of certain grave crimes are also ineligible.

The women were not excluded in holding any office in the committees.

The select committees report of British Parliament in 1812 publishes the list of officers in a Madras village. They were:

The **executive**, who has the general superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabitants, attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenues within his village.

The **accountant**, who keeps the accounts of cultivation and registers everything connected with it.

The **watchmen**, of whom there are two kinds—the superior and inferior. The duty of

the former is to gain information of crimes and offenses and to escort and protect persons traveling from one village to another. The province of the latter is more immediately confined to the village, consisting among other duties in guarding the crops and assisting in measuring them.

The **boudryman**, who preserves the limits of the village or gives evidence respecting them in cases of dispute.

The **superintendent of the tanks and water-courses** distributes the water therefrom for the purposes of agriculture.

The **Priest**, who performs the village worship.

The **schoolmaster**, who is seen teaching the children in the villages to read and write.

The **astrologer**, who performs the duty of a meteorologist by forecasting about the lucky or unpropitious periods for sowing and threshing.

The **smith and carpenter**, who manufacture the implements of agriculture and build the dwellings of the ryot.

The **potter**; the **washermen**; the **barber**; the **cowkeeper**; the **doctor**; the **dancing-girl**; the **musician** and poet.

Education formed a very important part in the life of the village republic. The Hindus have always held the learned men in high esteem. "A king is honored in his own country, but a learned man is respected all over the world," says a Sanskrit saying. With their firm belief that "there is no gift greater than the gift of knowledge," the Hindu villages have maintained schools at all costs in order to dispel ignorance.

Soon after the British took possession of India, they ruthlessly destroyed the indigenous national system of education, which existed widely all over India. The court of directors of the East India Company issued a dispatch June 3, 1814, in which reference was made as to the schools connected with the village community. It says: "The venerable and benevolent institution of the Hindus is represented to have withstood the shock of revolutions, and to its operation is ascribed the general intelligence of the nations as scribes and accountants."

The village republican educational system has always been secular and democratic in the strictest sense of the term.

The *Pial* school in Madras, the *Bengal Path-sala* the *Sikh Dharamshala* and *Muktab* in the Punjab, the *Mulla* school in Sind, the *Pongyi-Kyaungs* in Burma, the Moslem *Madrasah* possessed identical constitution, and methods of management and instruction. The "Bell and Lancaster system" of instruction which made a striking progress in England in the early part of the nineteenth century was an imitation of the Madras *pial* schools and Bengal *Pathsalas*. Dr. Andrew Bell, who introduced the system of monitorial instruction, was an army chaplain in India from 1789 to 1796.

The revival of the village national schools free from the hands of the British will be a real

constructive achievement of the revolutionaries who have made a plan to boycott the British government educational institutions. The stability of a nation largely depends upon the increase of intelligence of the rank and file. It is therefore a wise policy in carrying on revolutionary program in education.

Industries were controlled by the public. "From a south Indian inscription of the tenth century, A. D., it would appear that each village owned a certain number of looms in common, and the weavers who worked them were maintained out of the village fund. Any other looms would be unauthorized."

The entire industries, commerce and public utilities were controlled by the village republics, and the persons were assigned in proper places for administrative purposes. The system as it was existing left very little opportunity for creation of a class of idle speculators. In the society everybody had to work, whether it be brain or brawn. It is for this reason we find no evidence of clash between the employer and the employee, in spite of the fact that there was a body of persons who carried the red flag (*lauhitadhvajyah*) as their emblem. (It is mentioned in the *Tattvabodhini*.)

The industries were in the hands of guilds, which were never close corporations as some of the trade unions of the western and American countries are. Everybody, irrespective of caste, was welcomed in the guild and every opportunity was afforded for an apprentice. Of course there were various guilds in accordance with the type of industries and crafts. Bankers and merchants had their guilds which would probably correspond to modern banking associations and Chamber of Commerce.

The public works and utilities such as wells,

tanks, channels, roads, and buildings formed a very important feature of the village republics. Most of the works used to be performed by the communal labor.

The public health department consisted of the physician, the midwife, the scavenger, and the priest and the astrologer.

The strict discharge of his duty was demanded of the physician. The *Arthashastra* says: "Physicians undertaking medical treatment without intimating (to the government) the dangerous nature of the disease shall, if the patient die, be punished with the first amercement. If the death of a patient under treatment is due to carelessness in the treatment, the physician shall be punished with the middlemost amercement. Growth of disease due to the negligence of indifference of a physician shall be regarded as assault or violence."

Such are a few of the facts I have made an endeavor to cull from the immense mass of materials which present before us a vivid picture of the constitution and administration of the village republics.

India can never live in the past. The Hindu, Buddhistic, Moslem and British periods have made important changes in the life of India. The reasons for the survival of India lie both in elasticity of life and adaptability. In the momentous revolutionary period through which India is passing, the builders and creators of India's life cannot overlook the elements and forces which are shaping the destiny of mankind, and it can be hoped that the adamant barrier will not stand in the way of realization of hopes which have brought about a new lease of life across the Himalayas.

—SURENDRA KARR.

Blood-Thirsty Dyer

General Dyer, in an article in the "Globe," denouncing Mr. M. K. Gandhi's movement for self-determination in India, says: That the "strong hand will again get to work in India, if the agitators are allowed to make India unbearable for the British and trade impossible, then indeed Indians will 'wade through a sea of blood,' but as I said, the blood of the extremists will flow first!"

From the above statement it is obvious that General Dyer, after having killed over five hundred and wounded about fifteen hundred people at Armsitars in 1919, still finds his thirst for blood unsatisfied! He finds killing the unarmed people of India with modern machine-guns and bombs hurled from aeroplanes, a comparatively easy task.

The article says, "It was fortunate that we in the Punjab had time to act. We should act

in the same way tomorrow in similar circumstances."

After a storm of protest, condemnation and indignation all over India regarding this incident followed by a great debate in the House of Commons, and an investigation and a report by the Hunters' Commission, he still shows an inordinate desire for killing. It is of no use on the part of those who are presumably working in the interest of the people of India, to explain the actions of Dyer and his supporters as "mistakes" which Britain has committed in the past, because of the fact that Dyer and his supporters are ready to repeat those "mistakes" tomorrow if necessary.

There is no doubt that, the British Empire owes its existence to the type of men like Dyer. Woe be unto those who come under its dominance! Instances could be multiplied by the

score. We may take the case of Ireland. In Ireland there are no six million "outcasts" for the British government to protect, but the black-and-tans, in the name of democracy, civilization, law and good order, are plundering and murdering the Irish people and destroying by fire their peaceful homes and beautiful cities!

According to the definition of British imperialists, the man who would protect his home from alien intruders, who would say, "this is my own, my native land," I would fight to uphold the honor and freedom of my country, is an "extremist" (?) a thief (?), a "rascal."

Not only the day of self-determination but the day of retribution is at hand! The imperialists and empire builders are getting the wind—they are beginning to see that the game is up. Just as the United States had to wade through a sea of blood in 1776, to get her independence from Britain, so shall India, Ireland and Egypt be forced to wade through a sea of blood to become independent. For, the mentality of the Britishers have not changed. The American people know that liberty thus secured is worth the sacrifice. The spirit of American revolutionists stands as a beacon light which guides the path of the Indian, the Irish and the Egyptian "extremists" today in their forward march for liberty and independence from alien oppressors.

General Dyer says, "India and Britain cannot

be separated. It is like a rescuer who has been clutched by a drowning man. He must bring him safe to land or drown with him."

There is more truth than poetic effusion in this when the simile is reversed. The Britisher is the drowning man as every one knows in these days. In his death grip, he desperately clings. But there is no effort being made by anyone to bring the drowning man safely to land; but, on the contrary, a desperate effort is being made, at this very hour, to shake off the drowning man from his fearful clutches.

In so-called democratic England there are yet a large number of people who uphold the actions of a man like Dyer. They believe that it is only through this policy of blood and iron that India could be made safe for trade and British rule. Lloyd George, with his ubiquitous police and military, a vigorous censorship and a system of repression has been as successful as Metternich in suppressing the legitimate aspirations of people everywhere for self-determination. But a wave of nationalism stronger than in 1848 is sweeping over every country on earth. The cry for self-determination is heard from every land. Dyer and his supporters of the policy of blood and iron know that the writing is already on the wall as to the fate of the British Empire.

—WILSON J. de ALWIS.

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British-Made Princes

INDIA is a vast country. It has an area of about 1,650,000 square miles, *i. e.*, it is about fourteen times as large as Great Britain and Ireland. Nearly two-thirds of India is under the direct administration of British government and the remaining more than one-third (an area of about 600,000 square miles) is placed under the fostering care of the "ruling princes." As India as a whole can ill afford to neglect this third part I propose to give a general idea of the "progress and advancement" this portion has derived during the course of a century under the control and overlordship of the British government and the underlying principle ruling the ruling princes.

It is wrong to suppose that the Indian states under the princes are not British possessions. In face the whole of India is the property of the British and it is wholly and entirely in their keeping or grip. To think that the Feudatory states are somewhat or to some extent "free states" is to illusionize yourself. The real thing is that the people inhabiting those states as also the rulers are as much slaves as we ourselves are, and in some respects more so. And if coloring red in map indicates British possession or occupation the proper color for the states would be deep red.

Broadly speaking India is divided into two sorts of territories—the reserved and the nominally transferred territories. The reserved two-thirds part of India which yields enormous revenue is controlled and administered by the Britishers direct and the transferred one-third part (known as states) is managed by agencies who are either political agents or residents. The political agents or residents are the real rulers who delegate powers to the chiefs or princes, themselves remaining either in the states or at some reconnoitering central positions as dictators or sentinals. Anyone who has taken some pains to study these will perhaps agree with me that the powers supposed to be enjoyed by the Feudatory chiefs are not real but imaginary and delegated powers liable to be forfeited any moment a chief fails to conduct himself well, that is, incurs the displeasure of the agent or the resident and through him the imperial government.

The system of managing states through agencies is based upon a commercial principle. Imperial interests are guarded or tributes are collected by the agents scattered throughout important and suitable central places. In the case of larger states periodical inspections are done in the form of viceregal visits. There are more than 500 Feudatory states from Hyderabad, with a revenue of 40 millions, to a small Kathiawar state with a paltry income of four thousand or a few hundred rupees, but the number of important states will hardly exceed fifty. Barring these important ones the rest are all inconvenient or jungle states having scanty revenues peopled by what are called the depressed aboriginal or the rude tribes. The

policy of direct supervision or administration under English officers would not have been so lucrative a business so far as establishment and other matters or economy are concerned, and hence the small states of Kathiawar, Orissa, Bundelkhand, C. P. (Chattigarh) states are grouped together and a convenient number is placed under one agent. It is a mistake to think that these small states were not absorbed in the British territory for any other purpose than commercial. British administration means, unfortunately in India, systematic collection of revenue and it is expediency that *demanded consolidation and not further absorption*. Besides, it is a stern fact that the total collection of revenues of all the native states would not always be equal to a larger British province. Apart from the main commercial reason there are other political grounds for which these states are kept protected.

A look at the map of India will show that these states lie scattered all over India. For facility of supervision and management they are divided into several groups which are as follows:

(I) Rajputana group consists of 18 states, *vis.*, Udaipur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bundi, Kota, Jhalawar, Touk, Karauli, Kisbengarh, Dholpur, Bhurtpur, Alwar, Bikaner, Jaisalmer Sirohi, Dungarpur, Bauswara and Pertabgarh. Of these, Touk is a Mahomedan state and Dholpur and Bhurtpur are Jat states and the rest are Rajput states.

(II) Central India group consists of six states, namely, Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal, Dhar Dewas and Jeora. These are Mahratta states, excepting Bhopal and Jeora, the rulers of which are Mahomedans.

(III) Bundelkhand group comprises of four states—Rewa, Tehri, Datia and Samptar, the former two being only important.

(IV) Western India contains four states, namely, Baroda, Kolhapur, Sawaitwari and Kachhi, and of these Baroda is one of the most important of Indian states in point of administration. Revenue and honor and the importance of Kolhapur is mainly historical and the ruler being a descendant of the great Mahratta hero Sivaji.

(V) In Southern India there are four important states—Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. Historically the kingdom of Hyderabad is of recent date, having been established at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Asaf Jab. The Hindu kingdoms of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin have their antiquities and traditions.

(VI) The northern India group consists of several Sikh states, Cashmere, Patiala, Jhind, Nabha, Faridkot, Kapurthala and a number of small trans sutlej states and the Mahomedan kingdom of Bhawalpur. Then there are the

(VII) Kathiawar states,

(VIII) the Orissa Feudatory states,

(IX) and states of Bengal—Cooch Behar and Tippera.

Amongst the Kathiawar principalities Junagarh, Bhabnagar, Jamnagar, Rajcot, Nawnagar have some importance. Of the Orissa states which are under the control of a political agent residing at Sambal, Mayurbhanj, Keonijhar, Dhinkanapur, Patna, Bamra, Sonepar are worth mentioning. In the Central Provinces there is a group of smaller states known as Chattisgarh states and the Jungle state of Bastar. In the further south there is the state of Pudukota in the Madras Presidency. In the Central Provinces and in Orissa the number of smaller states is large enough and the country being hilly and full of jungles, these states form nice hunting grounds for sportsmen and huntsmen Europeans. They may be regarded as preserved forests under some caretaker. All these states are under the political agents and district officers of Sambalpur, Raipur and Champa.

I would now make an attempt to acquaint our readers with some idea of the prices the ruling princes have got to pay for the purchase of that priceless thing—Protection of the British arms. Apart from other bindings that bind the rulers they are bound to rigidly respect the following terms. I may here mention that what is true in the case of a large State is also true in the case of a small one. (1) To act in subordinate co-operation with the British government and with submission to its supremacy. (2) To furnish troops at the requisition of the British government. (3) To pay tributes according to the terms (the amounts are different in different cases). (4) To submit to the arbitration and award of the British government any case of dispute that may arise with neighboring princes. (5) Not to have any connection with other states and chiefs. In exchange of the above the princes are to enjoy perpetual friendship, alliance and protection. This is in short the inner meaning of subordinate co-operation so far as the ruling princes are concerned.

It is not possible for me within the limited space to give a detailed account of the revenues. The imperial British government desire from these sources as the number of the states is legion and the amount are varied but I should request the reader to form an idea about the hugeness of collection from the approximately accurate figures given here with regard to several important States. It is a fact that the collection is a very large amount and the trouble is minimum.

Let me begin with Hyderabad—the Nizam's dominion which is the largest of the Indian states. It does not pay any annual tribute. It had to hand over the province of Berar, which yields an annual revenue of about ten million of rupees i. e. (nearly one-fourth of the revenue that His Highness the Nizam gets from his present dominion) for the clearance of a debt that His Highness had incurred before. From a fraction of the huge amount a contingent of troops is maintained for the protection of His Highness's territory. This arrangement is called politically "lease in perpet-

uity." It was done in 1853; before that in 1800 the Nizam had to cede to the British government the districts of Bellary, Cuddapah and part of Kurnool. It is now for the readers to guess the amount of tribute derivable in perpetuity from H. H. the Nizam. Mysore was administered by the British government direct from 1831 to 1881, when it was handed over to the old ruling family and the tribute it pays is more than 2,400,000 of rupees. Baroda does not pay any direct tribute but on a feudatory it has to meet the needs of the imperial government in time of need. Baroda has a number of feudatory chiefs under him and the tribute His Highness used to receive directly are now received through the hands of British political officers who have become the collectors and transferers of these tributes. It would not be out of place to say here that Baroda is the only Maharatta chief who never tried its strength with the British arms while other important Maharatta chiefs had several tough fights. Kashmir and Jammu is the next important state. It should be borne in mind that Raja Golap Singh, who was originally a servant of Maharaja Ranjit Singh—the Lion of Punjab, became Raja of Jammu by his service to Maharaja Ranjit. When Ranjit was no more and when the Sikh army met with defeat after several bloody, severe fights and stubborn resistance the whole of the territory of the Lion of Punjab was annexed. Kashmir formed a part of the annexed territory. The indemnity as the cost of war that was demanded by the British government could not be found, at last in 1846 Raja Golap Singh purchased Kashmir from the British government which came into possession as a result of victory by payment of more than crore of rupees. Thus the political status of Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu is different from those of other chiefs and he pays only a nominal tribute in acknowledgement of overlordship. It should be noted that though the political relationship of Baroda or Kashmir with the British government appears to be somewhat on a different footing, the ruler of these States also can be removed from the thrones like other rulers. Next comes Gwalior and Travancore. The former pays 1,800,000 rupees for the maintenance of a force and the latter 800,000 rupees. We now come to some Rajputana states, viz., Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Kota, Bundi: the tribute of these states range from one hundred twenty thousand to four hundred thousand rupees.

I close this particular subject by giving an approximate figure. Roughly speaking the total collection from tributes in solid money is about ten million rupees, besides other obligations to the imperial government already given above. I cannot help mentioning here one more development which has taken place within quite recent times and that is almost all the large states have now to maintain imperial force—such as imperial transport corps, camel corps, Bhil corps, etc.

—NANI LAL GUPTA,

In United India and Indian States.

The Pulse of the Press

Britain's Ambition

The Federated Press publishes a portion of a chapter from a forthcoming pamphlet on "The Peace of Europe," by Professor Scott Nearing, who says:

GREAT BRITAIN cleaned up on the Treaty. She received the virtual control of Africa and the Near East, including a stretch of territory from the Cape of Good Hope to the Malay Peninsula, together with the complete domination of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, of the Red Sea and of the Persian Gulf. This insures to her, not only the much coveted trade routes to the East, but some of the richest territories of Asia as well; and it gives her a strategic hold on all of the peoples living about the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean.

Great Britain wanted nothing in Europe, and she got nothing. Consequently it has been easy for her to put upon the shoulders of France the task of enforcing the Treaty in the only part of the world where enforcement involves a serious responsibility, and to compel France, at Spa and elsewhere, to act as gendarme for the League of Nations.

Economy Necessary.

In the same way, Great Britain is allowing France to play the leading role in the establishment of the "mandates" for the Near East. The interests of France there are considerable, but she has an army of seventy thousand engaged in her Syrian campaign at a time when her finances demand the utmost economy.

Meanwhile Britain continues her negotiations with Russia—alternating between a policy of wheedling and one of outraged dignity. On the same day, in the same copy of the British papers, one reads that Kameneff has been sent back to Russia after a savage lecture by the prime minister, and that Krassin has just closed important contracts with British firms for the supply of such and such materials to the Soviet government.

France or Russia?

The fact is that the British are seeking an alliance with Russia on terms that will keep the Russians out of Asia, and give the British capitalists large concessions in European Russia. Then, too, there is the other problem—the problem of the solvency of French diplomacy. Britain's position as the mistress of the world forces her into an alliance with the dominant nation or the dominant group of nations in Europe. Which is that dominant nation? Is it France or Russia?

When it looked as though the Russians were about to take Warsaw, the chances of an alliance between Britain and the Soviets seemed excellent. The moment the tide turned in favor of the Poles, the negotiations with Russia were broken off.

The objective toward which Britain is moving is in plain sight, but the path that the British statesman must tread in order to reach that object is a thorny one. At the first sign of serious French weakness, at the first demonstration of Russian strength, there will be a renewal of the tactics that the British statesmen followed during the crisis over the expected fall of Warsaw.

Let the French power wane, and the British will join hands with Russia, furnish the Soviet government with credit, and receive, in return, the concessions about which the British capitalists are so anxious and about which Lenine has already spoken on a number of occasions. Meanwhile the whole matter hangs in the balance, and the peoples of Europe oscillate between war and peace.

Milner's Warning.

Nor is the British Empire any too secure. The leading statesmen of Britain have spoken repeatedly of the danger that threatened—a civil war in Ireland; of an uprising in India; a religious war in the Near East. The whole fabric of capitalist civilization is in the balance, as Lord Milner reminded the House of Lords (July 20, 1920). There was a danger of the overthrow of law and order everywhere. "It was a danger by which we were now threatened all over the world as we had never been threatened before, and specially in India."

Ten days later (July 31, 1920) the *London Times*, in an editorial, stated that "Today the condition of Europe and of a large part of the world is scarcely less critical than it was six years ago. Within a few days, or at most a few weeks, we may know whether the Peace Treaty signed at Versailles will possess effective validity. There is undoubtedly a widespread plot against Western civilization as we know it, and probably against British liberal institutions as a principal mainstay of that civilization."

Empire at Stake.

With the vast structure of the British Empire at stake, British statesmen cannot be too particular about their relations with one of the European powers. They will ally themselves where the alliance will count for most from the point of view of world control.

And what is the choice before the statesmen of Britain? They must decide between Russia and France. Each day it is becoming more and more apparent that Russia holds the key to the future of Europe—not only because she has been the first to espouse a system of society that promises the European peoples relief from the intolerable burdens of the present order, but because she will soon hold the European balance of power unless the plans of her diplomats miscarry.

THE PATH OF THE HANGMAN.



John Bull, the Beast-of-Prey-That-Walks-Like-a-Man, pursuing his path of Blood, Tears and Ruin across the world amidst the cries of agony and despair rising day and night from throttled India, Ireland, Egypt, Persia, Mesopotamia and the latest victims of his greed, falsehood and ferocity.

Will Japan Help England?

In refuting asseveration of a great many canards that Japan is bound to give aid and succor to England in case of revolutionary outbreaks in India, *The Asian Review* published in Tokyo, Japan, voices the sentiments of the Japanese people thus:

The non-cooperation movement is in full swing in India. In some provinces the college students have held meetings and passed resolutions asking the management to sever all connections with the government (British). Addressing the students of the Allahabad colleges, who are strong supporters of the non-cooperation movement, Mrs. Annie Beasant, president of the Theosophical society, who has consistently opposed the agitation from its very inception, is reported to have said: "If you keep yourselves to this way there will be trouble, and you will have to face the tremendous power of England, which is armed from head to foot and which will be supported by Japan (italics ours)."

It is certainly surprising that a responsible person of Mrs. Beasant's position, intelligence and wide international knowledge should not be aware of the fact that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance nowhere says that Japan will come to the aid of Great Britain in case of a revolution in India. According to this alliance Japan is to assist England only when India is attacked by a third party from outside. If there be a revolution in India Japan has no obligation to go there and suppress it.

Mathematics Discovered by the Hindus

Mr. Krishna Rao Bhonsle, writing about the Differential Calculus in ancient India in the *Indian Review* throws light on the contributions of the Hindus in different branches of mathematics. He says:

"From R. C. Dutt's 'History of Civilization in Ancient India,' I have been able to gather that the Hindus had discovered the first elementary law of geometry in the eighth century before Christ and imparted the knowledge to the Greeks—thus the world owes its first lessons in geometry not to Greece but to India. Dr. Thibaut has deserved the thanks of all Oriental scholars for proving the fact that geometry, as a science, was first studied in India and it was developed from the rules for the construction of the altars of different shapes for sacrifices. The application of algebra to astronomical investigations and to geometrical demonstrations was a peculiar invention of the Hindus. Arabian writers translated Hindu works on algebra in the eighth century, A. D., and Leonardo of Pisa first introduced them into modern Europe. In trigonometry, too, the Hindus seem to have been the earliest teachers in the world; and in arithmetic they invented the system of decimal nota-

tions which the Arabians borrowed from them and taught in Europe and which is now the property of the human race. It is with a similar feeling of respectful admiration that Mr. Colebrooke alludes to Sanskrit treatises on mensuration; also Mr. R. C. Dutt further states that the great Hindu mathematician, Bhaskara Acharya, was born in 1114, A. D., and completed his great work known as the *Siddhanta Siromani* in 1150, A. D., the preliminary portions of which are the *Bijaganita* (algebra) and the *Lilavati* (arithmetic), which have been translated by Mr. Colebrooke; and the *Goladhyaya* portion on spherical trigonometry has been translated by Mr. Wilkinson and revised by the renowned mathematician, Pandit Bapu Deva Shastri. . . .

"When I was recently reading that ever interesting book, Mrs. Manning's 'Ancient and Mediaeval India,' I came across the fact that one of my ancestors did know the Differential Calculus in the 12th century! She writes:

"Mr. Spottiswoode has explained the Hindu astronomical methods of calculating eclipses, for those who wish to comprehend their nature, and estimate their real value. . . . The respect and interest, which the persevering labor and intelligence of ancient Hindus excite in Mr. Spottiswoode, were further evinced in 1859, when Professor Wilson asked for his opinion on a short article by Bapu Deva Shastri, Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy at the government college of Benares, the object of which was to show that Bhaskara Acharya, who lived at Ougein (Ujjayini), in the twelfth century, 'was fully acquainted with the principle of the Differential Calculus,' that being the most important discovery of the 17th century in Europe."

Paper Making in India

The *wealth of India* published in Madras says:

The world's consumption of paper was about 10 million tons in 1918 and it is increasing at the rate of 25 per cent every ten years. Burma, Bengal, and South and West India contain enough bamboo to give a supply of 15 million tons of pulp. Assam can provide another 5 million tons from savannah grasses—that is to say, India can easily provide double the quantity of paper required by the world at the present moment.

The progress of the paper industry in this country has so far been retarded by the difficulties of converting the bamboo into pulp. The nodes or knots of the raw bamboo were difficult to deal with and it was not possible to bleach sufficiently and economically. The Forest Research Institute now announces that these difficulties have been solved on a laboratory scale; and they soon hope to prepare pulp on commercial scale.

Notes and News

University for Women in Punjab

That the women of India are quite alive to their needs, without waiting for the men to decide, is evident from the fact that an educational conference was recently held at Jullundur, Punjab, under the presidentship of Shrimati Sarala Devi Chaudhrani. It was unanimously agreed upon that a university for women was urgently needed at the present moment. The university, it was decided, should be absolutely non-sectarian. A committee, having the women as the sponsors, has been formed to devise the ways and means.

National Education in India

Efforts are being made to make the National Council of Education, Bengal, an active political force again in India. Recently Mr. Gopal Chandra Sinha has made a donation of one hundred thousand rupees to the council. That despite ruthless persecution by the British government the National Council has been functioning since 1905 is a living example that national spirit cannot be suppressed by militarism. The National Council has produced several revolutionary leaders and has silently, for the last sixteen years, inculcated a genuine national spirit in the youths. While thousands of students are boycotting the governmental institutions all over India, it is expected that the National Council, as a pioneer institution, will take a prominent part in furthering the national educational cause in India.

The Khilafat as a Fight for Liberty of the World

At the Khilafat Conference held in the Congress Pandal at Nagpur, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, who presided said:

When the Khilafat agitation commenced, the cry was for saving the holy places from unholy hands, and also for maintaining the Turkish Empire. But time had made astounding revelations; and it was now clear that the Khilafat question was intermingled with the world's fight for liberty of all nations. The greatest imperialistic nation of the world, the British government, which was trying to destroy the liberties of all minor nations, must be weaned from its activities. Unless this was achieved no solution of the Khilafat question would satisfy the Moslem world. *The first duty of the Khilafat workers should, therefore, be to confine themselves now to win the lib-*

erty of India, and to see that not a single penny or a single soldier of India was thereafter used for destroying the liberties of other sister nations of the world. The means by which liberty of India could be won was now non-cooperation. . . . Hindu-Muslim unity should be lasting, and was not merely a political expedient as the opponents always tried to make out in order to create differences among their ranks. The die had been cast, he concluded, and it was for the people to show that they were ready to sacrifice all to secure liberty for India.

Non-Cooperation in India

The following is the full text of the non-cooperation resolution passed without a single dissenting vote in the last sessions of the Indian National Congress held in Nagpur:

"Whereas in the opinion of the congress the existing government of India had forfeited the confidence of the country, and whereas the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj, and whereas all methods adopted by the people of India, prior to the last special session of the Indian National Congress, have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more especially in reference to the Khilafat and the Punjab:

"Now this congress, while re-affirming the resolution on non-violent non-cooperation passed at the special session of the congress at Calcutta, declares that the entire or any parts of the scheme of non-violent non-cooperation with the present government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other, should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee, and that in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf.

(a) By calling upon parents and guardians of school children (and not the children themselves) under the age of 18 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided, or in any way controlled by government and concurrently to provide for their training in national schools, or by such others, as may be within their power, in the absence of such schools;

(b) By calling upon students of the age 18 and over to withdraw without delay, irrespective of the consequences, from institutions owned, aided, or in any way controlled by government, if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of government, which the nation has

solemnly resolved to bring to an end, and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the non-cooperation movement, or to continue their education in national institutions;

(c) By calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of government, affiliated or aided schools and municipalities and local boards to help to nationalize them;

(d) By calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to national service, including boycott of law courts by litigants and fellow lawyers and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration;

(e) In order to make India economically independent and self-contained by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of British trade relations, to encourage hand spinning and hand weaving, and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All-India Congress Committee;

(f) And generally inasmuch as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of non-cooperation by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self-sacrifice to the national movement;

(g) By organizing committees in each village or group of villages, with a provincial central organization in the principal cities of a province, for the purpose of accelerating the progress of non-cooperation;

(h) By organizing a band of national workers for a service to be called the Indian National Service;

(i) By taking effective steps to raise a national fund to be called the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund, for the purpose of financing the foregoing national service and the non-cooperation movement in general.

"This congress congratulates the nation upon the progress made so far in working the program of non-cooperation, specially with regard to the boycott of councils by the voters, and claims, in the circumstances in which they have been brought into existence, that the new councils do not represent the country, and trusts that those who have allowed themselves to be elected, in spite of the deliberate abstention from the polls of an overwhelming majority of their constituents, will see their way to resign their seats in the councils, and that if they retain their seats, in spite of the declared wish of their respective constituencies in direct negation of the principle of democracy, the electors will studiously refrain from asking for any political service from such councillors.

"This congress welcomes the growing friendliness between the police and the soldiery and the people and hopes that the former will refuse to subordinate their creed and country to the fulfilment of orders of their officers, and by

courteous and considerate behavior towards the people, will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them, that they are devoid of any regard for the feeling and sentiments of their own people.

"This congress appeals to all people in government employment pending the call of the nation, for resignation of their service, to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with their people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings whilst refraining from taking any active part therein, and more specially by openly rendering financial assistance to the national movement.

"This congress lays special emphasis on non-violence being an integral part of the non-cooperation resolution and invites the attention of the people to the fact that non-violence in word and deed is as essential between the people themselves as in respect of the government and this congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of democracy but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of non-cooperation.

"Finally, in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be redressed and *Swarajya* established within one year, this congress urges upon all bodies, whether affiliated to the congress or otherwise, to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of non-violence and non-cooperation with the government; and, inasmuch as the movement of non-cooperation can only succeed by complete cooperation amongst the people themselves, this congress call upon the public associations to advance Hindu-Muslim unity and the Hindu delegates of this congress call upon the leading Hindus to settle all the disputes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, wherever they may be existing, and to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability and respectfully urges the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the supposed classes."

Caste to Be Abolished by the Indian Nationalists

"The caste system must go root and branch," said Mr. Patel in the course of his presidential address at the Indian Social Reform Conference at Nagpur, India. "All social relations must be based on justice, freedom and consent" he continued. "Democracy would be nothing but a dream, if in the same breath caste distinctions were observed. In this new order, when they sought the revaluation of all values, individual lives must become protests against such arrogant superstitions that had reduced religions into a bundle of meaningless fads.

All-India College Students' Conference

The students from different parts of India met in conference at Nagpur, and outlined a program of works which they should do for the emancipation movement of India. The resolutions include:

1. Unconditional boycott of British government aided and owned universities and colleges;

2. Establishment of national universities and colleges and schools with ample provisions for vocational and technological training;

3. The conference suggests to student strikers to take up the following program of national work according to their strength and ability;

(a) To take up propaganda work of the Indian National Congress, possibly after training under the guidance of local leaders and to popularize it specially in villages;

(b) To form themselves into Sewa Samitis or volunteer corps for social service and to prepare themselves for the role of national police to maintain peace and order in cities, towns and villages, as the case may be;

(c) To take up primary education in villages;

(d) To form temperance units in order to check the drinking habit of the people by all honorable means;

(e) To learn the art of weaving and hand spinning and promote the same in villages and towns;

4. To make efforts to turn the young generation into militia.

Repression in India

That the British government is again very busy in resorting to repressive policy will be evident from the following order issued by the British commissioner of police at Calcutta:

"Whereas the commissioner of police, Calcutta, is of opinion that the delivery of public harangues by you, Nagendra Nath Bhattacharji of Calcutta is likely to incite to the commission of an offense and to a disturbance of the public peace and resistance to and contempt of law and lawful authority, the commissioner of police prohibits you from delivering public harangues for a period of one year from this date, the 6th of November, 1920, within the limits of the city and suburbs of Calcutta."

Similar orders have been issued in different parts of the Punjab. Delhi and Lahore have once again been proclaimed under the Seditious Meetings' Act, while one national and three Khilafat organizations have been declared unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

British Supporters Tarred and Feathered

The spies and traitors who go against the interests of their own country are having a red-peppered time in India. The only punishment that can be meted out under the present circumstances to all those betray their own countrymen is social ostracization. Recently a man who was consistently opposed to non-cooperation movement died at Delhi. The right of burial to the corpse was denied by the people. Then the relatives of the deceased man appealed to the British commissioner, who said he was quite helpless in the face of such a strong opposition. If the man had a soul, it might have had noticed what a tragedy even unto death it was, when a person injured the interests of the country.

During the time of so-called election, the voters and candidates who defying the mandates of the Indian National Congress supported the British-made councils received numerous humiliations from the people. In Bengal the candidates had been pelted with rotten eggs and the voters had been tarred and feathered.

These incidents simply show how the loyalists to the British government are despised.

Indian National Congress to Establish Information Bureaus

In the last session of the Indian National Congress held in Nagpur, it has been decided to establish information bureau in every important center of the world. That the enlightenment of the people of the world about the case of the India's independence is an immediate necessity has keenly been felt by all those who have travelled extensively abroad. It is understood that the centers will be established in London, New York, Tokyo, Paris, Berlin and later on in some other places. The congress leaders must be congratulated upon their wise decision. We shall be happy to see that persons of keen intelligence, alertness and character are selected to direct the movement, and hope that personal propensity is not displayed where sound statesmanship is demanded.

Davis Cup to Be Challenged by India

The United States Lawn Tennis Association at New York received a formal challenge for the Davis Cup from the All-India Tennis Association. Secretary Gupta of the All-India Association, sent the cable instructions through S. M. Jacob of London.

It is a healthy sign that the Indians are coming out of their own country to test their ability in the athletic fields abroad.

Coal Fields Reformer Assaulted by Englishmen

Because Swami Bishwanand wanted to remove the intolerable conditions of the miners in the Raniganj coal fields, he was assaulted and beaten by fourteen Englishmen. Swami organized the miners who made a successful strike against the English capitalists, who threatened to shoot him and turned over his carriage. The Swami was seriously injured, and but for the timely assistance of the strikers and others might have been killed. At a meeting, attended by over 10,000 people to protest against the outrageous action, it was decided to open a national school to educate the laborers of their rights and privileges.

Indian Men and Women Imprisoned in Fiji

The news has reached us that one hundred and ninety-two Indians—men and women—were sentenced to imprisonment in Fiji for they organized a general strike against the English planters. Most of them have already finished their terms but still there are not less than twenty Indians rotting in the jails of the colony. The list of punishments is as follows:

Assemblage, more than five: Eight men, 12 months each, and 1 man, 9 months.

Riot in Toorak: 108 men; 1 month each; 16 men, 3 weeks; 10 women 1 month; 1 woman, 3 weeks, and 2 women, 2 weeks.

Bridge-wrecking in Nasinu: Seventeen men, 6 months each; 1 man, 12 months; 4 men, 18 months, and 1 man, 2 years.

Riotous behavior: Three men, 18 months; 4 men and 2 women 12 months; 1 man and 1 woman, 7 months, and 3 men, 6 months.

Wounding and assault: Two men, 5 years; 1 man, 2 years; 2 women, 18 months; 1 woman, 12 months; 1 man, 3 years; 1 man, 10 months, and 1 man, 18 months.

These brave men and women have suffered, for they wanted to uphold their rights. Not in empty phrases but in actual works, every Indian, if he has a drop of blood in his vein, must see to it that flagrant violation of India's rights and liberty can not be continued by the Britishers any longer.

Indians in East Africa Demand Equal Rights

The Indian Community in East Africa assembled in a congress at Mombassa adopted a resolution of non-cooperation with the government and the Britishers unless and until justice and fairness are done to the Indians:

(a) By removing immediately all the disabilities resulting from the adoption of the principle of segregation of races in the Eastern Africa

territories, which is most injurious and detrimental to the political and economical development of the Indians;

(b) By granting the Indians the right of franchise on the same basis as that on which it is granted to the Britishers on a common register;

(c) By removing all the disabilities imposed upon Indians in acquiring land in any part of the colony of Kenya and the protectorates of East Africa, Uganda and Zanzibar; and

(d) By removing the racial bar which at present exists in the way of Indian civil servants being appointed and promoted to the officer grade.

Bostonians Organize to Support India's Fight for Independence

The citizens of Boston and of the state of Massachusetts organized a branch of the Friends of Freedom for India to support India's fight for independence at an enthusiastic meeting in the Hotel Brunswick, Boston, Mass. The following officers were elected:

Mrs. Mary McCarron Lowe, president; Jeremiah Carroll, John I. Kelly, M. H. Carter, William J. Andrews and M. J. Sharkey, vice-presidents; James H. G. Fay, secretary, and James O'Hara, treasurer.

It was the first state conference held under the auspices of the Friends of Freedom for India, New York City. Mrs. Josephine B. Bennett of Hartford, Conn., national secretary, presided. In the course of her address she said:

"There is no question which we as Americans have to consider which is more important than the independence of India. Our great nation, as Abraham Lincoln said, 'was conceived in liberty and dedicated to the principle that all men are created equal.' We were told that we went into the World war to 'fight for those things which we have always carried closest to our hearts,' for democracy, the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government to defend the American traditions to which we as a nation are honor bound. Our faith was betrayed, our word was broken by our diplomatic representatives, and we, the American people, must make good our pledge. India today is in revolt against the same power that is trying to crush the Irish Republic. The Irish people have determined by peaceful means the government under which they desire to live and the British master against whom the people of Ireland have struggled for 700 years is trying to crush them and to rule them by force. But Ireland will never submit.

"How long the struggle in Ireland will be may well be determined in India. The Irish Republic is exasperating to the British imperialist. The independence of India means a death blow at the heart of the empire. In the bullfights they first goad the bull by driving darts into his shoulder, and then the matador ends the infuriated

beast with a sword thrust in a vital part. The British imperial bull is painfully goaded by the dart of Ireland. The independence of India is the matador's death blow.

"America can not remain neutral, for the question at issue is one upon which the peace of the world hangs. Either America must side with imperial Britain and be party to her oppression of her subject people, or America must stand by her principles of liberty and self-government and side with the oppressed peoples in their determination to govern themselves. I can not believe that we as a people hold so lightly the principles our forefathers fought for; I can not believe that we have forgotten the noble tradition about which our patriots have spoken in words that are today world classics; I can not but believe that in us still burn the fires of freedom, that we will stand before the world true to ourselves and to our convictions and give official recognition to the Republic of Ireland and ally ourselves with the people of India, help her to establish a free republic and hearten her in her struggle for her complete independence."

Mr. Sailendranath Ghose, national organizer, pointed out the needs of the Indian Swarajists abroad, which consist:

"1. In fighting the false English propaganda which has been systematically conducted to misrepresent our institutions and our conditions and our aspirations.

"2. To secure sympathy and support from the outside world for our movement for absolute independence.

"3. To support our movement at home, financially or otherwise, acting as far as possible in full cooperation with organizations in India which are working to free India from the alien English yoke and to save the entire world from the 'English peril'."

Among other speakers were Assistant District Attorney Thomas H. Mahoney, James H. G. Fay, Taraknath Das, executive secretary, Miss Rebecca Kabrisky, and Miss Prabhavati Das Gupta of India.

Miss Das Gupta, an M. A. of the Calcutta University, who has recently arrived in this country, described the barbarous treatment of Indian women by British forces of occupation. She charged that Indian women were taken as hostages from villages that were considered in rebellion and that their clothing was torn from their bodies, while they were spat upon, whipped and subjected to indignities which were a shame to civilization.

Mayor of Cambridge Supports Revolutionary Movement in India

Expressing his fervent hope that India will soon declare her independence and establish a Republic just as America did in 1776, Hon. E. W. Quinn, mayor of Cambridge, Mass., addressed a

letter to the Massachusetts State Convention of the Friends of Freedom for India. The mayor's letter follows:

"Mr. S. N. Ghose, National Organizer, The Friends of Freedom for India, Quincy House, Boston, Mass.

"My dear Mr. Ghose:

"As mayor of the Great University City of America, I sympathize instinctively with men who are struggling anywhere for freedom and the right to govern themselves. It was my earnest desire to attend the conference and speak to you personally of the struggle America had when her liberty was at stake, how she attained her independence and the influence this had on the struggle for liberty everywhere. Another very pressing and unexpected engagement out of the city prevents me from telling you how deeply I sympathize with your just and righteous cause.

"Just as in 1776 America declared her independence and drew up the document of the Declaration of Independence, so in the near future will India declare her independence and draw up her constitution declaring her Republic.

"Alexander Hamilton said, 'A nation without a national government is an awful spectacle.'

"In the minds and hearts of real Americans there has not been and should not be any departure from the principle of recognition without intervention as laid down by Daniel Webster.

"England is trying to do her mightiest to prevent India from having her own national government. It is her desire to dominate the whole world, and as a result of a war fought and won for an ideal of freedom, she is practically doing it. The liberty of the world is not secure while Britain is able by force to control and defeat the aspirations for freedom of a nation like India.

"Very sincerely yours,

"(Signed) E. W. QUINN,

"Mayor of Cambridge, Mass."

Massachusetts State Convention of Irish Republic for India's Independence

Nearly 3400 delegates representing 90,000 members of the American Association for the recognition of the Irish Republic of the State of Massachusetts, met in Mechanic's Hall, Boston, to demand the recognition of the Republic of Ireland. It was the first state convention, and men and women from every part of the state assembled. The convention unanimously adopted a resolution commending the aims of the people of India seeking their freedom. Mr. Taraknath Das, executive secretary of the Friends of Freedom for India presented the case of India's struggle for independence.

India's Effort to Open Trade Relation With Germany

Schemes for the opening up of a direct trade relation between Germany and India are said by the Daily Mail of England to have been behind the recent presence in Berlin of Mr. Mulla Jevanjee, a prominent Indian financier-industrialist, with important interests in manifold branches of business. The object of his visit to Berlin, it is stated, is to try to establish a direct passenger and freight service between Hamburg and Calcutta, Bremen and Bombay, so as to open up to German production the vast markets of the East, with its raw materials and teeming bazaars.

Mr. Jevanjee is known in India as the master of the Indian ocean, and during his stay in Berlin German financiers referred to him as the Indian Stinnes, the German industrial magnate. Like Herr Stinnes, he has immense interest in inland shipping, mills, factories, and vernacular newspapers, and like Stinnes he has also Napoleonic schemes. Mr. Jevanjee first sprang into prominence ten years ago in British East Africa, where the shipping firm of A. M. Jevanjee & Co., is known at every little port down the coast.

Sugar Factories in India

The results of the census show that the 38 factories, employing on an average 9600 persons daily, produce, per day of about 22 hours, sugar amounting to 14,000 maunds (82.3 lbs.=1 maund), namely, 5200 maunds from cane (first sugars), 2100 maunds from cane (second sugars), and 6700 maunds from raw sugar, and molasses amounting to 7300 maunds, namely, 3800 maunds from cane and 3500 maunds from raw sugar. The maximum sugar that can be produced by these factories is, according to the returns furnished, 16,800 maunds (or 617 tons) per day.

In Behar and Orissa there are 14 factories; in the United Provinces, 10; in Madras, 5; in Bengal, 7; and other provinces, 2; total, 38.

All-India Volunteer Conference

The first All-India Volunteer Conference was recently held in the Congress Pandit at Nagpur. Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru presided. The object of the conference was the development of a feeling of brotherhood between volunteer corps in India and to bring them under one constitution and a common system of training to make them more useful for service at public functions. We hope that the India National Service which is to be established under the Indian National Congress and the Volunteer Corps will be amalgamated and made the basis of National Militia.

Police Battle With Guns in Calcutta Strike

Serious disturbances as a result of the street-car strike in the southern part of Calcutta was recently reported in a Bombay dispatch.

Seven striking tramway drivers and conductors were wounded when the police armed with rifles and guns attacked and fired upon the strikers.

During the skirmish between the English strike-breakers and Indian strikers, it was reported that several of the Englishmen were injured.

When the Indian labor is organized and demands the just rights and privileges, the English government employs all methods of hooliganism. It is evident from the above dispatch that when the Indian street-car men went on strike, the rowdy Englishmen were used as strike-breakers and afterwards, the military forces were called out to suppress the unarmed people. All these incidents indicate the efforts of the Indian people to organize their forces for final overthrow of the British capitalistic system.

Cooperative Societies in India

According to the report of cooperative societies in India for the year 1918-19, the total number of cooperative central banks during the year 1918-19 rose from 202 to 333 with a membership and working capital of 197,747 and over 72,900,000 rupees as against 91,494 and 58,100,000 rupees, respectively, in 1917-18. The net profits resulting from the operation of these banks also increased from Rs. 1,153,758 to Rs. 1,370,781 in 1918-19.

The number of agricultural and non-agricultural societies increased from 23,741 and 1451 to 28,977 and 1971, respectively. The total membership and working capital at the close of the year were 1,223,993 and Rs. 10,260,000, respectively, while the profit resulting from the operations of these societies alone amounted to Rs. 3,887,225.

Disturbance by the British Military in Burma

Serious disturbance is reported from Meiktila. Men of the depot of Burma Rifles broke out and attacked the Indian storekeepers indulging in indiscriminate loot. Shots were fired by an unknown person; one of them died of wounds and another is still in hospital. Carnatic Infantry is guarding the town; the stores remain closed.

That fresh western disturbance is approaching northwest frontier of India is also reported.

The Indian Revolutionaries Plan to Kidnap King's Representative

That the Indian revolutionaries attacked the special train of Viceroy Lord Chelmsford near Allahabad, and probably tried to kidnap him was disclosed in a recent dispatch.

The party left Delhi with the intention of going to Calcutta. As the train was approaching Allahabad, an important railway junction, 450 miles northwest of Calcutta, several hundred people surrounded the car and took possession of the locomotive and cars.

The British government at once dispatched troops on the scene. Whether there was any actual battle between the revolutionists and the British troops or whether there were any casualties on either side had not been revealed.

The military escort, however, deemed it advisable to take back Viceroy to Delhi, instead of proceeding to Calcutta, where there might be greater danger awaiting for his safety.

This should serve a warning to all those who chuckle in delight in ruling over the unarmed people.

England's Crimes

The following letter published in the Outlook, February 16, 1921, speaks for itself:

We cannot refrain from expressing our great surprise and regret that you have published such an article as appeared in the issue of January 5 under the title "Britain Rule in India" by one David Downie, missionary, who, as the name would indicate, is either Scotch or English. For you certainly can not be ignorant of England's frightful massacre of hundreds of innocent men, women, and children at Amritsar, in the province of Punjab. And this awful "frightfulness" was not committed in war times. It was not committed against an armed mob, but against a defenseless, helpless, peace-loving people. Search history to find anything more brutal and cold-blooded. Again, after the armistice was declared and the peace treaty was signed at Paris, still England kept up the food blockade against the central empires, causing slow starvation of thousands who were entirely innocent. And yet you raised your voice mightily against the nation that committed the awful crime of sinking the Lusitania, when only a few hundred perished. Have you raised your voice against England's crimes?

English rule in India is a blot upon Christian civilization. Further, look at her bloody, bloody work in Ireland today. England is supreme in tyranny and merciless cruelty.

No, we are not pro-German or pro-Irish, but pro-justice and against injustice, whether at home or abroad.

By lending your magazine to such an article above referred to, one might infer that you approved of British tyranny.

In the above article Downie speaks about the East India Company and its "sphere of influ-

ence." Oh, yes, the world is beginning to understand something of the "cussedness" that is covered up by this seemingly harmless phrase, "sphere of influence."

Poor old China is just above covered over with "spheres of influence," which, in plain American, means robbery.

If we have spoken strongly, it is because we feel strongly, and we believe the subject under discussion justifies it.

JOHN W. RUSK,
C. O. ANDREWS,
L. W. RUSK.

The Allandale Improvement Association, Allandale, Florida.

We deeply appreciate the brave and just stand taken by John W. Rusk, C. O. Andrews and L. W. Rusk. By such actions the poisonous venom of the British propaganda can be eradicated from the healthy system of real American public life.

Militocracy— Cum—Bureaucracy

THE MORE we read and pore over the recommendations of the Esher committee regarding reorganization of the army in India, the lights and shades of them—in fact there are infinitely far more of the latter than the former, if at all any—rise to our eyes the clearer and the more vividly. The considered opinion of all who have studied the report with any knowledge of, or regard for, the interests of India is that it is a thoroughly vicious document. The proposals are so reactionary and mischievous that they are subjected to the severest criticism not only in India but also in the English press. Even the *Times* has protested in vigorous language against any approval being given to such subversive projects without public discussion, without reference to Parliament, or without even counting the cost. The immense scheme is already being put into operation in India, although the secretary of state, being stung by severe but not unjust criticisms passed against the report, is forced to acknowledge that he has not yet completely approved it. The most outstanding feature of the recommendations is the excessive and growing burden for the taxpayers of India. On this aspect of the report we have dwelt at some length on a former occasion in these columns. Then we pointed out how India, since her connection with England, was being treated as the Cinderella of the empire, no matter how the treatment affected India, and also that she was sought to be confirmed in the very insulting position by the recommendations. British politics are dominated by ultra-imperialistic tendencies like those of Lord Curzon and Mr. Churchill, and the tendencies grow on what they feed themselves with. Britain is on the sure road to have a Middle Eastern empire, comprising within its fold Persia, Mesopotamia, Palestine and much of Arabia, the policing of which is a mighty task involving a colossal

amount of expenditure and requiring millions of men. This task is to be entrusted to the Indian army, because the British taxpayer is not prepared to vote even a penny more for the purpose. Thus the subordination of India to the empire is the key to the whole report and when this is properly gripped each and every recommendation stands revealed in its clearest lights.

The policy of the committee is consistent with (1) the control by the government of India, of Indian military affairs; (2) giving to the government of India a voice in questions of imperial defense; and (3) allowing the imperial general staff, through its chief, to exercise a considered influence on the military policy of the government of India. The first two principles are, so far as they go, quite in the fitness of things, but they do not go far long. The third, giving a voice to the chief of the imperial general staff in Indian military affairs and *pari passu* reducing the secretary of state for India, through whom British Parliament controls Indian affairs, to a mere figure-head, is thoroughly mischievous in principle and will be highly dangerous in practice. The *London Times* goes the length of calling the new arrangements, "the negation of constitutional government and entirely destructive of the fundamental British principle that in military matters the civil power shall be supreme." As the committee says, the control of India Office has been merely the control of one bureaucracy over another. But there is not the least doubt that the deposition of the secretary of state and enthronement of the chief of the imperial general staff as far as military matters go, is like the substitution of King Log for King Stork. The former is at least civil and negative, while the latter military, positive and omnivorous. Again, the committee might plead that only a "considered influence" is to be exercised by the imperial general staff on the military policy of India, but such is the elasticity of military people that the little finger of the chief of I. C. S. is very likely to grow soon to be thicker than even the loins of the secretary of state, so that the Indian viceroy's control will entirely disappear and the army in India will, in the final analysis, be only an appendage of the British war office. There is clearly a conspiracy afoot to put the Indian army under the thumb of the British war office, and many acute observers see in it the designing hand of Mr. Winston Churchill, to whose ambitions there is no limit. Indian military policy of the last quarter of the last century was colored by the Russo-phobia which dogged the British civil and military authorities in England and India and the present policy, too, is largely inspired not only by Russo-phobia under a new guise, singly, but along with it by the mad race of imperialism reinforced by concentrated capitalism. If we brush aside all details and technicalities, which also unmistakably show the malevolent and vindictive influence of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and recognize the true significance of the report, we will find that although the authors are aware of the steady march of India towards

the attainment of full nationhood, they realize well that if the present lines of development are continued, the Indian army must pass under the control of those who pay for it in blood and money. What then would become of all those magnificent dreams of conquest and aggrandizement which, in the scheme of militarism, the army of India exists to promote? How will Britain be able to dominate the Middle East, to say nothing of wars further afield, if she cannot draw at will upon the man-power of India? These are the ignoble sentiments which possessed the Esher O'Dwyer and Co. in formulating their recommendations. And it is for this purpose that the Indian army is proposed to be linked to the British army. Of course, Mr. Montagu says that there is no intention whatever of parting with the constitutional supremacy of the civil power, or of transferring the control of the army in India from the government of India to the war office. These are fine sentiments, but if Mr. Montagu means what he says he ought to lose no time in repudiating the manifest designs of those who are mainly responsible for this report. The recommendations are already being acted upon and it is high time that the secretary of state for India carried out his good intentions. Even if the intentions of Mr. Montagu were given effect to, the other features of the report are so dismal that they also deserve equally severe condemnation. In the proposal to create a new member of the executive council with the portfolio of military supply there is more than meets the eye. It is a dodge against which Indians would do well to guard. Again, racial discrimination which is made between British and Indian units is deeply exasperating. Distrust of Indians becomes patent in the observations of the committee on the Indian defense force. Whatever other minor recommendations of the committee be, the report is only worthy of being thrown on the scrap heap, if it be only on the grounds of finance and the contemplated establishment of undiluted militocracy in India to strengthen the hands of the already much too powerful bureaucracy. If Indians do not rise and condemn the report they will be further ground down between the upper stone of bureaucracy and the nether stone of the new-hatched militocracy. "If the army in India is in need of a further reorganization, let there be first of all a proper and representative inquiry, in which due weight will be given to Indian opinion. The object of such an inquiry should be not the gratification of British imperialism by the creation of a large army for aggressive purposes, but how best to provide India with a defensive army which shall be efficiently and economically administered, and which shall pass in due time under the complete control of the people of India themselves." Meantime, India must declare itself uncompromisingly opposed to the report, which inflicts additional infamies on Indians and which is flagrantly inconsistent with the development of Indian national autonomy.

—The *Mahratta*, Poona, India.

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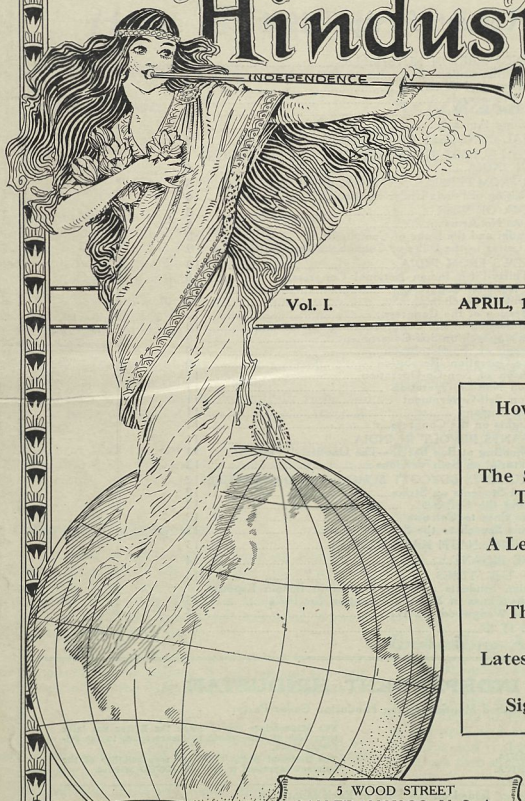
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No. 8

How Things Are: In Nutshells

India in Revolution

A political and social revolution is occurring in India, with astonishing speed. The barriers of caste and creed are vanishing among the people. For the first time, since the downfall of the Aryan regime some fifteen hundred years ago, India is a UNITED NATION.

The proud Brahmin now embraces the outcaste, the lowly Pariah, and every other kind of Indian as his brother and his compatriot. What is known as Indian nationalism is thus regarded one of the most powerful unifying forces in operation in the affairs of men.

This unity has been achieved by the common desire among all classes of the people of India, to win for their nation the same political status as is enjoyed by other free and independent nations.

In this new determination of the people of India to be united and free, the British rulers of India perceive a most formidable danger to their empire, not only in India and the adjoining parts of Asia, but also in Africa, Australia and elsewhere.

It is natural that the British authorities, should be openly discussing the early possibility of bloodshed. Things are such that blood may flow on the plains of Hindustan any day.

The Interest of America

When the British massacred the unarmed citizens of Amritsar, in the spring of 1919, Americans did not approve of it. British agents in the United States were disappointed and puzzled that Americans showed a distinct abhorrence of the policy of blood and iron, which was being pursued by Kipling's countrymen in India.

For obvious and many reasons, it does not suit the British authorities to turn the feelings of America against themselves.

Next time the British authorities drop bombs upon the villagers of hills and plains of India, they will want to have the Americans approve of their conduct.

If it seemed that India was really slipping away from under British hands, you'll find the American press suddenly inundated with all sorts of propaganda against the people of India.

Such propaganda has already begun. Certain newspapers, and certain speakers in the East have started a pro-British campaign, directed specifically against Indian Nationalists and they sympathizers in this country.

It is our duty, more than ever, to present to the people of America the point of view of the people of India.

As to Propaganda

British propaganda is one of the most potent things in the world. It is here, there, everywhere. British rule is, to a great extent, maintained by it in India, and justified by it outside India. This propaganda is not defensive, or educative. It is offensive, insidious, and destructive. It is destructive of co-operation between men and men. It is responsible directly, and more so indirectly, for the existence of the wildest and most bizarre prejudices against those people whom Britain keeps under political and economic subjection.

What Can Be Done

The only kind of thing that can be done is what the independent India is striving to do. Our propaganda? Well, may be that's what it is. Our propaganda, the propaganda of those who desire that India should be as progressive, prosperous and free as England herself.

The trouble with the people of India has been, in the past, that they were mute, as far as the world was concerned. They regarded it a virtue to bear suffering in silence. That kind of resignation was foolish.

The heart of America always goes out to those struggling for life and liberty and light. But then America is busy with her own affairs. How can Americans devote time and energy for such a purpose, to discover and disseminate the truth about India?

That work will have to be done by the patriot exiles from India.

Embroidering America

British agents have said, at times, that such work as the independent India is, doing might create bad feeling between America and her friend Great Britain. Now, America is a friend of India too. And all we are trying to do is to maintain and cultivate friendship between India and America, and if that is against the interests of British imperialism then so much the worse for that imperialism.

It is not the patriots of India, Ireland or Egypt who embroil America in foreign turmoil. It is the British propagandists who do that. It is because the British rulers of India ask for American official and unofficial aid to keep Indian slavery that we have to fight them with our pen and tongue. We will go on doing that, till India is free.

The average American is "sick of the talk of war and politics." Well, it is only a perverted spirit that takes delight in talking of morbid and ghoulish things.

It certainly does not give us any particular satisfaction to write things as ghastly as the massacres of women and children by the British officials in India.

"There are, however," says H. G. Wells, "some things that it is impossible to tell without seeming to scream and exaggerate, and yet these things may be in reality the soberest matter of fact."

Now one of the soberest matter of fact, pointed out by Mr. Wells himself, is that the British are morally and mentally unfit to govern India.

In his article, "The Salvaging of Civilization," published in the *Saturday Evening Post* of March 26, Mr. Wells writes:

"This civilization in which we are living is tumbling down and, I think, tumbling down very fast. . . . The feeling in England is rather like the feeling of a man who is not quite sure whether he has caught a slight chill or whether he is in the opening stage of a serious illness."

Well, now, whether England has caught a chill or is in the opening stage of a serious illness, she had better keep her disease to herself: the people of India don't want her disease.

This disease is not a new one. England had it from the day she laid her hands on India. It is a moral disease.

What? England diseased? Yes. Let us hear what H. G. Wells has to say:

"Now the gist of my case is this: That the civilization

of the past three centuries has produced a great store of scientific knowledge, and that this scientific knowledge has altered the material scale of human affairs and enormously enlarged the physical range of human activities, but that there has been no adequate adjustment of men's political ideas to the new conditions."

The case of America is exceptional. But so far as Europe is concerned, there has been no proper adjustment between the machinery of science and the mind of the man who owns and controls that machinery.

The steamboat and railway came in America at the right moment and helped in her development, expansion and national unity. They came as unqualified blessings. But in Western Europe they came as a frightful nuisance. The trouble with Europe, including Britain is, continues Mr. Wells, "that Europe is saturated with narrow patriotism like a body saturated with some evil inherited disease."

That's what we mean by saying that Mr. Wells' own country, Britain, is not healthy, sane, wise and virtuous enough to be able to govern a foreign people like that of India.

The people of India don't want to subjugate and enslave the people of Britain. Why should the people of Britain keep the people of India in slavery?

Until a world state is formed, such as Mr. Wells dreams of, there is nothing left for the people of India, but to try to become independent like other important nations of the old world.

The Social Conquest of the Hindu Race

A study of the way in which the spirit of a nation whose sword is broken, is finally crushed and enslaved by the imperial victor.

(NOTE: We reprint below an article published originally in the *Modern Review of Calcutta*, in September, 1909.)

POLITICAL dominion is never permanent unless it is based on a social conquest of the subject races. The social conquest must, in the nature of things, follow the political subjugation of one race by another. Political power is acquired by means of military superiority and skill in diplomacy; it is also maintained by the same means. But the social conquest is a slower process; it cannot be accomplished with the help of maxim guns and disciplined armies. Even Alexander or Chengiz Khan could not effect a social conquest of other nations by the use of force alone. Force can crush the organized physical strength of a weak people. It can demolish the forts, and scatter the armies, of an inferior race, but it can never enable the conquerors to obtain control over the hearts and minds of their subjects. The sword is worse than useless for the rulers when they set about the task of conquering their subjects socially. It actually mars the success of the enterprise. It must be sheathed in the scabbard: it must be put away out of sight for the moment.

The necessity of a social conquest as a means of consolidating and perpetuating the political conquest can be understood by all who know the conditions under which alone a strong nation can establish and maintain its rule over other peoples. No nation can lose its birthright of independence until it has been so demoralized through avarice, luxury and indolence as to forget the virtues of national pride and self-respect, religious enthusiasm and the sense of individual responsibility for the social welfare. The decay of the moral calibre of a nation paves the way for foreign domination which, in turn, accelerates the process of decline by its very existence. Professor Seely says that subjection to a foreign rule is one of the most potent causes

of moral deterioration. Thus moral decrepitude is both the cause and the effect of foreign rule, just as fever attacks the man whose system has been weakened by intemperance or unhealthy living and at the same time renders him more unfit to resist disease and physical decay.

The social conquest is an essential part of the political conquest, because the latter can never be stable and enduring if the manly qualities of the subject race are not impaired. If the conquered people manage to keep alive their self-respect and dignity through centuries of foreign political supremacy, they are sure to enter into their inheritance of independence some day. Sooner or later, the unsubdued heart and mind of the sturdy race will seek its outward sign and symbol, its embodiment in the world of fact, *viz* a national state. The great duty of a subject people consists in guarding the Promethean spark of national pride and self-respect, lest it should be extinguished by the demoralizing influences that emanate from foreign rule. The natural, almost inevitable, effect of foreign domination is the gradual loss of the virtues which distinguish free men from slaves. The extinction of these requisites of national existence proclaims the death of the nation. The social conquest is necessary for killing the soul of the nation. National pride is the greatest asset of a fallen race. Conquerors will always teach us that we are an inferior people; their laws and their methods of administration will impress this truth on our minds. A subject people should try to resist the social conquest before they can hope to avert or remedy the evil consequences of the political conquest.

Political conquest proclaims to the whole world with beat of drum the fact that the winning race is more effi-

cient than the race which has been defeated. Battles are generally examinations of nature's great university. The issue of international contests is decided not by isolated engagements but by the relative social efficiency of the rival nations. The English beat the French in the titanic struggle for empire in the 18th century, not because they possessed better ammunition or accidentally won a battle or two, but because their policy exhibited a persistent vigor and a constancy of purpose which were unknown to the French administrators. Victory in war, therefore, indicates something more than mere military pre-eminence: it is the sign and seal of racial superiority.

The conquered race is also conscious of it. What is known to the world cannot be hidden from it. It feels its heart sink: it gives up everything for lost. It loses hope, courage, self-confidence. It ceases to consider itself the equal of the ruling caste. It learns to think that there is a natural inequality of capacity between the two races. Thus, in course of time, it kills its own soul, for how can it repudiate the message of fact thundered forth by history written in blood—how can it shut its eyes to the great truth that stares it in the face—"Thou hast fought and hast failed. Thou hast put forth thy greatest strength and hast been overcome. Thou hast tried to do thy best and that best has not availed thee." This feeling begets despair, for how can that nation expect to do better in the future? If it could not provide for the maintenance of national honor and institutions in the days of its freedom when it was master in its house, how can it hope to acquit itself more creditably in the dark days of foreign rule when it is bound in the fetters of laws, police, detectives, cantonnments, prisons and convict establishments? This thought works its moral ruin.

The truth of the superiority of the conquering race is thus instinctively recognized by the subject people. They need no preachers to expound it to them. Their surroundings teach it to them. The reality of the present bids them believe it, whatever the voice of pride and hope, bringing a message from the ancient history of the race, may whisper in their ears. Seeing is believing, and imagination cannot exert a greater influence on the heart and mind of the nation than its daily experience in the present.

The great problem, then, which the leaders and thinkers of a fallen race have to solve is this: How to fight this battle against nature and fact? How to keep alive national pride and self-respect in the midst of circumstances and environments which tend to impair and undermine these virtues? How to keep up the little moral vitality which the nation possesses and to develop it to the full height which it is capable of attaining? The patient is sick unto death: there is continuous *moral bleeding*, which is infinitely more dangerous than any loss of wealth; how to stanch the wound and prevent this incessant moral bleeding, this decay of the manhood of the race? A nation that has lost its gold and diamonds may recover them: but a nation that has parted with its pride and self-respect, cannot regain its material prosperity, for it has lost its character, its soul, its life. And the dead do not enjoy the fruits of the earth and its bounty.

The social conquest is the process which increases this moral drain by giving the rulers opportunities of acquiring and asserting social superiority in everyday life over the conquered people. If they exercise merely political dominion, assess taxes and collect them, enact laws and execute them, they can be conquerors and legislators, tax-gatherers and constables, but they can never be *masters* of their subjects. Something more than military occupation and political sovereignty is required in order to render their position impregnable, and make them the real and undisputed rulers of the people. Dominion is acquired by

the sword, but it is generally preserved and perpetuated by other means. As time goes by, the sword is superseded by more efficient weapons, which are not so terrible to behold, but which are more fatal to the national life of the subject race than the keenest Toledo blade. Force can defeat and conquer: it cannot crush. It can bind: it cannot make one bend. Political conquest binds the subject race: it does not make it bend. How to achieve the latter result is the great problem which confronts the conquering race.

Let us take an example. It is believed that the Pariahs of Southern India are the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants who were conquered by the Aryans. It is also known that the number of Aryans who colonized Southern India was very small compared with that of the aborigines. The Aryans were more vigorous, and more united among themselves, and possessed better weapons. They went and defeated the forces of the dark chiefs who could not plan and organize and who sometimes joined the enemies of their race through short-sighted selfishness. The Brahmans settled in the land. So far everything is plain. A nation has been conquered in battle by another nation which is numerically weaker but morally and physically stronger than it. But then how has it come to pass that the Pariah of the Deccan prostrates himself before the Brahman in the street and voluntarily stands aside as the latter approaches him? There is *now* no law requiring the Pariah to demean himself in this way. He cannot be punished by British courts of law if he refuses to compromise his self-respect by thus saluting a representative of the race which conquered his nation. The Brahman is not armed with weapons: he is generally a weak scholar, whom the Pariah could easily beat in a hand-to-hand encounter. And yet we behold the curious spectacle of hundreds of Pariahs, possessing fine physical stamina, bowing to a single Brahman in the street even in the twentieth century when there is no law requiring them to do so. The Pariahs could combine and even thrash the Brahman, who has no means of punishing them for their insolence. They can at least refuse to acknowledge his social superiority, now that they need fear no consequences. But, in spite of these favorable circumstances, these Pariahs bow to one who is himself really, though not in name, a Shudra. How does this happen? Here is a difficult psychological problem for us to solve. Sir Henry Cotton relates a story which throws floods of light on this question. He says:

"I remember well the impression created in my own mind on my first arrival in India, when, on walking out in the evening with a Brahmin subordinate, the Hindoos whom we might meet would accost me with the respectful gesture they will accord to official rank, while they would prostrate themselves and rub their forehead in the dust before my companion. To him they rendered a genuine obeisance; to me they showed a sign of artificial respect only. The sense of official relationship was entirely swallowed up by the stronger feeling of social subordination."

(NEW INDIA, Pages 141-142, 1st edition.)

Sir Henry must have felt that the Brahman and not he, was the real ruler of the people; he was merely a constable while the Brahman swayed their hearts and minds. The position of the latter was secure: he could not be dethroned easily. Sir Henry must have envied the Brahman who was only an ill-paid employe of the British government.

Thus we have only to ask and answer the question, How did the astute Brahmans of old secure for themselves a permanent position of predominance in the south? We must understand the Brahman's policy in those ancient times, if we desire to fathom the significance of British policy in India in the twentieth century. History repeats itself, and our own wisdom of five thousand years ago is today employed against us by another race.

(To Be Continued)

The British Rulers in Despair Over the Situation in India

THE British govern India on a patriarchal and absolutist basis. In times that have just passed, the agents of the British government in India used to teach the people that the *Sirkar*, the British government was the "Mai-Bap," or "Father and Mother" of the people. In America the President refers to himself as the servant of the nation. In India the British ruler is the master and the father of the people. That is India is under an autocracy.

The autocrat rules by force, and the illusion he creates around himself called "prestige." This prestige is a kind of miraculous halo of prowess and glory, a ring of imperial hocus-pocus, that gives in the eyes of the people a divinity to the personage of the ruler.

In the creation and maintenance of this kind of bunk, the British rulers of India are past masters.

In no other country on earth, the government holds so many durbars and levies, processions, coronations, and so forth and so on, in order to impress the people with the splendor of their imperial power. These tricks worked all right for many years.

The tinsel shows—gilded elephants, and gilded Rajas riding them—salute guns, blare of trumpets and everything else to beat the band, did make a lot of impression upon the peasants of India. At first it was only the viceroys, like Lytton and Curzon, who headed these shows. The British sovereign and royal family were regarded too sacred to be exhibited to the yokels of Hindostan. But when the people got used to the viceroys, and the British sovereigns began to be jealous of the good time their viceroys in India were having, they began to come to India personally.

King George V, the present British sovereign, held in person the great barbaric durbar of 1911 in Delhi, now the capital of India. He felt like a real king of old times in his oriental "dependency." But how the times have changed.

If King George were to visit India now he would be treated no better than the Duke of Connaught has been treated there last month.

It is a most significant story cabled by the British newsagency, Reuters, dated the 10th of February, from Delhi, the capital of India. We take the despatches from an issue of the *New Zealand Herald*:

"There is a complete cessation of activity in the city. All shops are closed, there are no vehicles and a few people are in the streets" and why?—because

"A proclamation issued by Gandhi, the leader of the non-cooperation movement, ordering abstention from the

reception to the Duke of Connaught was published in a local extremist paper."

The state of affairs was so grave that railway traffic was stopped and British officials were unable to come down to Delhi from even short distances.

"Col. Benn, the British resident at Jaipur (a few hours ride by the train from Delhi) was prevented from coming to Delhi, which act is attributed to the extremists."

By the appellation "extremist," Reuter means the nationalist who want complete independence for India.

The gilded Maharajas of India, who have been serving as pages to the British rulers, have been evidently thrown in a state of confusion. We read that "the Prime Minister of Jaipur fled." He was a puppet of British autocracy. That he should take to cover, is a most revolutionary story.

"Several thousand agitators surrounded the palace of the Nawab of Tonk, in the Rajputana Agency, demanding political reforms."

The Duke of Connaught found that it was not a triumphal procession he was leading in India, but a funeral march. He had gone to Delhi to perform the opening ceremony of the new Council of State, on the 10th of February. What he did there is given in these words by Reuter Agency:

"The Duke, speaking with deep earnestness and emotion, made a personal appeal for the cessation of bitterness and a mutual obliteration of past mistakes. He appealed to be allowed to add a few words of personal nature. He said that since he had landed in India he had felt around him the bitterness of estrangement between those who had been and those who should be friends."

"The shadow of the Amritsar troubles of last year had lengthened over the fair face of India."

By Amritsar troubles, the Duke means the massacre of the citizens of Amritsar by the British General Dyer. Continues the Duke:

"He knew the deep concern felt by the King at the terrible chapter of events in the Punjab, and no one could deplore these events more than himself. . . . He desired to appeal to British and Indians to bury mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, and to forgive where they had to forgive and to join hands and work together."

The Reuter's despatch significantly adds: "The crowds in the vicinity of the Chambers (where the Duke spoke) were almost entirely composed of officials."

A Letter From Persian Nationalists

The Passing of Persia Under the British Yoke

THE time is ripe for the Americans to realize the condition and the suffering of Persia. It would take long years to recite the atrocities and injustices that have been committed upon the innocent people of Persia by England, but now we wish to write a few lines to show what is going on in that part of the world. In the year nineteen hundred, England and Russia (old regime) compelled the Persian government to bind itself not to negotiate any loans

with other governments, without the permission of both Russia and England. They have prevented Persia during twenty-five years from building any railways in Persia, and in the year 1889 forcibly extorted from her a solemn promise to renounce this right. They have, by all kinds of pretexts, broken up the Austrian military mission which Persia had asked to be sent to her over thirty years ago for the purpose of reforming her army system. They have com-

pletely disorganized the finances and the army of Persia, have robbed her of the right to regulate the customs-tariff according to her own discretion, her commerce and economic interests of every kind, concessions, mines, railways, etc.; they have taken all to themselves. Furthermore, England and Russia, together in the year 1909, took away from the Persian government the right of granting any concession to foreigners without asking beforehand the permission of these two powers. They took away the right in 1912 from the Persian government of using the service of foreigners for the carrying out of reforms, so that without their consent no subject of any foreign nation can be employed in the Persian service. In 1912 they even deprived us of the right to maintain an army, and compelled the government to accept the humiliating condition of first obtaining the consent of both powers before the raising of ever so small a military force. In 1912 they forced the assent of the Persian government to the partition agreement concerning Persia, and imposed upon it the "protection" of Persia by England and Russia. Whenever in the course of the last 25 years the Persian government sought with sincere endeavor to check the deterioration of the country, to forward undertakings which make for progress and to improve the economic system, these two powers have constantly succeeded, by use of all kinds of force and all possible intrigues, in frustrating these factors.

Then, at last in 1911, when the Persian government found suitable men in America and Sweden, who were willing to undertake a reform of the finances and of the gendarmery system, and earnestly busied themselves also in forming some fundamental principles for the progress of the country, the English and Russians, as soon as the slightest evidence was observed of the success of these plans, at once sent back to Persia the deposed Shah Mohammed Ali, and this act evoked a great uprising and caused a new collapse in the land, and yet both powers had pledged themselves in the treaty of 1909 to prevent any attempt of the deposed Shah to meddle in the affairs of Persia.

When they saw, however, that the confusion that had been caused was likely to be in vain because of the united and self-sacrificing spirit shown by the nation, and were finding a strong resistance in the devoted labors of the American, Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, and his associates, they let the mask fall, and in order, with one blow, to make impossible the recovery of Persia, for which Mr. Shuster, in conjunction with the parliament, was successfully working, sent first an ultimatum and then an army, and drove Mr. Shuster out of Persia with an open show of force. With this, every hope of Persian progress was destroyed, and Persia was left at the mercy of England.

The last-named measures were officially carried out by the Russians, but the English Blue Book, concerning the matter (1912), shows that the first suggestion of removing Mr. Shuster was given by England to St. Petersburg, and that all following steps were taken jointly by both powers. They thus undermined the foundation of our political system, crippled and weakened the government and put Persia in the position of extreme helplessness in which she is today. They also, with this, cut off the country from all the paths leading to reforms and from every possibility of strengthening itself. In this way Persia has come to the point where she presents the appearance of approaching death.

For the past two years the newspapers in America and in Europe have made a great deal of comment in regard to the "Anglo-Persian Treaty," which, had the Persian par-

liament ratified it, would have given the best advantage to England, and put Persia at her mercy for the rest of her life.

But as we have already understood, the Persian parliament, which was dissolved by England and Russia in 1912, recently has assumed its normal position, and fortunately has failed to ratify the treaty, in spite of the fact that England has for the last few years tried her best to get the confidence of the cabinet and the leaders of the country in order that the treaty might be ratified without any delay. This will leave England with a great deal of disappointment in regard to her dream.

It is very evident that England's desire is not to better the condition of the country and the people, but to put Persia on the same level as India, Egypt, Ireland, etc., and deprive her of her rights. How unjust it is that the country, which has been independent for six thousand years, with a very remarkable history in the past, and at the present, with all her philosophers and promoters of civilization, has to be bound under the cruel, selfish and unjust government of England.

We wonder, if the American people entered the world conflict for the rights and the safeguarding of the small nations, why America cannot back up the cause of these very unfortunate nations; namely, India, Persia, Egypt and Ireland who are under the oppression of England. There is one, and only one, hope for the people of the East to have their independence safeguarded, and that is through American sympathy and moral help.

As long as England has the control, or the slightest influence over these countries, there is no hope for the betterment and progress of these nations. To illustrate this, let us take India and see what England has done for her. She has controlled India for almost a hundred and fifty years, and today there are millions of her people who are bitten by snakes because they don't have shoes to wear, while the Lords in London wear ten-dollar neckties.

On the other hand, let us look at the Philippine Islands. The United States has controlled that country nearly thirty years, and now they are ready to govern themselves in their fullest capacity.

We have seen what injury England has done to India; she will do almost the same thing to Persia. We should not forget that wherever the English flag goes, aggression and destruction follow it. Therefore, if the Americans will not support these countries, helping them to make themselves free nations, Russian Bolsheviks will undoubtedly support these suffering nations to their fullest capacity in order to enable them to be free nations and practice their own rights. It is very unfortunate that America is located so far from Asia, and her commercial, economical and political interests do not allow her to interfere with the political affairs of England in regard to Asia—that is to say, that she has greater commercial, economical and political interests with England than with all Asiatic countries put together. Today the Eastern people are looking with jealous but kindly eyes to the American institutions and especially to the new administration which soon will take up the destiny of the nation, to consider the position of these countries in Asia, and to do all in their power to make a satisfactory settlement in the affairs of Asia, before the greatest of all wars take place within the heart of Asia.

S. JAFAR KHAN and
SHAL JEHANIAN.

The Drama of War

Arms Versus No Arms

Circumstances are shaping in India, what is evidently a Drama of War. On one side are the Nationalists and Revolutionists of India. They are, at present, unarmed.

On the other side are the British imperialists, led in Britain by such men as Curzon, Milner, Winston Churchill, and in India by their followers called the Anglo-Indians, i. e., Englishmen who bear sway over India. Like the warriors of the middle ages, these British imperialists have their bards, the most notable of whom is Rudyard Kipling.

This drama is being enacted on a vast stage, that is spread all the way from India to England.

The audience is, so to say, the public of England and of India.

Each side is trying to enlist the sympathy and the active cooperation of this vast audience, for its own side.

The British imperialist speaks to the British people the way Lord Sydenham, formerly British governor of Bombay, has been recently speaking to them.

Lord Sydenham heard, from somebody, that the great war was over, and that for purely financial reasons the British government was thinking of demobilizing some of the military units, particularly cavalry, in India. He therefore issued a communique to the British public through the columns of the British press.

That Lord Sydenham is preparing for war against the people of India is evident from his writing. His letter was issued in England on or about the 10th of February. We quote it from a London paper:

London, February 10.

Lord Sydenham says:

"The present is not the moment to make a drastic reduction in the fine, gallant, Indian army when agitators are doing their utmost to hamper and embarrass the government. The cavalry appears to be in danger of the greatest relative reduction. On the vast plains of India, the cavalry arm is a peculiarly formidable one, especially for the purpose of internal defense.

The efficiency of aeroplanes to deal with the widespread rioting must be seriously discounted.

Apart from the many other sources of danger, there is the dark menace of Bolshevism in the East. We are also engaged in delicate negotiations with Afghanistan.

It must be evident that at no time during the turbulent history of India have there been so many causes of misgiving or such an imperative demand for caution."

While Lord Sydenham and his kind are counselling the authorities to keep the British army in India at full strength, and are debating nothing else as to politics in India than the relative merits of cavalry or tanks or bombs as engines of destruction, Nationalist leaders in India, too, are exhibiting an unparalleled militant spirit.

The leaders of the Nationalist in India is Gandhi, the champion of non-violence.

But his chief lieutenants, men like the Ali Brothers are not committed to non-violence.

The Nationalist leaders are especially appealing to the younger generation, the students in the universities and colleges in India.

One of them, Shaukat Ali, spoke in this manner to the students of Poona, the noted town near Bombay, Western India, on the 3rd of February last. Said Shaukat Ali:

"Students, I feel an immense pleasure in standing up to speak to you, young men. . . . I know all students in their heart of hearts, feel with us. But the influence of daily lessons in cowardice are obliterating the spirit in you. Personally, I think, there is nothing that is impossible for you whose ancestors wrote brilliant pages of (military) history. I am not reasonable and I thank God for it. I am not wise and again I thank God for it.

I may not be polished in language, but I always speak God's truth.

And I tell you today you must give up your studies (in British colleges). Some accuse Englishmen of thinking of England first and India next. But that is too mild an accusation. Englishmen think of England first, England next and England always and of India never.

Today we are giving a trial to Mahatma Gandhi's program (of non-cooperation). As for myself I differ from him in some respects. I believe that to die for a good cause and kill in a good cause are equally glorious. Let us, however, all join and give trial to the program of Mahatma Gandhi, my chief and the chief of you all.

I know this education has made your hearts weak and your muscles soft. But today it is a question of life and death, a question of winning our liberty—liberty by waging a passive war against the British even if they are armed to the teeth. . . . Today every one of you, even the most cooperating people of you, must be convinced that you must not clasp the hand that is dripping with the blood of Indians.

We are also determined never to allow this war to end, unless the English go down on their knees and apologize for all their atrocities.

I tell you, you have grown poltroons on account of this education. Every other country is laughing at you. What we want today is freedom for us and our country. . . . If you do not follow us wholeheartedly we, Gandhi, and all of us, will be soon sent to the gallows. You must therefore be so determined that if one Gandhi is taken away, millions of Gandhis will arise in the land. India wants a very large army.

The peasants, the villagers, are illiterate. They do not argue. They are ready. Are you going to lag behind? Trust in God and yourself and nothing can prevent you."

St. Gandhi and the Duke of Connaught

You've heard of "Saint George" and the Dragon. That's the British version of the story. The Indian version is: Saint Gandhi and the Duke of Connaught. We are not insinuating, please, that the Duke of Connaught is a dragon. Oh, no! Gandhi says that the Duke is an English gentleman. Even the dragons in England are gentlemen but we are no authority on that.

They call Gandhi a Mahatma, in India. A Mahatma means a saint. Gandhi, a poor high-caste Hindu of Western India, regards himself the equal to any king or emperor. Mad? Suffering from some hallucination? Maybe some British psycho-analyst will soon give some diagnosis of Saint Gandhi. Either the majority of the people in

the world is mad, or Gandhi is, and men like him. Bobbie Burns, the Scotch poet, too, was mad like Gandhi for he sang that man is a man, for all that. "All that," means the clap-trap of kings and nobles, and plutocrats.

Madmen have done great things in this world, when their madness has happened to express with dynamic intensity, the spirit, the innermost wishes of their fellowmen.

The British press, we mean the conservative wing, writes of Gandhi as a fanatic. Now, let us see what kind of a man this monomaniac Hindu, Saint Gandhi, is. As far as we can see, he is a "fanatic" only in "gentlemanliness," he being too much of a gentleman, his enemy appears comparatively as a blackguard.

We give below a letter written by Gandhi to the Duke of Connaught, explaining why he (Gandhi) has ordered his countrymen to abstain from showing hospitality to the Duke on his present visit to India.

Gandhi, as we know, is the author of the so-called Passive resistance or Non-Cooperation movement against the British government in India:

Open Letter to the Duke of Connaught From St. Gandhi:

Sir: Your Royal Highness must have heard a great deal about non-cooperationists and their methods and incidentally of me, its humble author. I fear that information given to your Royal Highness must have been in its nature one-sided. I owe it to you, to my friends, and to myself that I should place before you what I conceive to be the scope of non-cooperation as followed not only by me but my closest associates, such as Messrs. Shaikat Ali and Mohamed Ali (the leader of the Nationalists among the Mohamedans in India).

For me it is no joy and pleasure to be actively associated in the boycott of your Royal Highness' visit.

I have tendered loyal and voluntary assistance to government for an unbroken period of nearly 30 years, in the full belief that through that lay the path of freedom for my country. It was, therefore, no slight thing for me to suggest to my countrymen that they should take no part in welcoming your Royal Highness.

No one among us has anything against you as an English gentleman. We hold your person as sacred as that of a dearest friend. I do not know any of my friends who would not guard it with his life if he found it in danger.

We are not at war with individual Englishmen. We seek not to destroy English life. *We do desire to destroy the system that has emasculated our country in body, mind and soul.* We are determined to battle with all our might against that in English nature which has made O'Dwyerism and Dyerism possible in the Punjab (General Dyer and Governor O'Dwyer were responsible for the massacre of Amritsar) and has resulted in wanton affront upon Islam (the Turkish treaty) a faith professed by seven crores (seventy million) of our countrymen. (Mr. Gandhi himself is not a follower of Islam, hence the particular significance of his solicitude for the Islamites or Moslems.)

The affront has been put in the breach of the letter and spirit of the solemn declaration of the Prime Minister (Lloyd George).

We consider it inconsistent with our self-respect any longer to brook the spirit of superiority and dominance which has systematically ignored and disregarded the sentiments of thirty crores (300 millions) of innocent people of India, on many a vital matter.

It is humiliating to us. It cannot be a matter of pride to you that thirty crores (300 millions) of Indians should live day in and day out, in fear of their lives, from one hundred thousand Englishmen and therefore be in subjection

to them. Your Royal Highness has come (to India) not to end the system I described, but to sustain it by upholding its prestige.

Your first pronouncement was a laudation of Lord Willingdon (the governor of Bombay). I have the privilege of knowing him. I believe him to be an honest, amiable gentleman who will not willingly hurt even a fly, but he certainly failed as a ruler. He allowed himself to be guided by those whose interest it was to support their power. He is not reading the mind of the Dravidian province (Dravidians are the people of Southern India, although probably of some early Aryan type in race, they are not so regarded, they are the non-Nordic citizens of India, the Nordics or Aryans proper being located chiefly in the northern provinces of India).

Here in Bengal you are issuing a certificate of merit to a governor who is again, from all I heard, an estimable gentleman, but he knows nothing of the heart of Bengal and its yearnings. Bengal is not Calcutta.

Fort William (the British castle) and the palaces of Calcutta represent an insolent exploitation of the un murmuring and highly cultured peasantry of this fair province.

Non-cooperationists have come to the conclusion that they must not be deceived by the reforms that tinker with the problem of India's distress and humiliation, now must they be impatient and angry. We must not in our impatient anger resort to stupid violence. We freely admit that we must not take our due share of blame for the existing state. It is not so much British guns that are responsible for our subjection as our voluntary cooperation.

Our non-cooperation in a hearty welcome to your Royal Highness, is thus in no sense a demonstration against your high personage, but it is against the system you come to uphold.

I know individual Englishmen cannot, even if they will, alter the English nature all of a sudden. If we would be equals of Englishmen we must cast off fear.

We must learn to be self-reliant and independent of schools, courts, protection and patronage of a government we seek to end, if it will not mend.

Hence this non-violent non-cooperation. I know we have not all yet become non-violent in speech and deed, but the results so far achieved have, I assure your Royal Highness, been amazing. The people have understood the secret and value of non-violence as they have never done before.

He who runs may see that this is a religious, purifying movement. We are leaving off drink. (Mr. Gandhi is a dry, we mean as a humorist.)

We are trying to rid India of the curse of untouchability (refers to the caste pride of the high-caste Hindu, who would not even touch a low-caste Hindu).

We are trying to throw off foreign tinsel splendor, and reverting to the spinning wheel, revive the ancient and poetic simplicity of life. We hope thereby to sterilize the existing harmful institution. I ask your Royal Highness as an Englishman to study this movement and its possibilities for the empire and the world.

We are at war with nothing that is good in the world. In protecting Islam in the manner we are, we are protecting all religions; in protecting the honor of India, we are protecting the honor of humanity, for our means are hurtful to none.

We desire to live on terms of friendship with Englishmen, but that friendship must be a friendship of equals, both in theory and in practice, and we must continue to non-cooperate, i. e., to purify ourselves till the goal is achieved.

I ask your Highness and through you every Englishman to appreciate the view-point of non-cooperation.

I beg to remain, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI.

Latest News From India

The Thirty-Fifth Indian National Congress

Indian National Congress

FOR the first time since England took possession of India, all India has come out for complete National Independence. The *Bombay Chronicle* of December 31st just received by mail states that at the 35th National Congress which was attended by over 20,000 delegates, representatives of Mohamedans, Hindus and all the races and creeds of India, the resolution of Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the people, demanding self-government for India, was instantly and unanimously passed.

President's Speech

"We ordain the new nation of India without feelings of hatred and without feelings of vendetta towards those outside, and with fraternity and love, internally, I believe we can compel the Coalition Government and the people of England at once to confess their sins and to admit the imperious justice of our claims for immediate responsible government and for full power to collect and appropriate our taxes and revenue.

"India re-born and united with not only liberty and equality, but also fraternity inscribed on her banner, can tell England: 'we also belong to the species homo.' We were first and foremost of it, and we mean to be one of the foremost if not the foremost again."

First Session of the Congress

(Great crowds and enthusiasm)

Nagpur, Dec. 26th—The 35th National Congress commenced its session today a little after one-thirty with a record number of delegates. So great was the rush for tickets that visitors' tickets had to be abolished after seven hundred had been issued. The number of women attending the Congress was very large, more than a thousand being in the ladies' block. Every prominent Indian political leader was present. The arrival of Shaikat Ali and the entrance of Mahatma Gandhi a few minutes later, was greeted with deafening cheers of welcome. Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj, a prominent and wealthy merchant prince who is devoted to the Nationalist cause, welcomed the President in a spirited speech. His great point was that India must undermine the false prestige of England which has proved so unequal to its trust. Mahatma Gandhi also welcomed the President. He laid particular emphasis on the fact that the President of this year's session was a veteran Congressman and was well known for the sturdiness of his views. Piquancy was added to his words owing to the news which rapidly circulated that the presidential speech would contain rather a candid and critical review of Gandhi's program of non-cooperation with England. The great Pandal (open amphitheater) was beautifully and artistically decorated with bunting, flags, etc. There was much enthusiasm throughout the session, but Mahatma Gandhi received more cheers than any other leader of the Assembly, including even the President-elect. The President closed his speech at 5 p. m.—*Bombay Chronicle*, December 27th.

Second Session of the Congress

(Resolutions on Self-Government)

Nagpur, Dec. 28th.—The second day's proceedings commenced at noon, half an hour late.

Mahatma Gandhi entered the Pandal late and was given a tremendous ovation. His amendment to the Congress creed was the first business considered. Mr. Gandhi moved as follows:

"The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of the Swaraj (Self-Government) by the people of India, by all peaceful and legitimate means."

Gandhi's Speech on Self-Government

Mahatma Gandhi, as usual, was given a special seat at the President's table. He spoke in a clear loud voice. He advised the audience that there would be amendments to his resolution and not to cry "shame" when these were made. He moved his resolutions in English; the gist of his speech was a plea for unity and firmness and a fixed determination to win self-government without violence. He said: "We shall possibly have to go through a sea of blood, but let it not be said that we are guilty of shedding blood. Let it be said by coming generations that the only blood shed was our own. . . . You will take care not to be offended and return blow for blow. If you do our cause is lost, and our non-violent campaign is lost. Therefore, I ask you not to retaliate but to bottle up your rage and rise as brave men.

"You cannot give battle to this Government by steel but you can by exercising soul force. I ask you to pass this resolution with acclamation and carry it out within one year."

Discussion of the Resolution

This resolution was seconded and then Colonel Wedgwood of England spoke against it. He deplored the amendment because it changed the Constitution and by coming out for absolute self-government would "make the work of those willing servants of India in England much more difficult." The resolution was also opposed by Mr. Jinnah, who said: "India can never achieve independence without bloodshed." There were cries of "No! No!" to this. The crowd, which had been perfectly quiet when Mr. Gandhi was speaking, now began to make a noise and the speakers voice was completely drowned. Then Mr. B. C. Pal rose to endorse Gandhi's resolution and suggest an amendment. He wanted the word "democratic" inserted before self-government.—*The Hindu*, December 30th.

The summary of the resolution presented to the Congress was as follows:

Non-cooperation Resolution

Whereas, in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country; and

Whereas, the people of India are now determined to establish Swaraj (self-government); and

Whereas, all prior methods have failed to secure recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their wrongs,

This Congress adopts the policy of non-violent, non-cooperation.

It declares its belief in the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government and the refusal to pay taxes. These measures to be put in practice later when the country has been prepared for them by preliminary steps in non-cooperation such as

(a) Parents withdrawing children from Government schools and placing them in National Institutions.

(b) By students over 16 themselves retiring from Government schools and colleges and devoting themselves to the National Cause.

(c) By calling upon lawyers to suspend their practice and boycott the Government law courts and devote themselves to the National Service.

(d) By calling on merchants to boycott foreign trade and encourage home industry.

(e) By calling upon every man and woman to make the utmost sacrifice to serve the National Cause, by organizing a band of national workers to be called the Indian National Service.

(f) By raising a National fund to finance the worker.

Discussion of Non-cooperation

Mr. C. R. Das seconded the non-cooperation resolution. He called on the Congress to pass it without a dissenting vote.

"Let India realize that her rights of freedom are in-born and directly she realizes it and works for it no bureaucracy in the world can keep her from her aims."

Another speaker, Mr. Pal, said:

"If every lawyer suspends his practice, if every student gives up his studies, if every merchant boycotts foreign goods for one year, Swaraj (self-government) can be attained within that period."

A third speaker, Dr. Kitchlew, said:

"The Moslem religion has ordered the people to suspend cooperation with the government, and India is now to enter upon a bloodless spiritual revolution which will be a lesson to the whole world."

Mr. Gandhi then added a few words closing with this promise:

"If you will go away from the Congress forgetting

all differences, if you will eschew violence in thought, word and deed, it will not require one year, nor even nine months, to win self-government."

Vote on Non-cooperation

After Mr. Gandhi's remarks, all amendments were withdrawn and the resolution for non-violent, non-cooperation was *passed unanimously*. Whereupon Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Gandhi, who were standing together upon the platform, embraced each other.

Vote on Self-Government

It was at this point that the first resolution of the Congress, the one for self-government, was put to vote province by province. *It was carried unanimously, only two persons out of thirty thousand dissenting.* This result produced wild enthusiasm and there were shouts of "Gandhi Ki Jai" (Victory to Gandhi), and flowers were showered upon him.

After this there were only minor resolutions to be taken up, and votes of thanks given before the Congress adjourned.

Defying England

Mr. Mahomed Ali, in seconding the vote of thanks to the President, said: "This is the last Congress that will meet in India. The next Congress will be a Parliament of a free Nation. India must be ready to undergo the greatest suffering so that by next Christmas India will be free and by peaceful means."

Mr. Ali's brother, Mr. Shaikat Ali, added:

"Probably next year we will ask Englishmen to kindly get out of India. Whenever you shout you must say 'Allah-o-Akber,' 'Vandematram,' 'Hindu Mussalman ki Jai' (God is great, Hail Motherland, Victory to Hindu Mussalman Unity.) Give these three shouts together, to remind you of Hindu-Moslem Unity."—*The Hindu*, December 30th.

Side-lights on the Congress

About 2000 delegates who were on their way to the Congress were detained at the Fyzabad Station because there were not sufficient carriages to carry them. At first the stationmaster promised extra wagons but afterwards refused to supply them, and ordered the guard to start the train. Hundreds of the peasant delegates then went out and laid themselves on the railroad tracks. The train could not move without running over them. Their perseverance and courage won. The station master finally yielded and attached the necessary wagons.

The Peasants Revolt in India

The Shooting at Rae Bareilly—The Unofficial Version

A REPORT has been received from Rae Bareilly of firing on a crowd. The situation has been developed from the Kisan (peasants) movement. The Kisan movement is of recent origin. It was organized as a protest against the food levy and the taxes imposed by the talukdars (landlords) of Oudh District. At the end of December the peasants held a Congress at Fyzabad at which 80,000 delegates were present. Since that time meetings of thousands of peasants have been held all over. On the 5th of January three peasant leaders were arrested at Rae Bareilly. On the 6th about three thousand peasants assembled at a bazaar that was being held. It is alleged that some looting was attempted and the crowd was

warned to disperse. On the 7th a large crowd assembled at a bridge demanding the release of the Kisan leaders who had been arrested. It is alleged that a crowd also assembled before the jail demanding to see the prisoners. It is understood that about 650 people were let inside the jail and not allowed to come out. Meanwhile the crowd at the bridge was swelling rapidly. It was held back by the mounted police and not allowed to cross the river. The District Magistrate arrived and ordered the crowd to disperse, but they demanded the prisoners be released and refused to go away. Then word came that Pandit J. Nehru (a peasant leader) was coming to speak to them. The Magistrate was informed of this. He sent a note to Nehru requesting him to leave town at once. This Nehru refused to do unless he received an official

order to that effect. He then proceeded to the bridge where firing was going on. When within 200 yards he stopped and urged the peasants to listen to him. This they did though firing could still be heard. Pandit J. Nehru then said he had heard rumors of misbehaviour on the part of the peasants and he was deeply grieved if this were true. He declared they could only attain National Independence by avoiding violence, and being prepared for self-sacrifice. The hour for that self sacrifice has come. Firing was taking place within earshot, their brothers were being killed. It was difficult to exercise control but if they really wished to win in the great struggle they must restrain their passions, and not be frightened by jail or by gunfire. A great opportunity had been given them, they must utilize it. Thus only would they prove worthy of their great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, whose followers they claimed to be.

At this juncture the District Magistrate came upon the scene and sent for Pandit Nehru, who left begging the audience to be calm no matter what happened even if he was arrested. In a little while he returned, saying an order had been passed prohibiting further meetings. He urged the crowd to obey the order and depart. This they promised to do.

It appears that the sole offense of the crowd on the further side of the bridge was a refusal to disperse and that there was no violence or aggression of any kind. . . . Six dead bodies were seen lying heaped up unceremoniously near the bridge. Two dead bodies were said to have been received at the Civil Hospital. Apparently a

large number of persons were wounded, but were retiring to their villages. The Kisans state they were driven back and fired upon for some distance. The Kisans behaved well. They were quiet and orderly but not awed nor frightened by the firing. It is stated by the authorities that some individuals threw stones at the police or military.—*Bombay Chronicle*, January 11, 1921.

An Editorial on Both Versions

The official version makes it clear that the damage to property was not extensive and that it was confined to a few villages, and occurred before the day of the tragedy. It took the form of either the destruction of the crops or the looting of clothes shops. The former is stated to have been done in the spirit of vengeance, while as regards the latter the official version hints at the prevailing high prices as a possible excuse. The other fact which deserves attention is that at the place where the firing was first resorted to there was no antecedent looting. There was, it is true, a big crowd marching towards the jail but its object seems to have been totally misapprehended by the local officials. . . . There is another sinister feature of the firing. It has not yet been ascertained who ordered it. The mystery should be cleared up. The Government would do well to prevent the maltreatment of the Kisans by the police. . . . Even the official communique admits that "the tenantry in some of the worst managed estates have legitimate grievances." It is certainly incumbent on the authorities to protect the illiterate and unfortunate peasants.—*Bombay Chronicle*, January 22nd.

Indian Students Boycott Schools and Colleges

THE extraordinary thing about the rising revolt in India against British rule, is that it extends to all classes, from the merchant and lawyer, to the industrial workers and peasants and now even the students are leaving their schools and colleges and demanding these institutions be taken from British control and nationalized, before they will return. The following extracts are taken from newspaper printed in India:

Calcutta Students on Strike

Three thousand students in and around Calcutta have just left their schools and colleges. All the students of Bangabasi and Ripon College have gone out en masse. Five hundred students have left the law and post graduate courses.

These students followed the program adopted at the All-National Indian Congress which called on all Indians to enter into non-violent non-cooperation with the English Government. Students from other colleges are joining them. A huge procession was formed and a meeting planned in College Square, but the crowd was so great that the meeting had to be postponed until the next day and held in Mirzapur Park.

Much enthusiasm prevails in Calcutta over the withdrawal of the boys from schools and colleges. The boys form themselves into groups and go about trying to persuade the students in other schools and colleges to leave their classes. They make picketing excursions to different institutions shouting "Jai Gandhi Jai" (Victory to Gandhi). Some of the students carried Gandhi's portrait.

At Bangabasi College the students assembled in large numbers to see what was going on. It was reported that

the authorities were holding classes with only three boys to teach. At Ripon College only one boy was seen to enter. At the City, Central, and Scottish Church Colleges, half the boys or more have left!—*Bombay Chronicle*, January 18, 1921.

Picketing the Colleges

The students' strike continues and picketing is in progress. Today one hundred and twenty students guarded the gates of the Senate House and the Durhanga buildings where the final exams were being held to persuade other students not to enter and take their exams. The picketers threw themselves on the ground in front of the gate and on the paths leading to the gate. They remained in this position from eight in the morning until three in the afternoon. Some of those opposed to the strike entered the buildings by trampling on the boys' bodies. One boy was badly bruised and two others injured. Some of those who came to take their exams were so moved by the sight that they joined the strikers. Only eighty out of six hundred took their examinations.—*Associated Press*, January 19.

Gandhi Goes to Calcutta

Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers have arrived in Calcutta. Mr. Gandhi addressed a meeting of 50,000 persons, most of them students, in Mirzapur Park. The crowd overflowed into the roads on all sides of the park and the roofs and verandas of the surrounding houses were packed. A young boy who got into the crowd fainted and was carried to Mr. Gandhi, who nursed him until he regained consciousness. Mr. Gandhi congratulated the students on the step they had taken and deplored the fact that so few of the professors had followed their lead.

He urged the adoption of the spinning wheel as the best way to help the Motherland during their year of probation and begged them all to study Hindustani so that India might possess a common language. Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's speech were as follows: (*Bombay Chronicle*, January 26, 1921.)

Gandhi's Speech to the Students

"I congratulate the Bengal students in having led the way. . . . But it is not enough for India that you have emptied the colleges. It is necessary that you do not return, that you find work to do during this year of probation. . . . I am more than ever convinced that it is necessary to tell the English Government, which has forfeited our confidence, that we shall not receive any help from them, nor will we give any help. . . . India will not regain her freedom until she has responded to the call of non-cooperation. It is not possible for India to give battle in any other way. . . .

"Non-cooperation is bred in the very marrow of every Indian. If you want to know why millions of the masses have responded to this call, as to no other, it is because I have given voice to what was bred in them. It is part of every religion, it is part of Hinduism, it is part of Islam and it is for that reason, that fallen and helpless though we are, non-cooperation has awakened us from our long sleep. Non-cooperation has given us faith—has given us courage—has given us hope—has given us strength. . . .

"I am here to confess that we must shun modern civilization at all costs. Western civilization is different from modern civilization. I have learned much from the West, from Western literature. But modern civilization, what is it? Modern civilization is the worship of the material, it is the worship of the brute in us. . . .

"I have lived for 20 years in the midst of modern activity. I have lived in a country which has copied everything modern. South Africa is a country of brave men and I have seen modern civilization there at its best and I am here to tell you young men of Bengal 'God save India from that modern curse.' (Cheers). . . .

"It was my faith in our ancient civilization, our simplicity, in the inborn religious instincts of every Indian, be he Hindu, Mahomedan, Christian, Parsi or Jew that has sustained me through the dark days of scoffing and skepticism. I know that opposition stares us in the face. We have just broken ground, the great battle has just begun. If we are to win we shall have to continue as we have begun, in full faith. I am not ashamed to repeat to you who have been nurtured in modern tradition, who have been filled with modern writers, this is a religious battle. I am not ashamed to repeat, this is an attempt to revolutionize the political outlook, an attempt to spiritualize our politics. And it is because I believe the mass mind is ready, that it is tired of British rule in its present form, that I have made bold to say Independence is attainable within a year. (Cries of 'hear, hear!')

"My faith has never burned as brightly as it does tonight, as I talk to the young men and women of Bengal. You have given me greater hope, greater courage, greater strength. May God grant that Shaikat Ali and Mohamed Ali and I may erect the flag of Swaraj (independence) within this year. But if it is the will of God that my ashes should be placed in the Ganges before then, I shall die with the conviction that you will see independence before the year is out. . . .

"May God grant the young men and girls of Bengal the courage, the faith, the strength, to go through this sacred period of purification and sacrifice."—*Bombay Chronicle*, January 27, 1921.

Mr. Surendra Nath Karr Resigns from "Independent Hindustan"

The Editorial Board of the "Independent Hindustan" announces that Mr. Surendra Nath Karr has resigned from his position as the editor. Subscribers and contributors will please take notice of this change in the personnel of the staff of "Independent Hindustan." Contributions and subscriptions, in future, should be sent not to Mr. Karr. They should be addressed to

THE INDEPENDENT HINDUSTAN

5 Wood Street

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San Francisco, California

Mrs. Anne Besant

WE might just as well say a few words about the eminent theosophist leader, Mrs. Anne Besant. There are many theosophists in America and Europe. They naturally have great regard for Mrs. Besant.

They think, too, that Mrs. Besant is a friend of India. No doubt she is, that is, in her own way.

And yet at this time she is unpopular in India with the vast bulk of Nationalists and others.

She is not in sympathy with the non-cooperation movement of Gandhi. She is very much against it. She has, indeed, retracted a lot since her declaration in favor of home rule for India a couple of years ago.

There is between her and many of her old followers and admirers in India a deep gulf of distrust.

There are some, among theosophically inclined people, who might think that the fault in this matter lies with the people of India, that should show more consideration for Anne Besant.

In ordinary times, times of peace and good will, we would not care to write a word on this subject.

Mrs. Besant is a brilliant woman. She has had a remarkably active and versatile career. In her days of youth she was a freethinker, a radical propagandist of socialistic type. Indeed, for a time, she was closely associated with Charles Bradlaugh, William Morris and Hyndman (the Social Democrat). She got into some trouble in the attempt to disseminate some of the so-called New Malthusian propaganda.

She was young and beautiful, and very talented—a wonderful speaker. But she was not satisfied with British radicalism. There was not much in it for her.

Anne Besant was exceedingly ambitious, ambitious for a name, for a place of leadership.

Had the movies been developed then, we venture to think she might have taken to the screen. But those times were more conservative. It was to religions of new kind that the minds of men were turning. Well, not finding any chance to found a new sect or creed in Britain, Anne Besant betook herself to the legendary land of India. There was no dearth in India of religious teachers and preachers. But Anne Besant talked of the newly-fangled theory of evolution to the younger generation of India. Evolution was the fad then as psycho analysis is the fad now.

Anne Besant flattered the vanity of the Hindus by declaring herself as a believer in much of their ancient scriptural lore. Partly then, because of her talking the scientific and pseudo-scientific catchwords of western thought, and partly by praising the ancient Hindu scriptures, but most of all by her womanly charm, she became a very popular woman in India.

Anne Besant was not a British official. And unless a Britisher is an official or a rich merchant or manufacturer, he or she can have no good time in India. Well, Anne Besant had the initiative and audacity enough to have a good time in India, without being an official, merchant or soldier. That's all to her credit.

The Anglo Indians (the British official class) didn't at first like her. They knew of her earlier flirtations with socialism and the like. And they detested any English woman who mingled freely among the people of India. "That lowers the British prestige, you know."

Of course there were the missionaries. The missionaries, however, went to India to convert, and bring into the British church fold, the people of India. They were, so to say, useful camp followers of the British military and administrative system.

But Anne Besant was different. She was a free lance. And free lances are not popular in British India, not popular with the authorities.

Anne Besant, however, had no desire to hurt any British interests in India.

She didn't care for the British church. But she was loyal and patriotic to the British government.

In course of time, the British authorities perceived that she was doing some very useful work for them by gaining access to the very heart of Indian conservatism—the religious circles of Benares. The acid test came in or about 1905, when the present Nationalist movement began in earnest.

Anne Besant was against the Nationalists. She made that perfectly clear. She was doubtless a liberal, and expressed sympathy with the Reformist party in politics. But she did not give any support to the wing that demanded Swaraj or self determination for India.

In 1908, or thereabout, the younger generation in India became very hostile to her.

Her own students in the Benares Central Hindu College accused her privately of being a direct agent of the British authorities.

She had written or spoken against the most popular Nationalist leader at that time, Arabinda Gosh, whom she called a fanatic, like Mazzini.

Of course the Nationalist thought that to be a fanatic like the great Italian patriot Mazzini was all right. That is not the point. The point is that Mrs. Besant disapproved of India's desire to achieve Swaraj or self rule.

Her attitude remained such till 1915. In that year, when the great war was on, India was stirred by what the authorities call the discovery of a gigantic conspiracy to overthrow British rule in India by a general uprising.

Hundreds of men and some women were implicated in it. Soldiers of the British Indian army were in it. Students were in it, students of Anne Besant's own college. It was a time of war. Britain was sorely beset. There were all kinds of repressive laws. But the authorities were deeply apprehensive. There was the need of someone who could divert the mind of Young India, bent on armed insurrection, to safer channels.

Anne Besant undertook to do that. She came forward with a program of home rule for India. Thick-headed British officials and their like accused her of covert disloyalty, of siding with the enemies of the Empire, and so forth.

But she said in self defense, and she was right, that unless India's mind was turned to such an objective as home rule for India under the British flag, India will overthrow British dominion altogether. Therefore, she was acting as an open-eyed and enlightened British patriot.

Since 1911 Anne Besant had lost her popularity in India, even among her strictly theosophical followers, on account of the exposures of the leadbeater scandals (we are no authority in that matter). By espousing this home rule cause she won back her popularity in India. They made her the president of the Indian National Congress.

The great war was over. Mrs. Besant can't help feeling, we suppose, that Britain's great danger is past. Well, now she can go back to her older position; that is, alienate herself again from those working for the self-determination of India.

In Mrs. Besant's case "the old order changes, yielding place to new" quite frequently. Just now she is on the imperial side of controversy in India. We hope we have not done any injustice to her in arriving at this conclusion about her.

Signs of the Times

Christian Students and Missionaries In Britain Espouse the Cause of Self-Determination for India

The following report of a meeting held towards the end of January last, in Glasgow (Scotland) is taken from the London labor paper, the *Daily Herald*:

"The world conference of Christian students resumed this morning. Consideration of eastern problems was continued, and an address on '*India in Transition*' was given by the Rev. A. G. Fraser of Kandy, who observed that India had all the social and economic problems of the other lands, and that

"Self-government for India was no more revolutionary than home rule for Ireland had been in Gladstone's time, and its national movement was noble and powerful.

"India, he declared, was a trust which we (the British) had no right to hold by machine guns. The Punjab atrocities, he reminded his hearers, were defended only by the ruling and military caste who would equally defend shootings in Ireland or in Russia. They would not hear them defended by those who believed in democracy or in a labor meeting.

"It was time those should speak out who believed it was better the Empire should cease rather than it should continue by massacre and force."

Col. Wedgwood, M. P.

Col. Wedgwood is an English gentleman of very liberal, perhaps laborite, views. He is a member of the British Parliament. At this time he is in India. He has been sympathetic with the aspiration of the people of India for civic and political liberty. He has expressed himself in favor with India's attempt to obtain Swaraj (self rule).

He believes, of course, not in the complete separation of India from Britain, but in colonial form of self-government, such as prevails in Canada or South Africa.

But Col. Wedgwood is not in sympathy with the movement of non-cooperation. He wants the Indians to continue cooperating with the administrative machinery, at the same time continuing their efforts for self-government.

It is generally known that the British have now established what they have called new legislative councils to work with and under the administrative heads in every province.

The position of the popular party, the Nationalist party, is that these councils are without adequate power, and that they are in all essential matters under the thumb of the executive.

By these councils, a few Hindus will no doubt get closer to the personalities of the British ruling heads. But that is not representative of parliamentary govern-

ment. It does not seem that these Indian councillors would be able to bring on any reduction in the economic drain from India to England. They haven't the power to make any such laws.

They will not be able even to abolish the repressive laws, the Press Act or the Rowlatt Act, from the statute book. They will not be able to control the Indian police, notoriously the most oppressive instrument on earth.

Now, therefore, the Nationalists led by Gandhi, and others like him, do not want any of their countrymen to take seats in the councils.

That is, for instance, one aspect of the non-cooperation movement.

Now, Col. Wedgwood, and other British sympathizers of India, are against this kind of non-cooperation.

They are indeed the supporters of the Liberal party, which evidently still believes in the achievement of self-government by talking, and talking, and talking, in a long-winded way before the British rulers in the council chambers. And in doing nothing else.

Col. Wedgwood says, of course, that the non-cooperation movement in India will make it difficult for the British friends of India to work for the cause in England. He is afraid, so he tells the people of India, that non-cooperation might estrange the sympathy of the British public.

Ah! Col. Wedgwood, "it is a sad, sad story." The British public is not yet high-minded enough to do much good to India, anyway. The point here is not whether the British public is better or worse than any other public.

It may be, and most likely is, that the people at large of any country worth mentioning—Britain or India, America or France—are about the same in their moral statures. But then would the British people entrust the Americans or any other people with their own welfare?

The British people will never be so wise as to give India her freedom, unless the people of India made a most strenuous effort themselves.

That's plain common sense.

Now, in this process of obtaining freedom the people of India are bound to have some friction with the British.

The British don't like to give up the good things of life they possess and enjoy in India. They do not want to give up their domination over the children of India. And now liberals like Col. Wedgwood might say, "It is only a few Englishmen who oppress India." Yes, but the whole British nation derives a reflected satisfaction from the imperial glory which a few Englishmen in India enjoy.

In order to make a strenuous effort for freedom, India will have to make a strong effort of the Will To Power. She will have to concentrate, and that means an intense development of a sense of Personality.

When a nation, like an individual, is engaged in a task demanding extreme application of the mind and the will, then it becomes for a moment isolated from others.

But when India achieves her freedom, she will not be an enemy of any people on earth.

Gandhi is a man who hates hate, and loves love. Most people in India think that he is too much of a lover of love, too much the follower of Christ, and Budha, and Tolstoy.

And it is he, such a man as he, who is counselling India not cooperate with the British India.

The real service that Col. Wedgwood and English pa-

triotis like him can do is to go back to Britain, and try to liberalize the British peoples themselves.

To attempt to liberalize India amounts to making an effort to weaken her will. India has been too, too, lenient, and lazily liberal. What she needs is a tang of the stern soldier spirit.

Britain has been militant too long. Just now she is intoxicated with the pride of victory in war. What the Wedgwoods should do is to liberalize Britain, while India strengthens herself, by a determination to realize her own personality, by becoming detached from Britain financially, industrially and otherwise before achieving independence, that is as a prelude to the final struggle for Independence.

India: As It Is

All kinds of wrong ideas are current about India. In these columns some of these mistaken ideas will be corrected. And if the readers want any particular information it will be gladly given.

Is India a Very Hot Country?

India is distinctly a southern country. But it is not as hot as some people think. India is not all a tropical country. It does not lie on the equator. It is true, however, that its southmost tip is only a few degrees above the equatorial line. But its northern boundary, Cashmir, is on the same line around the earth as Central California.

The Punjab, the northern province of India, extends between points that correspond to Fresno (California) at the upper end, and El Centro (Imperial Valley, Calif.) at the lower end.

Delhi, the capital, a town of Southern Punjab, is on the same latitude as New Orleans.

One might say, then, that Northern India (which is the major part of India, and contains rather more than half the population) is situated between the same latitudes as the Southern States of the United States of America.

Southern India stretches down from about where the Mexico City is, in the New World, to a little below the Panama City.

North India is a temperate country.

Most of the cities and large aggregations of population are situated on high levels, that is, hundreds of feet above the sea level. That, of course, makes them cooler than they would be if they were on the same latitude and on lower level.

The important cities of even South India and particularly Western (South-western) India, are several thousand feet above the sea level, located on the ridges of the Western Ghats (a mountain range running down from North to South). There is no part of India where there are no mountains. In the North, there are the world-famous Himalayas, the "Home of Snow," as the name means (Sierras also denotes the same thing). The South has the Vindhya mountains, and the Ghats. These mountain ranges make India both fertile and cool. When summer comes many towns of India, on the plains, have great heat to be sure. But that heat hardly exceeds the heat in the summer of Sacramento or Stockton, New York or Chicago, leave alone the Imperial Valley or other Southern regions of U. S. A.

Except near the sea towns, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, India has a crisp, dry climate, and not a steaming hot, humid climate.

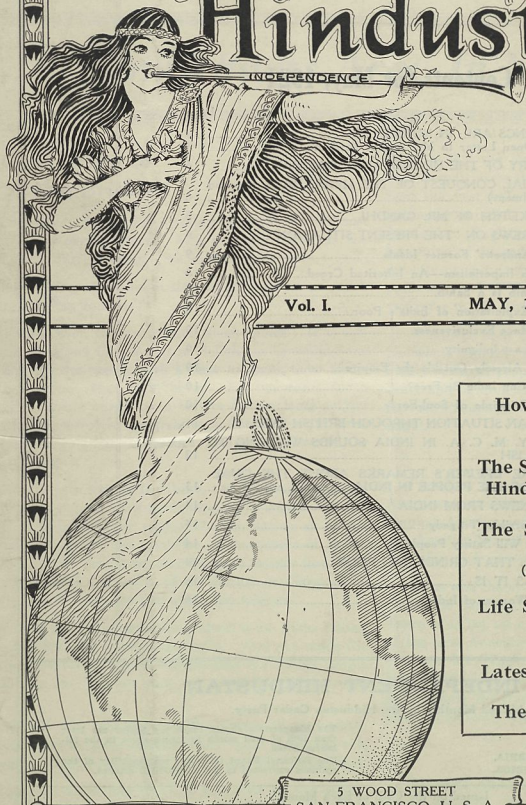
The hill towns are very cool, and temperate in summer. Places like Simla, Mussourie (North) and Ootacamund (South) are as cool in summer as San Francisco, and perhaps cooler.

It is true, however, that most of the hill stations, including Cashmir (supposed to be a Hindu State) are monopolized as residential centers by the British. The people of India, with the exception of some princes, find themselves barred from these cool, lovely worth living in places in India.

That is one little reason why there is in India that movement for Self Determination, we write about. There are other reasons—we'll tell you, month after month.

The Independent Hindustan

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Hindustan Gadar Party**

**The Social Conquest
of The Hindu Race**
(Second Installment)

**Life Sketch of
Mr. M. K. Gandhi**

Latest News From India

The Present Situation

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VOL. I.

SAN FRANCISCO, MAY, 1921

No. 9

How Things Are: In Nutshells

An Open Letter to Mr. Arthur Brisbane

Mr. Brisbane: We read everything you write with utmost respect. You are wonderful with the pen. And as the "Lord of the Writing Clan," we do homage to you.

Who, writing editorials in this country, knows so much of everything as yourself?

But then, even the great have their foibles. It is evident, sir, that you take a sort of delight in upraising the weak and the oppressed, with a view to incite them to assert themselves. That must be so. For we can't for a moment persuade ourselves to believe that writing as you do in the papers of so progressive a Commoner and true Democrat as William Randolph Hearst, you would be among the snobs.

How otherwise are we to explain the dilemma that while Mr. Hearst's papers have never made the mistake of forgetting to enlighten the public of this Nation as to the spiritual and intellectual qualities of the people of India, yet you speak of them time and again as though they were barbarians, whom a handful of the British can keep down in subjection by superior and god-given wisdom?

Recently you wrote something about some Sikhs killing some other Sikhs in a temple in India. And you made the sarcastic observation that it was because the Indian people were killing one another that the white Britishers ruled them.

Evidently you misconstrued the nature of that story. The dispatches we have received from India show that this was really a fight between the British and the Nationalists.

It appears to be this way: A group of British agents massacred a group of Nationalists. They were, of course, both of Indian blood. But blood means less and less today in public affairs. What counts is the mind, the spirit.

There are plenty of men, among the people of India, who will do any savage and dirty job for a little reward. Every country has such degenerates. But the interesting

thing is that the British bureaucracy should be driven to such despair as to stoop to such means. It is because they fear the vast bulk of the people of India have become nationally minded. The black and tan method won't do for India. Englishmen will soon find this out. It is the beginning of the end for them, if they indulge in massacres, directly or indirectly, such as took place at Amritsar two years ago, and at Nankana the other day—the incident that you refer to, Mr. Brisbane.

Whatever their complexion, and it varies up and down the whole country, the people of India, as a whole, are a highly cultured people, much greater in the qualities of the heart and of even the head (in several respects) than the British Prussians who keep them down, by sheer brute might.

President Harding has shown at once a keen spirit of American patriotism as well as of world sympathy. While keeping America out of entanglements, he is yet going to put America behind everything in the world that promotes fair play and cooperation between nation and nation.

To us who champion the cause of a large "small nation," India, the hope that lies in the Harding policy is welcome. There is no hot air about the ideal declarations of intention of the new American President and his worthy Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes. But they will be just and square. In a world where the strong oppress the weak so often, it is good to have the traditional American principles once more and emphatically asserted.

The true American is by nature and tradition, exceedingly spiteable. When you may hear people inciting race prejudices of various kinds, be sure they are not true Americans. All this new talk of superior and inferior human stocks can be traced to influence of European imperialists. Beware of European imperialists even when they appear in the disguise of Americans or the friends of America.

The Story of the Hindustan Gadar Party

THE Independent Hindustan is published by the Hindustan Gadar party. The reason why this time has been chosen to write about the Hindustan Gadar party is that this issue of the Independent Hindustan will be out in May, and it was in May, 1857, that the first Gadar occurred. In my language, the Indian language, Gadar means a revolution. Its best translation in English would be the "War of Independence."

The war that the people of India made in 1857, against the British in India, is known as the Gadar. And it was the name that my party in Indian politics took when it was established. Therefore, in the memory of May, 1857, I wish to tell the tale of the Gadar party.

It might help to understand the situation better if we say that Gadar party means about the same thing as the Sein Fein party in Ireland. The story of the Gadar movement in India is very similar to the story of the Sein Fein in Ireland.

The British have been in India, now, for about two hundred years. They started to trade in India in 1609, A. D. That means, three hundred years ago. Their trade was not peaceful. They, from the beginning, wanted to take possession of India. Many times they tried to intrigue against the native rulers of India, as the Indian reader can see from Bhai Parmanada's history, copies of which can be obtained from our office. But so long as the Moghal Empire remained unified, the British could do nothing. Then in 1700, A. D., the Moghal and Marattah Empires became weak, and there were all kinds of rebellions and riots against it. That was the time that the British were waiting for. They started to play one prince against another prince; one party against another party. They succeeded in dividing India against herself. By the policy of divide and rule, they overpowered India and became its conquerors and rulers.

The British trading corporation, known as the East India Company, became, in 1757, a powerful imperial corporation. It was a fully armed trading company. In its heart was greed. In its hands were muskets and guns. In its mind was wicked cleverness, by which it deceived the people of India.

This British conquest of India started in Bengal and Madras, which are provinces inhabited by peaceful people. The British did not have to fight much. Besides, they hired a lot of poor Indians themselves to do the fighting. In every country there are always enough people who will be purchased by the stranger—take his side against men and women of their own land. The English had money and they were good organizers. In diplomacy they are up to this day the most skillful people. They used all this wicked wisdom for conquering and systematically looting India.

They did not give to India such government as they had in England. They did not give any parliament to India. They just divided India and ruled and robbed it. They took millions and millions and millions out of India. People became terribly poor. Famine came often and oftener. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of peasants died of famine each year, because the British took away as much as ninety per cent of the rent of the land in taxes. They robbed the poor people. They robbed the rich landowners and smaller princes of India. They turned Begums and Nawabs of Oudh into beggars. They dethroned the Rajas and Maharajas in West India, Central India and

everywhere else. At last they reached North India. When they reached the brave province of the Punjab, that was about 1845, and they had been ruling and robbing Bengal, Bombay and Madras for a hundred years.

But here they met fighting enemies. The people of the Punjab are warlike. They are soldierly. They gave the British hell. In the wars with the Sikhs the British were defeated many times. But when their force did not succeed their cleverness succeeded. They bought off, by bribes and promises, many high officials of the Punjab government.

About 1850 the British conquered the Punjab also. Now the British became military masters of rich Hindustan. In the beginning the British were cautious about the religious and social feelings of the people of India. But when they subjugated India, they became very insolent towards the people. Their insolence increased every day. They began to treat those Indians who had helped them as slaves. Gradually the people of many parts of India waked up to the danger in which their lives, their civilization, their prosperity were from the British.

Discontent against the British there was from the beginning, but it was not organized. So long as the Indian soldiers of the British army were loyal to the British, the few civilian patriots in India could do nothing. But the time came when the eyes of the British Indian soldiers were opened. They became ready to turn against their masters. The rebellion against the British broke out in May, 1857. The Indian soldiers of the British army rose up in rebellion. That's why they call it in England the mutiny. It was not a mutiny. It was a war of National Independence. That war lasted for two years.

But the British were lords of the sea. They succeeded in crushing the rebellion. In the suppression of this rebellion, the Gadar, they used utmost brutality. They killed women and children. They blew from the mouth of the guns old men. If one man, by the name of Jim, had fought against them, in a town, they put to the sword every man by the name of Jim in that town. Terrorism! Terrorism! Terrorism!

The great Gadar of 1857 failed. The British crushed it. In the meanwhile Europeans had developed their new science. The British had thus modern machinery, modern armaments, and modern railroads and telegraphs, and steamships and cablegrams. The people of India, whose power and organization had been broken, had none of these things. British capitalism, together with British imperial greed, became the ruling force in and over India.

The British power became very great. For many years the patriots of India lost heart. Their old pride was gone. They sent their sons and daughters to British schools and colleges and began to cooperate with the British in all sorts of ways. There were twice as many Indians as Englishmen in the British army when the year 1900 came. These Indian soldiers fought for Britain in all parts of the world, in Africa and China. In South Africa, for instance, Indian troops fought against the Boers. That is the reason that the Boers have such prejudice against the Indian workers who go to South Africa as immigrants.

The Indian policemen began to oppress their own countrymen. There was a whole department of secret service, full of Indians themselves, who spied upon men of their own blood. And the educated classes, who were trained in Brit-

ish schools, became quite Anglicised. They began to imitate the British in every way. Lastly, the Indian nobility, Rajas and Nawabs, became victims of British fashions of luxury.

Thus was the spirit of the Indian people broken. When the head and the heart of the people was thus ruined, it was easy to rob them. Millions and millions of dollars were drained out of India by the British. British officials drew enormous salaries. British army expenditures arose beyond all limits. British manufactured articles covered every shop in the market. The art and industries of India were all gone. They were purposely ruined by the British capitalists, aided by their powerful and fully armed government.

The taxes grew more and more heavy. The peasantry was impoverished more and more. Industries ruined, there were no jobs left. The whole country became one vast multitude of the unemployed. Every where you saw beggars, the fakirs.

Foreigners came to visit India, hoping to see there lots of gold and pearls and jewels. These things India had once upon a time, but in the last three hundred years, the British took it all away. What the tourist from America or Europe, or even from England, saw in India was only dirt and poverty. For more than a hundred years now, the very name of India means to the world outside, nothing more than sadness, misery, poverty, disease, ignorance. Famines came with ever increasing frequency. Every year some part of India or other was struck with awful famine, despite the British railroads. There is famine in India not because there is not food enough in India, any time. Suppose even that a crop failed in India. In these days one can get enough food for everybody from some other country at a very short notice. No, famine in India does not mean lack of food. It means that the British have left nothing in the hands of the people to buy food with.

Plague, cholera, small pox, influenza—everything bad came to India. Millions and millions of the people of India, drinking filthy and unfiltered water, suffer from hookworms, a disease that absolutely weakens the human body. Such were the blessings of British rule in India.

The whole world laughed at weak, disunited, poor and unarmed India.

The British navy was so powerful, and so ruled the seas of the world that India had no connection left open with any other friendly nation. Russia was near India, by the way of Afghanistan. But the ruler of Russia was the terrible Czar, and India did not care for such help as he could have given.

Without arms, what could the people of India do? But the chief difficulty was different. The educated leaders of India got the idea in their heads that the British people at home, that is in Britain, would help in obtaining liberty and freedom for India. So they went time after time to England to lay their grievances before the British public. This kind of game went on for many years. These Indian patriots, who believed in the ultimate sense of justice of the British people, began to call themselves the Congress party. It was their hope that some day the British public will give India a parliament or a congress such as we have in America, just for the asking of it. It is true that after the revolution of 1857, or rather when it was still going on, the British government gave out in India a declaration to the people promising to them the same rights of British citizenship as are enjoyed by the Britons themselves in every part of the British Empire.

And the Congress or Moderate party of patriots in India took this declaration seriously. For thirty years or more they have been asking the British to fulfill the promise contained in that pledge of 1858. But that declaration, like

the famous fourteen points, was not intended to be kept. These Moderate or Congress party men, among the patriots of India, saved the British administration from a revolution against it, these many years. While they demanded high offices in the administration for men of their own class, that is educated and Anglicised Indians, they declared themselves emphatically as loyal to British rule in India. The British did not take their talk seriously. The British official class in India ridiculed these talking patriots of India. The British in India maintain their rule by force, and so they know and understand and respect only the argument of force.

When it became evident that the Congress or Moderate party had absolutely failed in its object to win freedom, liberty—even such as is found in British Colonies—then there arose a new party, the Young India party. This party appeared in public light about fifteen years ago, that is in or about 1905. Its first great leader came from Bombay. He was the late Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak.

There arose an openly revolutionary party which declared that its object was to overthrow British rule in India and make India an independent nation, like any other civilized nation in the world. It was secret. It used terroristic methods to strike fear into the heart of the officials. The result was that the British gave some political jōds to some of the Moderate patriots. On the other hand they passed the most repressive laws against the press and the platform. From 1905 to this day there has been the most awful persecution of patriots in India. The war between India and the British started when the nationalists of the new party told their fellow countrymen that the proper thing to do was to boycott everything British. A boycott of British goods in 1905 distinctly scared the mighty British.

When British persecution of the young nationalist started, India was very gloomy. Hundreds of editors of newspapers were thrown into dungeons. Hundreds of students were whipped and jailed. Czarism in its worst form came to India.

Five years of persecution, from 1905 to 1911, was enough to check and crush the movement of liberty for a time. But the spirit of liberty, once really aroused, does not die.

The patriots and revolutionists of India became exiles to foreign countries. There is not a land where you do not find them today. They are everywhere. If the Government of one country turns them out, they go to some other country. The people of India loved their native land and native home. They had no desire to other countries, either to seek a living or to seek a shelter. They do not conquer other people's country. But when their own lands were usurped by the British, when their own homes passed under foreign sway, then they had to emigrate. Not all of these men were at first patriotic. Many of them were too poor and too ignorant to understand anything about the condition of their country. They just came out to America, Canada, etc., in search of means of livelihood. But when they once came out of India and saw the wide and free world, their eyes began to open. In their minds also sprang the desire to make their lot better. In these foreign countries they were treated like pigs. The British had spread all kinds of damnable notions about the people of India, and the Indian workers found out that the whole civilized world disliked them and regarded them as undesirable. In British Colonies, Canada and Australia, they suffered the worst insults. So that was what a man gets for being a British subject.

Among these men came a few of the exiled patriots of India. It was in America that the spirit of liberty of the Indian patriot exiles grew most. America is a republic. She had herself a war with Britain before what she became

what she is now—the most powerful republic on earth. The Indian Nationalist in America thus full of the American ideas of republicanism, founded a Republican party for India. This is our Gadar party.

The history of America proves that the only way to obtain liberty from the British is the way the Americans obtain their liberty from the British: by way of a revolution. This idea is at bottom the same as was the idea of the Indian patriots of 1857. Those Indians, also, believed that one must fight for freedom. That was why the party of Indian Nationalists in America called itself the Gadar party, in remembrance of the great revolutionary effort of 1857. In India every child understands what the word Gadar means. The British, also, understand it well. There is nothing round about it. There is nothing sneaky about it. It means just what it means: A revolutionary effort for liberty. It means revolution.

The Hindustan Gadar party dates from 1757 when the Hindustanis fought the battle of Plassy to drive out the British from India. This great effort failed. After that the party was weak or strong, in accordance as the circumstances were. Now it holds supremacy over all the other political organizations because it is founded on the highest ideals.

This party was different from any party that was in and out of India. Its principles may be explained as follows:

To be an open advocate of independence for India, by

revolution or by part of the people of India, if there was no other way to obtain independence.

To establish in India a Democratic form of government of all the people who are inhabitants of India.

To take particular care of the interest of the peasants and the workers who have led a most horrible life for decades and centuries in India.

To give full rights of every kind to women, under the National government.

To bring India into close contact with the world outside.

To keep religion out of politics, to do away with the spirit of caste and creed and class, and to bring all the people together, for the common good of all.

To enlist the sympathy and cooperation of all freedom-loving people in the world, European and Americans and others, for the cause of India's freedom.

But not to do anything against the laws of any country where the party might be working.

In America, the only thing for the party, did and wants to do, is to give widespread information about the true condition of India, as a result of British misrule.

The Hindustan Gadar party is a party of highest idealism. It is based on utmost sincerity, courage and democracy. The ancient sanskrit motto applies to it: "Truth alone is victorious, never untruth."

BISHAN SINGH.

The Social Conquest of the Hindu Race

NOTE: We reprint below the second installment of an article published originally in the *Modern Review of Calcutta*, in September, 1909.

I HAVE already said that the social conquest is not accomplished by means of force. Nay, the use of force takes away from it its significance altogether. A little pressure may be applied, but the process must chiefly be completed through skill and patience, self-restraint and perseverance. The conqueror who has won victory on the field of battle must unbend and in a way stoop to conquer socially. The social conquest is thus an enterprise radically different in its nature from the political subjugation. It is more difficult: it cannot be achieved in the course of a winter campaign: it is almost imperceptible to the victims of the operation. It is an opiate which is administered to the subject race; it is a slow poison which does not immediately destroy but which undermines the vitality of the nation.

The requisites for the success of the Social Conquest are:

(1) The control of almost all the social activities of the subject race by the rulers, especially of such as are essential for social welfare and therefore confer special prestige on those who guide them.

(2) A common platform on which the rulers and the ruled may meet on terms of *inequality*.

(3) The existence of a class of persons among the subject peoples who should come forward to meet the rulers on this platform.

These three things having been once secured, the ruling race is fairly on the way to success in its enterprise. The Brahmins of old were great masters in the art of bending others to their will. They could indeed make strangers

bend even when they did not first bind them. Let us see how they set about the business.

They first controlled all the activities of the subject population. They offered knowledge to all: they made themselves *gurus*. A teacher is a necessary institution in all civilized communities. They alone knew the art of healing; no other class could learn it, so they became Vaidyas also; whenever a man fell ill, he thought of the Brahman; he praised his beneficence. Then they became priests, the ministers of religion, the trustees of the sacred lore. No marriage could be celebrated, no corpse could be burned, without the presence of the Brahman, who alone knew the sacred *mantras*. They alone studied astronomy: no one could even find out what day of the month it was without asking the Brahman. Further, they monopolized the teaching of such subsidiary branches of knowledge as poetry and rhetoric which do not minister to man's daily needs. Thus all social activities were brought under control: look where you would, you were sure to see a Brahman. You could not ignore him: you could not escape him. In all relations of life, he held the upper hand: he was here, there and everywhere. Knowledge is power, and none realized the truth of this saying better than Brahmins. They thus appropriated to themselves the functions of priest, teacher, physician, poet and philosopher. These are the only active forces in society: the majority of men are only passive recipients of influences emanating from the active and energetic portion of the community. The brain guides the movements of the body. The Brahmins became the *brain* of the new community which they founded: the body was represented

by the vast hordes of aboriginal tribes, the least competent of which are the Pariahs of today. The others ranged themselves in the social system under the Brahman at various distances from him. The chiefs he placed next to himself and so forth.

Then the Brahman needed no force to rule the people. He himself had become the greatest force of all in that society—the intellect and the conscience of it. He received spontaneous homage from the children and grand-children of those who had forgotten how he had come into the land and conquered their ancestors. The memory of the conflict died out; the fact of the Brahman's all-pervading activity and benevolence was patent to all. The social leaders whom he had replaced were forgotten; his claim to leadership could not but be recognized by their descendants. He was so wise, so beneficent, so worthy of worship: let him rule. The sense of racial self-respect naturally grew weak and finally perished as time went by. Brahmanisation was in progress: the Brahman gave freely of his knowledge: he instructed his subjects in the doctrines of his religion. He had deprived them of national independence, but then he offered them something more valuable in return, the gift of eternal life. So the children of his enemies became his pupils, his converts, and his patients: the conqueror successfully established himself as Patron and Leader. Then the social conquest was completed. Then Hindu dominion was finally consolidated.

It is clear that the existence of the two other requisites of success must have helped the Brahman in his work. He recited *kathas*: the "native" audience listened to him. He rewarded those that came. The refractory spirits who stayed away out of national self-respect were not honored by the rulers. He opened a dispensary: the "natives" flocked to it. Those that did not come from a feeling of national pride became "marked men." And so on. The common platform on which the two races could meet on terms of inequality was provided by the Brahman: it was really the field of battle for the social conquest. Rather, it was a snare, for there was no contest. He who walked into it was captured, for inequality of status was an essential condition of the intercourse carried on on that platform. The growth of a class who did not consider it derogatory to the national honor to stand on that platform was the effect of the Brahman's teaching coupled with the natural decay of manly qualities in the subject race.

Let us apply the wisdom of our forefathers to the solution of our difficulties today. They employed it for aggression, for they were strong: let us use it for self-defense, for we are weak.

How does the social conquest of the Hindus by the British people proceed? Are the three factors of success present in this case?

(a) *The control of all activities*:—Schools and Colleges for general knowledge. Medical Colleges, Law Colleges, Hospitals, Post Offices, Pipes for water, etc., etc.

(b) *A common platform for social intercourse on terms of inequality*:—Legislative Councils, Schools and Colleges, Durbars, Courts, Municipalities, District Boards, Occasional Public Meetings, etc., etc.

(c) *A class of men ready to avail themselves of social intercourse, on terms of inequality*: The landed gentry, the "English-educated" classes, etc., etc.

So the framework is complete. Let us examine how the machine works.

I. The British people have applied themselves to the task of controlling and monopolizing the guidance of all activities and movements in Hindu society.

Education:—They have established Schools and Colleges

at which our boys learn the arts and sciences *under* them. The national system of education which prevailed at the time of their arrival in the country has been almost destroyed. It did not suit their purpose. It was under the control of the Brahmins. It attached the greatest importance to national literature and history. It kept up the idea of national individuality. It gave the position of *guru* to a different class of persons. The British wanted that place of honor for themselves. Two kings cannot rule even in the educational world. So the Brahman went and is going: the Briton is stepping into his place.

Medicine:—The teacher is there: the physician follows him. The *Ayurveda* has been undermined by a system of Medical Colleges on the foreign pattern, in which the English are necessarily the teachers and masters. The Report of the Committee of Public Instruction dated December, 1831, noted with satisfaction, that European medicine was driving out the *Ayurveda*.

There is a civil surgeon in every district. He poses as the superior sort of *vaidya*. And some of us take him at his own valuation. The Indian assistant surgeons are his pupils. If they cannot find a way out of some difficulty, they must run to him. He keeps the dispensaries going. He is the great Healer of the Sick in that part of the country. Others who heal do so in his name, for they have learned the art at his feet. Meanwhile, the Hindu *vaidya* sinks into obscurity. He is a mere piece of antiquity. The respect and influence which he used to command is slowly transferred to his great rival. Another point in the game is scored by the foreigner. Another position of honor and power is resigned by the Brahman and occupied by the Briton.

Religion:—The domain of religion is a yet free from foreign influence. It is our last refuge. The British people have nearly captured all the bastions of the social citadel. Religion and some things connected with it have not been touched with rude fingers. *A sapping and mining process has, however, been commenced*. It is twofold.

(a) The destruction of the Hindu religious system from the outside.

The Government grants equal toleration to all religious bodies. The Hindus are at present a non-proselytizing nation. Under these circumstances, the Hindu religion must suffer. We do not convert followers of other creeds into our religious system: but Government allows Christians to baptize our children. We cannot have a fair fight under these conditions. Further, the educational system established by the British government serves to weaken the foundations of Hinduism. This result was foreseen and even anticipated by the founders of the British educational system in India, Mountstuart Elphinstone, the first English governor of Bombay, wrote in 1823:

"In the mean time, the dangers to which we are exposed from the sensitive character of the religion of the natives, and the slippery foundation of our Government, owing to the total separation between us and our subjects, require the adoption of some measure to counteract them, and the only one is, to remove their prejudices and to communicate our own principles and opinions by the diffusion of a rational education."

I could quote the opinions of many other high officials to prove that the Government did not consult the interests of Hindu religion in establishing its schools and colleges.

Sir Charles Trevelyan's evidence before the House of Lords in 1853 contained the following candid confession:

"What we are doing is not to enter into an unseemly and irritating conflict with the upholders of this ancient system

(Hinduism) but to give an entirely new key to the natives, opening to them a very superior knowledge. The first effect of this introduction to a new system is to destroy entirely the influence of the ancient system upon their minds. In most instances they are never even initiated in it. It is a great truth that the rising generation becomes the whole nation in the course of a few years and that, if we desire to make any effectual change in the character of the people, we must take them when they are young, and train them in the way we would have them go; all of our money then will be well laid out; we shall have no prejudices to contend with; we shall have supple minds to deal with; and we shall raise up a class of influential intelligent youth who will in the course of a few years become the active propagators of our system, with little or no assistance from us."

(b) The control of the Hindu religious system from within.

Recently, a number of Englishmen and Englishwomen have come forward as apostles of Hinduism, pure and undefiled. They presume to instruct us in our own holy *shastras*. They profess great love for our religion. Some of them may be receiving support from Government, for aught we know, for they can obtain access to our princes and hold conversation with them for hours together in private. A solitary English lady, coming nobody knows whence, could not become the adviser and confidante of great Hindu princes, if she were an object of suspicion to Government. Further, the Government is ready to do everything needful for the Central Hindu College. Thus we read that the local Government enforced the Land Acquisition Act in order to buy up the dirty huts round the college premises though there were doubts whether the college was a public body within the meaning of the Act. I wonder if Government can confer similar favors on the Gurukula at Hardwar or the University at Nuddea. We also learn that when the foundation stone of the Kashmir Hindu College was laid, both Mrs. Besant and the Resident delivered excellent speeches. The college is under the control of the English "Friends of Hinduism." We notice another feature of the movement represented by the Central Hindu College: all the positions of trust, responsibility and social leadership are occupied by Englishmen and Englishwomen. This may be an accident, but it is certainly remarkable. Mrs. Besant is President of the Board of Trustees, a body composed of distinguished Hindu gentle-

men and renowned *pandits*. The Executive Committee for 1906 was thus constituted:

President—Mrs. Besant.

Vice-President—Mr. Richardson.

Secretary and Treasurer—Mr. Arundale.

There is no Hindu occupying an important office on the Executive Committee of an institution which is emphatically the Central Hindu College. Then there is a small *Vidyarthi Sahayak Sabha*, an ordinary students' association, but even in that body we cannot miss the controlling foreign agency, for Mrs. Besant is patron and Mr. Arundale is Hon. Treasurer. Finally we note that the Principal of the C. H. C. Girls' School is Miss Arundale, the Vice-Principal is Miss Palmer, the Hon. Secretary is Miss Willson. (Report for 1905-6.)

An amusing piece of information is supplied by the Report on page 17:

"A new departure in the way of debating societies was introduced by Mr. Arundale—a Local Parliament. The forms of the House of Commons are observed. . . . Politics are barred."

A "Parliament" from which politics are barred, must be an interesting institution altogether.

So there you are—an Englishwoman is President of a body composed of the *élite* of Hinduism, influential landowners and learned priests of Benares. And they voluntarily pay her homage. The spontaneity of the homage on the part of the ruled race denotes the success of the social conquest. That is the phenomenon of the social conquest—Englishmen and Englishwomen honored almost as priests by some of us! Mark the sad spectacle: ponder over its deep significance. It is the death-knell of the Hindu race. The innermost defenses have been battered. Nay, there is a lower deep beneath the lowest deep. I saw Hindu girls learning from German and English mistresses at a certain girls' school which has been established through Mrs. Besant's influence. That is the final stage of the social conquest. The Zenana has been penetrated by the representatives of the ruling race in the guise of teachers and religious instructors. The voices of those dear little girls as they repeated their lessons at the feet of the German mistress fell on my ears like the wail of the dead. It appeared to me as if history were carrying the corpse of our nation to the eternal burning-ground of oblivion and these girls were muttering the sad slow *Ram Ram* of funeral import.

(To Be Concluded)

A Life Sketch of M. K. Gandhi

INDEPENDENT Hindustan does not agree with certain views of Mr. Gandhi. He appears to be altogether too saintly to lead successfully a movement against a gang of toughs, as the British imperialists are. Common sense tells us that only rough stuff is understood by those who are rough and tough. The British gangsters who run the empire do not appreciate gentle behavior. Their organs in Britain are advocating the lynching of Mr. Gandhi.

The London Times writes editorially:

"India has had enough, and more than enough, of the particular form of saintly turbulence which Mr. Gandhi has elevated to a fine art," and demands sharply, "how long Mr. Gandhi is to be permitted to set India in a ferment whenever he chooses?"

So long as the Party of Freedom for India—by force—was active in India, particularly till 1917, the Times and other such British papers were paying all sorts of respect

to men like Gandhi. Lord Harding, then Viceroy, gave all kinds of flattering praise to Gandhi, the advocate of freedom for India by peaceful methods. But now, that all other parties seem to have determined to let Gandhi lead, as he pleases, the British are getting ready to use violence against him.

For this reason, from the reason that to us it appears that Mr. Gandhi is using too much gentility against the British in India, we do not quite agree with him. Still, he is at present the most influential man in Indian politics, and a sketch of his life cannot but be of great interest.

Mohandas Karam Chandra Gandhi, M. K. Gandhi, was born on the 2nd of October, 1869, and is thus about fifty-two years old now. He is a native of the Hindu State of Kathiawar, which is on the western coast of India, to the north of Bombay. His father was the Dewan or Chief Minister to the Raja of the State of Porbandar. Mr.

Gandhi himself was a member of the State Council, appointed by the British Indian Government. Politics is, thus, his family tree.

Mr. Gandhi's mother was an orthodox Hindu lady, very strict in her religious observances. She was very stern in moral principles and wanted her children to grow up like herself, strict in virtue. Her influence was no doubt very strong upon the character of Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi was educated first in Kathiawar, his home state in India, and later in London. "It was with the greatest difficulty," writes Mr. Gandhi's biographer, "that his mother could be prevailed upon to consent to his crossing the waters, and, before doing so, she exacted from him a threefold vow, administered by a Jain priest, that he would abstain from flesh, alcohol and women. And this vow was faithfully kept amidst all the temptations of student life in London."

Gandhi became an undergraduate of the London University. Afterward he became a barrister at law. He then returned to India, and became an attorney of the Bombay High Court. The High Court corresponds to the Supreme Court in the United States.

Mr. Gandhi's public life began when he went, in 1893, to South Africa. He went there in connection with some lawsuit pending in Natal. In London he was treated like a gentleman, but in Natal, a British colony, he was treated like a native African. The ignorant British colonists, not knowing anything about the high culture of an upper class Indian, insulted him in countless ways. He saw that the condition of Indian residents in Natal was most deplorable, and so he made up his mind to stay here. He was admitted as practicing attorney by the Natal Supreme Court.

At that time most of the people in India took the British Empire very seriously. They thought that the British flag really gives an Indian protection from foreigners, and equality within the empire. Believing all that sort of thing, they went to South Africa and other British colonies, being induced to go there by British capitalistic employers.

But they soon found out that the British Empire is a

system in which certain strong groups oppress other weaker groups, and the weaker groups consent to that under a false notion of imperial patriotism. The British colonists in South Africa treated the Indians who went there in a most atrocious manner. The Indians, few as they were and mostly without an English education, turned to Mr. Gandhi for help and leadership. Mr. Gandhi threw himself heart and soul into the movement to safeguard their rights. In course of time Mr. Gandhi took his family, his wife and children, to South Africa. His enemies among the colonists raised a great commotion against his bringing his family to South Africa. It did not occur to these British colonists that if it was not proper for an Indian to go to their country, it was not proper for them to go to India. So long as hundreds and thousands of British colonists of all kinds continue to pour their unwelcome selves into India, the Indians also will continue to go to the colonies; otherwise the matter will be settled on fight.

Mr. Gandhi was a fighter. He would not yield, and the authorities had to let him land, together with several other Indian families he took along with him. Several times these brutal and hooliganish colonists made personal assaults upon Mr. Gandhi, wounding him severely. That is the British way of being "law abiding."

Then came the Boer war. Mr. Gandhi helped the British Government by organizing and leading an Indian ambulance corps. That was a just cause of offense he gave to the Boers. We think of that attitude of Mr. Gandhi with strong disapproval. But Mr. Gandhi, at times, believed in the British sense of justice. What else could be expected from a man trained as an English barrister? He thought, no doubt, that, by helping the British government against the Boers, he would succeed in obtaining full rights for the Indian residents in the South African Colonies. It was Gandhi's corps that removed from the field the dead body of Lord Roberts' son. The British authorities were naturally very affable to Gandhi and his corps at the time of the war. The Government conferred on him medals of war for distinguished service.

(To be continued.)

Mr. Andrews on "The Present Situation"

BEFORE a packed meeting held at the Star Theatre Calcutta, Mr. C. F. Andrews delivered an address on "The Present Situation."

Mr. Andrews called out three cries of Bande-Mataram enthusiastically and began to deliver his address in hushed silence and was listened to with rapt attention. He spoke as follows:

I wish to consider carefully with you, this evening, what the exact position of India is today, within the British Empire. Is it an honorable position, which can satisfy the ideal of freedom? Or is it one that is leading into further unending avenues of dependence and subjection? Is it a position of which an Indian may be proud? Or is it a position which must make every Indian, who loves his country, feel as a yoke from which as soon as possible he must get free?

This, to me, is the all-important question at the present time. It goes far beyond all questions of cooperation and of non-cooperation. It is fundamental. That is why I have called my subject tonight "The Present Situation."

First of all, I wish to say, that it is only the bitterest experience of disappointed hopes and shattered ideals, which

has made me take up the position I have now for many months past publicly declared, that independence and independence alone is the ultimate goal; that for India to remain permanently within the Empire, is for India to forfeit her true independence.

Mr. Andrews' Former Ideals

When I was young my father, who was a great idealist and a religious teacher, used to put before my mind the glory of the British Empire. He fully believed the British Empire to be a kind of Divine Providence on earth. This belief of my father became a kind of religious creed with me also in my younger days. I was told, in every book I read, what wonderful benefits the British Empire had conferred upon India. I was told nothing, absolutely nothing, of the darker side of the story. No one could have been brought up on and instilled with more one-sided statements than I was. This almost religious belief in the British Empire ran in my very blood, and in the blood of all my ancestors; for we belonged to those who had been used to deal with Imperial ideals, and to glory in the adventurous spirit of the race to which we belonged.

British Imperialism—An Inherited Creed

I came out to India, somewhat late in life, with all these preconceptions. They had never been challenged, either in my school or at my college, or at my university. I had taken all of them for granted; I had been daily fed with them and reared on them, even as my parents and grandparents had been reared on them before me. British Imperialism as a world-ideal coursed through every vein of my body and nourished all my mental thinking.

As I have just said, I came out to India when I had reached middle age; and it is very hard to change one's whole mental outlook, when once middle age has been reached. I cannot tell you what a struggle it was in my own case. I fought against the truth, even when I saw it with my own eyes before me. I said to myself obstinately, "No, this that Indians tell me—when they say that India is getting poorer and more dependent and more discontented under British Rule—all this cannot possibly be true!" I fought, I say, against that conviction, till it was absolutely forced upon me, by hard, cold, stubborn, naked facts. I saw at least with open eyes that Indians were right in the main in what they said and my own countrymen were wrong. I went into the country districts as often as I could and examine the situation with my own eyes. I have traveled up and down India, as few Englishmen have been able to travel. Above all, I have lived with Indians themselves and shared their food and shelter and as often as I could have worn Indian dress, as I am doing today. Thus I was able to avoid being merely flattered as a "Sahib" and being told, for the sake of *Khushamati* that all was well. I found out, little by little, that it was not well; that India was suffering from a deep-seated disease, which was becoming well nigh incurable.

A Sahib Is a Sahib

And then I found out that every effort, which I made, to come nearer to Indians, was resented by the great majority of my own countrymen. They would say to me "a sahib is a sahib" and he ought never to be familiar with "natives." That was what I had said to me continually by average Englishmen. Believe me—that spirit, in spite of Reform Councils and congratulatory speeches, is no less strong today than it was when I came out to India seventeen years ago. There has been a hardening of the social division between the two races which has made the word *sympathy* almost a mockery. While, in certain circles there has been a slight unbending for political reasons, in many other directions there has been a suffering and a deliberate call of exclusion. If there had not been such a growing exclusiveness how is it possible to account for the almost universal approval of General Dyer's action at Amritsar? My own countrymen are, in the main, kindly and generous hearted people, who would not wish individually to do any injustice; and yet the almost complete lack of sympathy between the races made the verdict of approval of General Dyer's actions so widespread, that huge funds were collected in his honor.

The Exploitation of India's Poor

And so more than ten years ago I began to change my whole outlook. I saw that things had got to such a pass in India itself, owing to the exploitation of India's poor (in order to keep up vast military expenditure) that it was high time that this economic imperialism, under the thin disguise of philanthropic benevolence, went no further. I saw also that the racial exclusiveness, which meant perpetual separation of the two races, one from another, made the idea of India remaining within the British Empire, for a day longer than was absolutely necessary absolutely unthinkable.

The Race Exclusiveness

But it was my journeying abroad, within the British Empire itself, which completely disillusioned me. Every single hope and ideal that I had received from my father and mother about the Empire was shattered. I found that India was for all practical purposes, *outside the British Empire already*. Wherever I traveled I found that Indians were not wanted. The most savage exclusion laws had been passed to restrict Indian immigration. Insulting regulations were in force preventing Indians even from landing. And in South Africa, where Indians had been brought in thousands to take the place of the earlier slave labor, those Indians who remained, after the servile indenture was over, were so insulted and restricted and ostracised, that human life became one long degradation. I have told, in India, the things I have seen with my own eyes. I have related how my blood has boiled with indignation, till I have scarcely been able to restrain myself from returning violence with violence. So terrible were the insults I have seen dealt upon Indians who were powerless to resist them.

The Last Indignity

And now—as the last indignity of all—we are told that at the next Imperial Cabinet meeting in London next June, the Prime Ministers of the whole Empire are to be asked to guarantee by a signed bond a "White Cabinet Empire." The rest of the Empire is to be asked whether it will build great ships to defend a "White Australia" against the inhabitants of Asia. India in her helpless condition is to be asked to be a consenting party to this ultimate humiliation. Just as, for the sake of the British Empire, India has been called upon to shoot down Arabs and Syrians in Western Asia, so now, she is to be called upon to *fight* for a "White Australia." This has been publicly proclaimed in the *Times*, who quotes Mr. Keith Mardock's words with approval, when he says that at the Imperial Cabinet meeting in June the subject is to be definitely brought forward by Australia whether guarantee will be given by the Empire to "fight for a White Australia."

India Already Outside the Empire

I have been blamed and condemned by my own fellow countrymen for speaking of India as being separated from the British Empire. I have been equally blamed by some of my best friends, among Indians themselves, who have never been outside India or seen the things that I have seen.

My answer has always been that the Colonialists themselves have ignominiously hurled India, by their savage exclusion laws and white race policies outside the British Empire. They have done this deliberately and every year that passes they are doing this more and more. They have one interest in India, and one interest alone. India is useful strategically and commercially. She is useful as the hewer of wood and drawer of water.

How Can India Be Free?

But the anxious question may be asked: "How can India escape from this fate, and gain freedom from this humiliating position?"

The answer has been given, nearly forty years ago, by Sir John Seeley himself. He has said with final logic, and his statement has never been challenged—that India has no need to take the sword in order to be free: she has a much more powerful weapon ready to her hand. If once her people unitedly decide to be free, they can be free. It is an inconceivably impossible thing to coerce 320,000,000 people! And here we find in a way, that to me personally has been like a light in a dark place, that the supreme principles of *Ahimsa* and of *Satyagraha*—of "non-violence" and

of "soul-force"—come directly into play. These are the very weapons in our hands, by which our victory may be won. And no other weapons are needed!

The Principle of Soul-Force

All over the world, today, the greatest thinkers of mankind have been seeking for what has been called, the "moral equivalent for war." To me it now appears, on a scale of unimaginable greatness, that this *moral* warfare is now to be waged for India's freedom. The weapons of that warfare are spiritual, not carnal. They are the weapons of the "Soul" not of the death-dealing mechanical and chemical devices of man. They are not armored tanks and bombing aeroplanes and poison gas; but the will of a united people determined to be free—the will of a united people, which seeks to purify its own soul from all baser passions, and thus *deserve* and *win* its freedom.

It is true, that we have not, all of us, yet learnt to trust completely in those weapons. There are still far too many instances of intimidation, and of violence only slightly veiled. But each month, under terrible provocation, the strict discipline of the soul is being gained, the old spiritual teaching of India, "not to return violence by violence," is being understood.

And we shall go on to learn that even greater and sublimer lesson, which was taught two thousand and five hundred years ago by India's greatest Seer and Sage; by Gautama the Buddha—

"Overcome anger by kindness,
Overcome untruth by truth,
Overcome hatred by love."

—The Mahratta, Pooner, India.

The Indian Situation Through British Eyes

AS REVEALED IN "THE NEW STATESMAN" (LONDON)

MR. SANDERSON is an English opponent of the Indian Nationalist Gandhi. Professing solicitude for the welfare of the people of India, Mr. Sanderson charges that Mr. Gandhi is reviving Oriental orthodoxy, Brahmanism with all its "Caste" and so forth.

Mr. Sanderson finds a supporter in another Britisher (probably Welsh, to judge by the name) Mr. J. Hughes.

"The New Statesman" of London contains in its issue of March 26th, 1921, Mr. Hughes' letter, from which we submit the following excerpts giving the meat of the argument:

"Mr. Sanderson was correct in referring to the Vedas as the 'basis of Brahmanism'; and I admit I cannot see how Mr. Gandhi can have 'no wish to restore or introduce domination by any caste or section of the community,' if, as Mr. Sanderson says, he has expressed a wish to restore the Vedas and their teachings. It appears also that whether Mr. Gandhi does or does not wish to restore or introduce caste does not matter in the slightest degree, since caste requires neither restoring nor introducing, being established so firmly and securely as to be completely beyond the influence of Mr. Gandhi or any other individual today.

"Moreover, although I profess to know little or nothing of Mr. Gandhi or his power, I feel certain that he would sacrifice the last shred of his domination if he dared openly to declare and preach his determination to abolish the caste system. . . . I cannot believe it possible that Mr. Gandhi would seriously contemplate any attempt to overthrow the caste system. But it is a great pity he has not been asked bluntly whether he does or not." (J. Hughes.)

We wish to insert a by-the-way remark here. We don't know what Mr. Gandhi will write or not write on the proposition of "caste," but his actions show that he does not permit "caste" to prevent the people of India to combine together for those common purposes that are outside the concern of caste. Caste restrictions apply merely to intermarriage. Now, the custom that prevents the Aryan and the non-Aryan from intermarrying is not peculiar to India.

It seems to be the prevailing and growing custom among Europeans also. So long as Australia and Canada and other European Colonies and Mother Countries insist on keeping race apart from race, so long the European world as a whole is full of caste spirit. It is ridiculous to expect India alone to solve the problem. The caste question of India is the world-race question. That whole question will be solved by the entire world. Meanwhile Gandhi is justified in dodging it. What we mean is that Gandhi can honestly say that he does not at this time recommend intermarriage between different racial types, and yet be consistent with his other assertion that he does not want the *domination* of one caste over another. However, we have no right or desire to speak for Mr. Gandhi. And what we want to do here is to let an Englishman speak in favor of Gandhi.

Under the title, "The Situation in India," Mr. Arthur St. John (of Glynards, Bonnybridge, Stirlingshire) answers Mr. Sanderson's attack on Gandhi:

"I now understand that by 'Brahminism' Mr. Sanderson means the caste system. There is no doubt that the Indian caste system has evils in some ways, perhaps, greater than those of our own social arrangements, if that be possible, partly because it has had longer to run to seed.

"No doubt the features which Mr. Sanderson mentions are among the 'deplorable excrescences' of which Mr. Gandhi admitted that it would have to be relieved," and indeed great changes have for some time been going on. But sympathetic observers discover features in the Indian system which escape the notice of some of our countrymen. They find that the caste system makes, to some extent, for fellowship, at least within the caste. . . .

"I am not defending caste, but, in any case, it is for the Indians to decide whether they wish to retain a modified form of the old system or not. We are not in a safe position, in our house of thin glass, from which to throw stones.

"I am well aware that the British Raj (Government) has generous admirers—and some fulsome flatterers, I fear—amongst Indians, and no doubt some of the praise

is deserved. But, as I have not lived for some years at home, perhaps British justice does not appeal to me quite so much as it did.

"And when Mr. Sanderson quotes Sir Valentine Chirol on our (British) 'executing justice with uncorrupt hands,' and asks whether Mr. Gandhi or anyone else could say the same of Indian justice, I can only reply that I do not know what Indian justice he refers to (they are not rulers of others' lands), but I do know that I myself cannot 'say the same' of our own 'justice' in the British Isles.

"Surely it would be better for both British and Indians

to put their own houses in order, and then they would be free to help each other. The trouble is that we have got so tied up in our attempts to rule India for her good, and incidentally for salaries and profits, that Indians have become unused to managing for themselves, and leaving them alone is not so easy as one could wish. I hope, however, that Mr. Sanderson will agree that singing our own praises does not help matters. I really think it would be a good thing if Britons who go to India were asked to write out a number of times the old proverb, "Self-praise is no recommendation." (Arthur St. John.)

British Y. M. C. A. in India Sounds Warning to English

"The New Statesman" (London) of February 19th, 1921, publishes the following statement on "the present situation in India," signed by a group of British—Scotch, Welsh, Anglo-Irish and the left-over British—missionaries engaged in various proselytizing, medical and educational enterprises in India:

"The undersigned are British residents in India who come into frequent contact with educated Indians in different parts of the country. We are members of no political party and have no axes of our own to grind. We believe it to be necessary to bring certain facts concerning the present situation here (in India) to the attention of the United Kingdom (British). The statement of these things does not necessarily mean that we approve of them.

"First, there is the widening breach between British and Indian thought on political matters. The latter has advanced much further than most people in the British Isles recognize. As Sir Valentine Chirol has said in a recent article, 'India is moving today at break-neck speed.' The present reforms, though they are accepted as a substantial advance towards self-government, are far behind the political thought of India, and even moderate politicians do not appear to be satisfied with them.

"In the second place, it may be said today that faith in the impartiality of the British administration is almost non-existent among the educated classes, and that confidence in the British Parliament is rapidly disappearing. This loss of confidence is spreading among the middle classes of town and country.

"It is true, of course, that there are still very many among the middle and lower classes of rural India who are practically unaffected by political propaganda, but it does not seem likely that they will long remain so.

"This feeling of mistrust has been greatly strengthened by the attitude of the Government to the Punjab incidents (Amritsar massacres). 'The times of India,' said in a recent issue (December 25th, 1920), 'There is a widespread feeling that justice has not been done, and there can be no real peace until the Government either satisfied public opinion that justice has been done, or, at this late stage, in spite of all the disadvantages, insist on the last measure of justice being meted out.'

"Further, as even Government apologists admit today, the passing of the Rowlatt Act in the face of the unanimous opposition of the Indian members of the Legislative Council, and the retention of it on the statute book, have greatly intensified the feeling of mistrust and bitterness against Britain.

"Educated Indians resent the scornful disbelief in their capacity to govern and believe that they are quite capable of managing the affairs of the country without British control and direction.

"The attitude of social aloofness characteristics of

very many of our countrymen, the arrogant superiority assumed by some, and the frequent acts of discourtesy of which a few are guilty, are very large factors in the aggravation of this bitterness. It must be realized too that the nationalist movement owes a great deal of its strength to the high moral quality of its present leader, Mr. Gandhi, in whom India recognizes the incarnation of her noblest ideals of personal purity and self-sacrifice, and whose influence is far more widespread than most people in Britain understand.

"The whole non-cooperation movement, with its background of bitterness and suspicion, draws its strength from the despairing conviction, again and again expressed in recent weeks, that Britain does not yet believe that India is a co-partner with her in a commonwealth of nations, and not a conquered country.

"The closing sentence in the reforms declaration of August, 1917, that 'the British Government and the Government of India must be judges of the time and measure of each advance,' has been strongly resented by many Indian leaders.

"The overwhelming majority, not only of extremists, but even of moderates, desire that the elected representatives of India and ministers responsible to them should have a much larger control, not only over the provincial administration, but also over the legislative and executive functions of the Central Government.

"There are many people in India, both English and Indian, who feel the desperate need for an increase of goodwill, if India's problems are to be solved, but to both it is clear that the first steps in the restoration of confidence must be taken, and that soon, on the British side.

(Signed) "PERCY N. BUSHILL,

"Baptist Mission, Delhi.

"E. C. DEWRICK,

"St. Paul's College, Calcutta.

"J. J. ELLIS,

"Wesleyan Mission, Trichinopoly.

"R. M. GRAY,

"United Free Church of Scotland, Bombay.

"JOHN S. HOLYLAND,

"Hyslop College, Nagpur."

Etc., etc. etc. (several others).

On this worth-reading statement, we wish only to make one comment. "The Independent Hindustan" knows what the Indians want. Their "desperate desire" is not for more goodwill with the Britishers who dominate them. Their one big, central desire is to get rid of the British and establish in India a Republican Government. To that end all our effort is bent.

Theodore Dreiser's Remarks About the Quality of the People in India

His Comparison of Briton's Forty Million with India's Three Hundred Million.

[Communicated by an Eastern Correspondent.]

THEODORE DREISER, celebrated American novelist, has written for a propaganda magazine advocating artificial limitation of childbirth, what is called birth control. He makes the point that it is better to have a few children of good quality than many children of bad quality. To support of this contention, he makes the remark that forty million Britons rule over three hundred million inhabitants of India. And he clearly implies that Britons rule India on account of being a superior people. He evidently thinks that because a small number of the British rule a much larger number of the people of India, therefore the Britons are better in themselves than the people they rule, and, furthermore, the superiority of the British actually lies in their being less in number. Less number, better quality.

What Mr. Dreiser says about India naturally sets us thinking.

Mr. Dreiser's greatest strength seems to lie in his fearless expression of what seems to him to be the truth. He is a true man. He is a deeply sincere man. And that is why every day his influence is increasing.

In many ways we are in full sympathy with Mr. Dreiser's views. As far as birth control is concerned, we take no sides on a question like that. We take no part in scientific discussions of that nature. We do not mean that there is anything good that we want to keep away from India. If wise men determine that birth control is good for mankind, the Indian should also know it and practice it. But we think that Mr. Dreiser does not show sufficient clearness in thought in making a comparison between India and Britain to prove his case for birth control.

The question we are interested in is this: "Do the British rule India because they are naturally superior to the Indians, or do they appear to be superior because they rule the Indians?"

Mr. Dreiser seems to think that the British rule India because they are a superior race. We hold the opposite view, that is, the British give us the impression of being a superior race because they just happen to be in the saddle.

Well, you say, there must be something that enables these forty million Britons to control the destinies of three hundred million people of India.

No doubt there is something that enables the British to be masters of the entire Old World. Why pick on the people of India? The Germans, with all their might and organization and a population nearly twice as large as that of Britain, have gone down in utter defeat before the British.

Austria-Hungary has crumbled altogether, so much so that appeals to relieve suffering in that ruined empire are being circulated even in poor but large-hearted India.

It is clear enough that the British are running today the affairs of the entire European continent outside of Russia. Does that prove that the forty million Britons are superior in quality, by birth, than all the Europeans put together—eighty million Teutons, several million Celts and Slavs and Latins and what not?

And is that sort of argument going to prove the case for birth control? If you want to know why Britain dominates India, you must first understand why Britain

defeated France, under Napoleon, and Germany and her allies recently, why—that is—Britain is and has been mistress of the sea.

Now we may admit that Britain rules the entire Old World, occasionally also the New World, because she has a peculiar cunning in matters military and diplomatics. She has learned better than any other people the business of looting and keeping in a tight grip the wealth of other peoples.

In this modern high art of skinning the other fellow, we admit, the people of India are very inefficient. They have shown far too much trustfulness in other people. It is not that the minds of the people of India are not naturally as good as, if not better than, the minds of the Scotch, Welsh, Normans or any one else in Britain. It is simply that, living for a long time in a quiet corner of the world, sheltered by the Himalayas, the people of India became too engrossed in peaceful pursuits and neglected the art of war and piracy. Had they practiced piracy, in the fifteenth century and after, as did many of the British, they would not have been under British rule.

What got India in India was her military unpreparedness. And that kind of peaceful and easy-going habit of mind is not due to any peculiar weakness in the blood of the people of India. It is just a matter of acquired habit, the result of mere circumstances. It does not prove anything one way or the other, as to the quality of their blood, as compared with quality of blood of the Britons.

Much nonsense is talked about the three hundred million peoples of India because people of the outside world do not seem to understand that if the population of India is large, the area of the country also is correspondingly large.

India is not more densely populated than Europe. Per square mile the average population in Europe is not smaller than in India. If, then, India looks always ragged and hungry, it is because of her not having the modern means of production—factories, etc. It is the factories of Britain that govern India, which has no factories. It is not the forty million Britons who rule three hundred million Indians. It is a vast number of British steam and electricity driven machines that surpass in power and efficiency the crude hand tools of India.

It is because the British swept down on India suddenly and destroyed all her trade and commerce and old industry, and did not let modern trade, commerce and industry develop there, that India is now under subjection. The same thing can happen to any country. It is already happening to certain countries of Europe whose factories mines and railroads are in the hands of victorious foreigners.

There will be plenty of time to talk about the possible superiority of the British stock over the Indian, Irish or Egyptian stocks when India, Ireland or Egypt have had a chance to develop their industries along modern lines. But that cannot happen, we believe, so long as the British imperialists control the military naval keys of India, Ireland or Egypt.

Until India and fellow-suffering subject countries become free, it will continue to appear that the "few Britishers are superior to the many subject peoples they rule." But really it is a false and treacherous argument, based on misunderstanding of the history of Britain and of her subject peoples.

Latest News From India

A Horrible Tragedy

Various accounts about the horrible events at Nankana Saheb have been coming in during the last week. Nankana Saheb is a very old town in the Shaikhpura District and is famous as the birthplace of Guru Nanak Devji and for the Mandir where the sacred book of the Shikhs, Guru Grantha Saheb, is kept and worshipped. Taking into account all the reports of what happened at Mandir on the 20th February, it may be stated that Sardar Lachman Singh entered the Mandir with a party of about 500 to pay homage in the Gurudwara. Immediately after all the gates of the Mandir were closed and the Mahant of the place with the assistance of hired ruffians butchered Lachman Singh and his followers. We are not concerned here with the exact details of the massacre. The question that rises uppermost in our minds is, How far are the officers of the Government responsible in this hideous matter? And we believe every one who comes to know of the heartless shooting and whacking and burning will put the same question to himself. The best and the most authorized answer would be provided if we reproduce what Mr. Lala Girdhari Lal says about official responsibility in his able and impartial report on the tragedy. He says: "The police from early in the morning till the coming of the Deputy Commissioner did not move even a finger to try to stop the massacre. . . . Jathadar Kartar Singh of Jhabar reached Nankana Saheb and insisted on being given charge of Gurudwara. The authorities tried to talk tall as usual, but Kartar Singh determined to go straight even if they had all to die to the last man in having to fight with European or Indian soldiers or Mahant's people. At this determination the representatives of the Sarkar made over Gurudwar to the members of the Siromoni Gurudwar Committee. . . . My own reading of the situation is that the local and other Government officials are responsible to a great extent in not moving earlier in the matter, to stop things growing to bursting point. It is an open secret that *chavies* were being made for the Mahant in Nankana Saheb. . . . The big gate in its present strong condition, with two holes kept suitable for firing tells its own tale. The door to the north is entirely blocked; the walls to the west of the temple are raised in height by about 5/6 feet. A long line of new *kothres* are made. All this is done within a month or so. Guns and revolvers were being procured and secretly stored away. Surely all this could not go on without the knowledge of the police."

What Will Satisfy People?

Since the occurrence of the tragic event the Government has, as usual, started issuing communiques and arresting people. There has also been an insipid discussion in the Council of State where an Honorable Member was frightened into silence by Mr. Hailey as soon as he raised the point of official responsibility. Such things can never go to satisfy the people. Not only the Sikh community of Northern India but all Indians have learnt the news of the tragedy with the deepest sorrow and the greatest anxiety. Their minds will know peace only if what Lala Girdhari Lal proposes is done by the Government. He says: "In trying to see punishments meted out to the guilty, who have actually perpetrated this foul deed, they must not forget the officials, who, whether British or Indians, have prompted these evil and debasing actions. I regret I have to refer to the alleged part played by a prominent British official in this matter. On learning of open accusations made against Mr. King by the people present when the Governor paid a flying visit with his Ministers to the temple, it is inconceivable that a person from the Mahant class, however greatly degraded and fallen, would dare to even think of such an atrocious deed, if not sure of some backing up from higher quarters. It is just possible that the Mahant went far beyond his limits, but in cases of murder, and this is much worse, both the murderer and his abettors are held responsible. The purity of the Government and the satisfaction of the public demands that no distinction should be made in applying this simple principle of justice to officials who are alleged to have participated behind the scene. . . . Similarly the Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioner and Police Inspector who, I am told, is since transferred from Nankana Saheb, should all be deprived of their duties and a searching enquiry be made into allegations against them. If they are proved innocent, nothing will please the public better, as no one is against them personally. The formation of the commission of enquiry must be such as would have full confidence of the people. Of course, the above remarks are for those who have any faith in the justice of the Government, and not for people like me, whose faith in the present Government is shattered completely."—From the Mahratta, Poona, India.

The Mill that Grinds the Poor

YES, that is what the new year's Indian budget is! It shows a fearful increase in military expenditure on the one hand, and a scheme of additional taxation of a very objectionable nature on the other. We are ready to believe that the Finance Member spent many anxious days and nights over the preparation of the budget. We are also ready to sympathize with him for his inability to place the budget before the House with absolute assurance

that it will undergo no alteration. We have also seen how some Anglo-Indian papers have been expressing their utter satisfaction with the budget. But neither Mr. Hailey's anxious nights nor the satisfaction of the Anglo-Indian press can persuade us to reconcile ourselves with the budget; and we have every hope that if the members of the Legislature are in any way awake to the interests of the public whose representatives they are supposed to be,

they will subject the budget, not only to a scathing criticism, but to a considerable overhauling. Fuller information regarding the component items of the various demands for grants is not yet in our possession. But there are not a few directions in which the budget is evidently objectionable, from the viewpoint of the general principles which are involved in it.

The first thing that strikes us as we look at the budget is that the main item responsible for the apprehended deficit of 18 crores is the proposed military expenditure. The Finance Member himself admits that the item which looms largest in the expenditure heads is the provision for defense. The estimated military expenditure, 62 crores, almost approaches one-half of the total expenditure, 147 crores. This in itself is sufficient to make us dissatisfied with the general principles on which the budget seems to be based. It would be well if a warring country or a country where militarism prevails spends half of its resources on the provisions for the army. But India at present is neither. More than two years have passed since the termination of the war and it is not unnatural to expect the military budget to assume its normal proportions; and considering how the cost of maintaining a soldier has doubled and redoubled itself during these years, the actual combatant strength for the post-war times must be fixed in such a way that it does not hurt the financial strength of the country. Besides India is not a country where military activities and developments should be entitled to a preference and civil administration may be neglected. The industrial and other needs of the country are so urgent that every pie that the people can give must go to their satisfaction. These considerations are exactly the general principles which should have guided those who shaped the new year's budget.

But they seem to have been totally neglected and we find Mr. Hailey coming forth with a proposal to spend nearly half of the revenues for military purposes. It is interesting to see how he alternately coaxes and threatens the members of the House so that they may easily let the item of military expenditure go unheeded. He also warns the members that "the military grant is not itself votable," which means that they cannot in any way effect alternations in that item. Military expenditure is too sacred a thing and it is all secure against the powers which the members of the new Legislature may possess under the Reforms Act. Will Mr. Shastri yet say that fiscal autonomy has been granted to Indians by the Reform Act? Can he raise a protesting voice against the numerous items in Mr. Hailey's military budget which deserve to be cut down? For instance, 3 crores have been earmarked as representing the continuance of the special expenditure entailed by the occupation of Waziristan. Again, though Mr. Hailey tells us that the military expenditure and the policy underlying it have been subjected to a very severe scrutiny, yet he has made abundant provision for evidently unnecessary undertakings like the creation of new services such as the Royal Air Force, and mechanical transport. Also, the sum of one crore and twenty-nine lakhs which has been budgeted to cover the cost of certain recommendations of the Esher Committee seems objectionable, specially in view of the fact that all the recommendations of that committee have not yet been carried into force.

There are, however, two other suggestions in the military budget which require to be particularly condemned. One of these is that the cost of the British troops which have been recently transferred from the Indian to the Home establishment is to be borne by the Government of India. Nothing can be more unreasonable than the use of Indian

money towards the maintenance of British soldiers that live in England and are in no way connected with Indian interests. The plea of His Majesty's Government that they cannot bear the cost of these troops because they have been transferred to England at a very short notice is simply wonderful, and the fact that the Indian Government has accepted the plea as reasonable is only a proof that Indians are helpless and voiceless in these matters. Even this matter, however, seems less provoking in comparison with another insinuation which Mr. Hailey has dropped in the course of his speech. In order to impress upon his audience the difficulty of the Indian authorities to reduce the combatant strength as much as desired, he tells them that this could not be done without the approval of His Majesty's Government and that that Government could not consent to any further reduction in the army, in view of the affairs in Central Asia and on the frontier and *indeed in view of certain factors within India itself*. What does Mr. Hailey mean by these "certain factors within India"? Does he mean to suggest that the Government of India is thinking of fighting the political movement in the country with the assistance of its army? Will some lover of peace and order from amongst the members of the House press the Finance Member into an explanation of his utterance?

We have spoken of the proposed military expenditure in detail only to bring out that, unless the Indians possess the powers to curtail it according to the state of the country's revenue, their discussion of the budget is bound to be futile. With the military expenditure as an unalterable factor, the members of the Legislature cannot do much to relieve the financial position. Given that the revenues can be estimated at 129 crores and also given that the military expenditure cannot be a pie less than 62 crores, what can the House say to Mr. Hailey's proposal of new taxation? It must say yes. Of course the details of the taxation may be modified. But there is no other alternative before the members than to consent to raise by taxation the amount necessary to convert the apprehended deficit into a slight surplus. The civil expenditure estimated by the Finance Member is already so meagre that a proposal to effect any curtailment in that direction would be nothing but folly and cruelty. There is no room here for the pruning knife. This evidently means that Mr. Hailey has committed the House to the task of raising 19 crores by new taxation. It therefore follows that if the members of the House cannot suggest any forms of taxation other than those proposed by the Finance Member,—and we have every ground to fear that this will be so,—they will have to accept the budget without a murmur. We would have gladly suggested to the members that they should demand a still greater increase in the *advalorem* duty on foreign articles. But, here again their mouths have been already gagged by Mr. Hailey. He says that the increase of duty from 7½ to 11 per cent has been fixed only after having obtained the approval of the British Government by assuring them that the increase is in no way a matter of protective trade policy but simply a remedy to smoothen the straitened conditions of Indian revenue. This clearly means that no further increase in the tariff can be contemplated. It is in view of all these circumstances that we have prophesied that the members who sit in the Legislature are entirely helpless in Mr. Hailey's hands and that we cannot expect any important change either in his estimated expenditure or in his taxation proposals.

And what will this new taxation mean? It will mean nothing but the complete ruin of the poor of the country. Out of the 19 crores which are to be raised by means of

new taxes, more than 8½ crores will be coming from increased taxes on railways, post and sugar, and these are exactly the taxes which affect the poor people. The increased taxation on foreign sugar will result, not only in the rise of prices for that article of trade, but also in the rise of the cost of Swadehi sugar and also of jaggery; and thus even if the poor man leaves off eating foreign sugar, it will not protect him from the dangers of a very high cost of living. The increment in the railway fares will also affect the poor man—and that also in more ways than one. The increased rates of goods traffic will make firewood, food grains and other articles dearer; and again the railway journeys will be unbearably expensive. It is always the poor classes that travel more than the rich or the middle ones. They are constantly running to and fro between their villages and the cities where they find employment. The rich people will be quite safe, since the first and second class fares hardly stand any chance of increase, while the poor who have to travel third class will be the greatest sufferers. Much more oppressive to the poor than these two taxes will be the enhanced postal rates that have been proposed. The abolition of one pie card will be a literal disaster upon the poor farmers, laborers and mill-hands. Cheap postal communications are always of the most vital importance to any country, and there is no wisdom in trying to get more money out of the Indian postal system which is already very costly. We advisedly say that the Indian postal system is very costly. Mr.

Hailey's assertion that India has the cheapest postal service in the world is most unfounded. In England they have to pay a penny for a card, while in India we pay a pie for it. But this does not mean that we have a cheaper service. The average income of an Indian is not even one-twentieth of what the average Englishman earns, and to suit this proportion a card should cost three-fifths of a pie here. Anyone who looks at these facts reasonably will be convinced how the raising of the quarter anna post-card to half an anna is a hard blow to the poor classes. Mr. Hailey may well say that "the present cheap postal rates are a luxury which the country cannot afford." But why can he not bring the same golden principle to bear on the fabulously fat pays of the superior civil and military officers?

The *Times of India* of the 2nd instant tells us that its representative interviewed various bankers, merchants and brokers of Bombay, and all of them expressed their complete satisfaction with the budget and explained "nothing to complain of!" The news is not surprising. The budget does not prick these people at any point. A millionaire who at present has to pay down ten thousand rupees for a motor car will easily part with an additional thousand in future. He will also gladly pay any amount for his luxurious wine and tobacco. It will be only the middle and the poor classes that will have to suffer the woes of increased taxation. Hence it is that we are inclined to call this budget a mill that grinds the poor.—From an Indian paper.

India:--As It Is

The Women of India

Outsiders ask all sorts of funny questions about the women of India. "Do they burn the widows in India?" Answer, "No." "Do they kill their daughters in India?" Answer, "No." "Do they sell their daughters in marriage as in Europe?" Answer, "As in Europe." "Does every man have a whole harem of wives?" Answer, "Some princes have." We have no particular sympathy for the princes of India. They have not, in the past done their duty as public servants, and that's all a prince should really be. But we must say that the modern Indian prince has seldom a very large harem. Many of them have only one wife, but a few old birds certainly have nestfuls of belaced women. Ah! but what rich man in the world, anywhere in the world, does not have a harem? The only difference is that as India has no modern cafes, the Indian harem-seeker has to keep all his entertainers in the female line, under his own roof, and feed and clothe them decently. But it is a damnable system, that some men should have no wife at all, and some others should have whole gangs of them.

But what about the common run of people?

The princes aside, India is the most monogamic country in the world. One man and one woman. That is the system. And the man and wife are very much devoted to each other, as among the Jewish people.

"Who spread those silly stories about the atrocities the Indian women suffer at the hands of their men?" "At one time the missionaries peddled that sort of stuff. And there was a lot of truth in what they said a couple of centuries ago. In the middle ages, the condition of Indian women was, if possible, even worse than that of their European sisters."

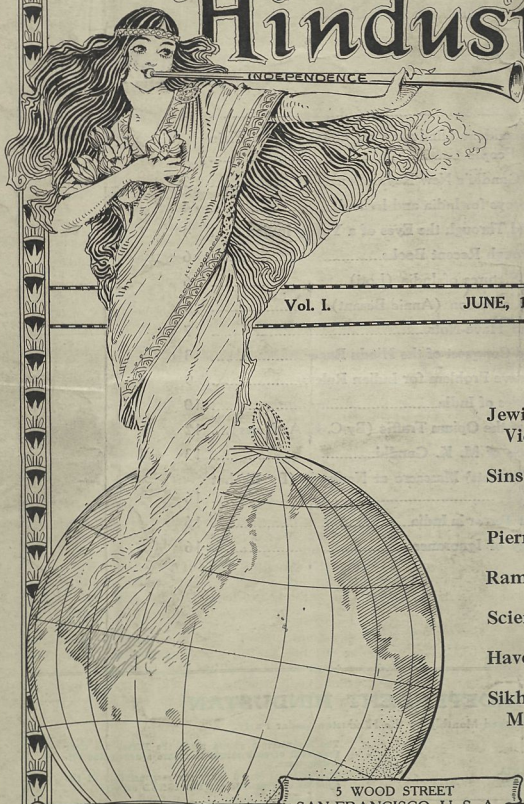
"Are the Indian women as advanced, as free, as self-sufficient as the Western women?" "Of course not." "What is the cause of it? Religion, as the missionaries say?" "No." Although most traditional religion is a bundle of rubbish everywhere. But the real cause of the suffering of Indian womanhood is that their manhood is under political and racial subjection.

Considering that the men of India are terribly poor, for little fault of their own, and that they are kept ignorant—subject to all kinds of fears and plagues—it is marvelous how well they treat their women and children.

Where men are not free, how can women be? Men come before women in the advancement toward liberty and prosperity.

It is most satisfying to us that Indian women are fast becoming highly educated and are already working for women suffrage and other new things cherished by their Western sisters.

The Independent Hindustan



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Independence of India*

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No. 10

Jewish and Catholic
Viceroys

Sins of the
Opium Traffic

Pierre Loti on India

Rama and Ravana

Science and Race

Haves and Have-nots

Sikh Nationalists'
Massacre

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of Political, Economic, Social and Intellectual Independence of India.

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No. 10

Editorial

Independent Hindustan, an Organ of the Plain People

THIS Independent Hindustan, that you are reading, is published and got up by plain people, mostly workers and farmers of Indian blood. It is not an organ of the few rich, or the few intellectual among the Indians. Every thing is judged by it from the view point of the welfare of the millions and millions of the workers and farmers, and farm laborers who constitute the real population of India. Independent Hindustan advocates Independence from British rule for India, because its publishers believe that an alien government is bound to be the enemy of the plain folks of India.

The few rich, and some of the educated people in India, have been in many ways helped by the British. Young Indians educated in British schools and universities obtain subordinate places as government servants, or become lawyers and practice in British courts, and grow wealthy on fees charged from the peasants who have the misfortune to become their clients. It was not to be expected that these upper classes, so called, would turn against the British. And up to this day the best friends the British have in India are among the English educated classes.

The average British of the Anglo-Indian type is too stupid to understand this, and is more afraid of the educated than of the vast non-educated mass. So long as Indian Nationalism remained confined to the educated classes, it was no better than what is known in England as old fashioned Liberalism. It did not care much for the masses, and it was at heart a friend of British supremacy in India. But the day came when Indian Nationalism became a movement of the common people, the millions and millions of the villagers and laborers, artisans and lower middle classes in the towns.

In making it a movement of the people, the party which publishes this Independent Hindustan had an effective hand. And if it were not that Mr. Gandhi is also a true friend of the poor masses, not a word about him or his movement would have appeared here.

* * * * *

The masses of the Indian people, who are unable to reach a school or college for self-improvement (although English education does not improve the public conscience of the Indians any way) are not ignorant barbarians. Although the most illiterate country on earth—thanks to British rule—India is also one of the most cultured of all mainly agricultural countries. The Indian farmer or servant or worker may not be able to read or write, he is quite a civilized being. He is civilized in the same way that the vast majority of the people were civilized in France or England, till about a century ago, when the modern public schools were established. In general intelli-

gence, manners and so forth, the illiterate Indian of today is in no way inferior to the small farmer in Europe.

The education of the masses has been going on in India for centuries by word of mouth. Priests—as Swamis—and other wandering teachers and reformers, have been wandering among the villagers telling them of wonderful things they themselves have studied in poems, and scriptures, and histories. All kinds of fables and stories have been thus circulated. Philosophies of great men like the Buddha, and Baba Nanak, have been widely circulated in this manner. Had it not been for this old, inherited mass education, the Nationalist and Democratic movement would never have made any headway among the masses in India.

The revolutionaries in India are employing the old methods that gave India a general and wide culture. We can say from experience that it is very easy to make an Indian villager understand the elementary principles of representative government, or cooperative business.

Mr. Gandhi's New Revolution

Gandhi, the leader of the non-cooperation movement, asserts that by October next the masses in India will be ready for mass action, whatever that might mean. Somehow that will lead to a paralysis of the British government and will usher in the Swaraj or Self Rule that the Nationalists are determined to achieve. Mr Gandhi believes that he can win independence, or virtual independence, without the use of violence in any form. That would be a new kind of revolution. That would be far more of a novelty in the history of civilization than the Bolshevik revolution. And there are many, including ourselves, who have grave doubts as to the possibility of success in that way. Nationalist leaders like Shaikat Ali and Mohamad Ali have faith in the brandishing of swords, in the cause of freedom. But they are all giving Gandhi a chance. We are willing to give him a chance. As soon as the British lay their hands on Gandhi, or any of his associates, as soon as they start the regime of black and tan again, the Revolutionists-by-Force will get the opportunity they are waiting for.

We feel that unless the whole world disarms, unless some world tribunal for international justice be established a subject people like that of India should not talk and practice too much peacefulness, no matter how beautiful its martyric practice might seem.

Despite Mr. Gandhi's teaching, the Nationalists must keep their militant spirit unruined. Some day, perhaps, through the agency of the new American administration, Britain and other powers may lose their modern armaments. Then peaceful revolutions will be in order. But as the world is to-day, a little bit of force might not be altogether amiss. However, as we say, let Gandhi have a chance.

* * * * *

Viceroy for India and Ireland

A Catholic Viceroy for Ireland. A Jewish Viceroy for India. That is how the British wish to pacify the Nationalists in Ireland and India.

Lord Reading, the new British Viceroy of India is by race a Jew. We have nothing but most friendly feelings for the Jews. They have suffered terrible persecution at the hands of the bigots of Europe, in every country. Our sympathies always go to any people in trouble. When we hear of a Jewish pogrom, anywhere, our blood boils with rage.

Among the Nationalists of India, the persecuted Jewry of the world has, and will always have, the sincerest friends. But it is not fair for any Jews to lend themselves as agents of wrong to be inflicted upon the people of India.

Lord Reading goes to India in order to perpetuate the British power there. And he goes at a moment in the history of India, when the echoes of the pogrom of several thousand Indians at Amritsar are still reverberating. That is a distinguished Jew is willing to occupy in India the seat of British authority from which are issued orders for cold blooded pogroms of the helpless and good peoples of India. Should not the Jews of Britain and America rise in unanimous protest against British atrocities in India? The things for Lord Reading, and other prominent British Jews to do was to join the Nationalists of India, as against General Dyer and other Britishers of that tribe, who hold the destiny of India in their blood-stained hands.

To think that Indian Nationalism aims at establishing an Oriental despotism in the place of a British despotism, is to utterly misunderstand it.

Lord Sinha, the Hindu Governor of Behar, may become some day the British Viceroy of India. But even that would not satisfy the Nationalists. What is wrong with the British government in India is not the race, or religion

or complexion of the individual Britons who serve the government. It is the system, the Constitution of the Government that is wrong, hideously wrong. What is that system? A number of British land-grabbers, a number of British money-grabbers, a number of British official job-seekers have combined in a conspiracy to rob India mercilessly.

About three-fourths of the people in India are engaged in farming, they are just poor peasants. Day and night they work. Whatever wealth they create is taken away from them by the British government in the name of land revenue. Most of this income from the land is spent on the British army. And what does that army do? It dissipates, while stationed in India, and conquers rich oil lands and mining lands and agricultural lands in Africa and Asia, for the British land and money magnate at home. The balance of the government income is spent in fat salaries paid to civil and military officials who come out hunting jobs in India. And whatever money still remains going around in the land is pilfered by British traders.

Long ago, the British crushed down the native industries of India. And all the articles that the people required had to come from outside, that outside was Britain.

So the British profiteer has been growing rich, and fat and sleek on the pennies stolen by force and fraud from the impoverished villagers and townfolks of Hindustan. Such is the vile system. We would have called it a system of naked robbery. But we have no desire to insult the robbers, by comparing the British system in India to their time honored although anti-social craft.

In this British business there is no craft. It is all graft, plain unskilled graft. Now, the giving of a few highly paid jobs to men like Lord Sinha, a Hindu, or Lord Reading, a fine Jew, does not alter the nature of the system. What is needed is a representative, constitutional, democratic, national government—and the less government in it, and more community cooperation in it—the better.

The World Through Eyes of a Young Indian

WHO is a "Young Indian"? A son or daughter of India, whose mind reflects the spirit of modern India is a "Young Indian." He—and that embraces "She"—looks at the world through his own peculiar glasses. By his comments about the ways of the great world outside India, you can well judge the nature of the glasses of past and present experience that intervene between the world and his vision.

We publish below the mutterings, audible and inaudible, of an average "Young Indian":

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE OF BRITISH LABOR—I know very little about the internal politics of British labor. And I usually say that it does not make any difference to me and to my people as to what British labor does or does not. So far British labor has paid little attention to the sufferings of the people of India. Nevertheless, I was at heart very much in hope for India, if the Triple Alliance had succeeded this time.

The British Labor Party had given some hope of a peaceful settlement of the Irish and Indian problems. At their last conference at Scarborough, I read in some liberal magazine—they gave quite a little time to the questions of India and Ireland—and expressed general sympathy with the movement for Self-Determination in these countries.

Their resolutions sounded big, and it seemed to me for a while that they not only had the wish but also the strength to give justice and liberty to India, Ireland and

other countries suffering from the military dictatorship of British Imperialists. These British Laborites congratulated themselves for their breadth of vision and qualities of enlightened statesmanship, and all that sort of thing the timid liberals used to talk so much about.

There was something too, too perfect about their wonderful "platform." It was drawn up like the Fourteen Points by some hands that were accustomed to write. It was like a lawyer's brief, like a schoolmaster's essay, like—oh, well—a Scotch moralist's sermon. . . . It was just wonderful enough to win the praise of many American and other Liberals. As a Liberal, I myself had fallen for it. A Liberal wants good to happen without much trouble, and is always looking out for small indications of the coming glory, which he magnifies in his own imagination. And to come back to the great British Labor Party document. Its very perfection—its three dimensions of length, breadth, and depth—won my admiration. But I missed in that program a certain Fourth Dimension. That was the dimension of time. What I wanted to know was how soon British labor do these noble things to India, Ireland and the like. I suppose, I should not have asked such foolish questions at all. I should have known that British labor would have to wait for a general election to put it into power, before it could accomplish its ideals.

But I am an impatient man. Young India is impatient, just as America was impatient when George Washington was her leader, and then again when Abraham Lincoln was

her leader. Those general elections take years to come. And I am afraid that labor would not win at a general election anyway. The Non-Labor Politician, liberal or conservative (these are merely names) is far too clever for the politicians who lead labor.

The hope for the victory of labor was, in its apparent solidarity, in the Triple Alliance, and the power it had to stop or keep going the daily business and industrial routine. Well, the Alliance defied Lloyd George; the rank and file did. It seemed to be getting the Fourth Dimension. Action, or the hastening of the pace of Time. There is a time for every thing. If you lose it, you lose every thing.

The leaders of the Triple Alliance were lacking in something. They were like the old Moderates in our own Indian politics; men who talked like Alexander the Great, and acted like—well, I won't say anything ugly. After all, it is none of my business what British labor does or does not to its masters. But I must not fool myself any longer with the hope that India or Ireland can gain anything by counting upon the good will of any British party, least of all a party not in power, and whose leaders have not the courage or straightforwardness enough to fight for their principles. Writing Fabian pamphlets is very good, in its way. But it hardly puts into you the power necessary to dislodge the old rulers of Britain.

FRANCE. Old friend of India. I love France. I have a warm spot for her in my heart. The French are a keen-witted, sunshiny people. These men who claim to be experts in matters of human breeds, say that the Latins are a Mediterranean people, like the northern or Aryan type of the people in India, the so-called High Castes. And France as a nation has been a friend of India, since the days of Napoleon. I hate to think of Napoleon having conquered India. I hate to think of any foreigner ruling India. Still, if it had been the French instead of the British who had subjugated India, India might have been happier.

The French at that time, were inspired with their new dreams of science, human liberty, equality, fraternity, The French enlightenment would have come to India as it came to those European countries that came under the influence of France. If Napoleon put some new life in Italy, Germany and so forth, he might have done the same thing in India. It is impossible to imagine that the French would have been so phlegmatically unprogressive, so pig-headedly traditional in India as the British have been there.

The French had little, if any, prejudice towards the people of India, on the score of the latter being somewhat sunburnt. The French, being a beauty-loving race, appreciate the olive complexion of the people of North India or even the bronze skins of South India, set off as they are by the wonderful features, and flashing eyes of the Indian people. The French would have mixed and mingled easily with the people of India. They have less, if at all, of the strange fear that the cruder islanders of England seem to have towards the Latins, Indo Aryans and other races, even slightly different from themselves.

There are a couple of towns in India—Pondicherry, Chandernagore—that are still under the French. The Indian population of these towns enjoy the same civil and political rights as do the French residents and citizens.

When I used to live in Paris, some years ago, the French showed me particular kindness because they knew that I was wanting the same kind of liberty for India, that they had obtained for themselves by the French revolution.

The war is over: the Great War. I am going to cultivate friendship with the French again.

THE GERMANIC PEOPLE. They do not seem to have the social graces and the imaginative gifts of the French. That is why they had comparatively so little success with the Egyptians, Irish, Indians in the last crisis. But suffering teachers! I hope their present humble position will make them more careful of the feelings of others. That is chiefly a matter of manners. At heart, they have a deep spring of sentiment. Now that the British have inflicted a defeat upon them, the innate sentiment of the Germans will make them a very companionable people for Young Indians. If some Britisher reads this, he will say that I'm "pro-German." Rubbish! I'm pro-nobody, and anti-nobody. Am I anti-British? Only in the sense that I want the British to get out of India. And well, if to like the French, the Irish, the Slavs, not to say the great Americans, and I say even the Germans—if to like these non-British peoples, and to be liked by them, is, to be anti-British, then I am anti-British and I don't care who knows it.

I am not, and no Young Indian is, so foolish as to underestimate the skill in diplomacy, and also the audacity of the British. I don't think that the British are better than everybody else in every thing. But in one thing they seem to beat all others—political experience. There is hardly a better way of learning political practice of the old type, than fighting the British, as the Irish and the Indians are doing. If the British had made good use—good for the world at large—of their political skill, I would have been their first admirer. But they make a most selfish use of their abilities. They never lose sight of their own gain. And in order to meet them at their own game, the whole world has to be like them. It is because Lenine understands this, and is evidently out-Heroding the British Herods, that the latter have begun to deal with him with increasing respect and Lloyd George has pretty nearly recognized the Soviets. The example of British Imperialism, makes all other patriotisms narrow and selfish.

We Indians have been too generous, and trustful to the British. They said that they were our well-wishers. We thought they were that. With their own people, the British are square enough. They run their own affairs, in Britain, with considerable decency, and common sense. But in their dealings with us, or any other foreign people, the British have shown terrible selfishness. We Young Indians have got wise to this fact. That's why the British have begun to persecute us. We are a peace-loving people. India has never gone out to conquer other lands. But there is a limit to peacefulness. What President Harding says, as true and good for America, I'd say for India.

Said President Harding recently: "We do want that which is righteously our own, and, by the eternals, we mean to have it. . . . I would not want peace without honor."

The kind of peace that the British want the Indians to maintain with them is a dishonorable peace, dishonorable for us Indians. I as a Young Indian spurn such peace: it is better to fight for one's rights.

India Through Recent Books

PIERRE LOTI, the celebrated French author has written the most readable travel book on India.

The following excerpts are from the English translation of Pierre Loti's India:

Pen Pictures of India—Loti

THE RUINS AROUND THE CITY OF DELHI, the ancient capital of India, and also the seat of the present Empire:

"The land in which the Moghal Emperors lived is now but a winding sheet for ruined towns and palaces.

India, cauldron in which the first human intelligence seethed, is filled with innumerable wrecks of bygone days, whose beauty and profusion plunge us into bewilderment.

Between Delhi and that capital of olden times where the great tower of Kuth stands, built of pink granite, the road is lined with ruined fortresses and phantom towns, great crested walls with moats and drawbridges. Within, no living soul.

The rose-colored granite tower was visible on the horizon of this famine-stricken land long before the ramparts and the chiselled palaces could be described.

It is almost the oppressive hour of noon as I pass through the double gates which lead into this phantom town.

By the foot of the tower there are those remains of pompous magnificence which mark that this was once royal ground. All styles are mingled in these glorious relics.

Under me lies a forest of superb monolithic blocks whose squared frontages carry the mind back to the earliest Hindu period. Wonderful porticoes rear their many pointed arches inscribed with Kufic characters into the clear transparent air.

I hear a light trotting on the pavement below. Three goats followed by their kids, enter the palace and without hesitation clamber up to the high gallery where I am standing. Here, full of unconcern, they lie down to take their midday nap. Crows and turtle doves also come to the cool shade and settle down to sleep. At the back of my loggia there is a little window, from which I ought to see the sky, but I only see a white embroidery on a rosy background, which seems to be suspended in the air at an uncertain distance from me. It is the great tower whose marble incrustations gleam in the rosy granite.

Drowsiness comes over me.

Suddenly there are footsteps beneath me, hasty footsteps, unexpectedly breaking the long silence. Some twelve men appear, glowing with crude colors, whose blues and whites and golds break the monotony of the great ruddy stones. They are Mussalmans from the North, Afghans with pointed caps which fall over their faces, so that only their hooked noses and jet-black beards are visible. They pause reverently before the porticoes of the ruined mosques or stop to kiss the tombs, and then, always with the same haste, move farther off, and at last disappear among the ruins."

(Note the sentiment of reverence and affection for the symbols of the past national glory of India, found by the French writer among the simple mountaineers of the North Western India, who came down to visit the ruins around the present city of Delhi.)

"It is now three o'clock and life's pulses stir once more. The green parrots peer from their holes and with

beaks hooked into the carvings look downwards. Then they fly off with the fierce cry of newly awakened life."

(How symbolical this is of the Newly Awakened National life of India. That very time, 1905, when Pierre Loti was watching the stirring up of life after a long noonday sleep in the ruined temples and towers of India, a New National Life was also rekindling among the people: but of that the French artist does not seem to have been aware. In his book there is no mention of politics. The Frenchman cared only for color, form and rhythm, and not for social movements of India: an American would have cared less for the beauty of India, and a lot more for the currents of public life—)

"The three goats were awakened too, and take their kids to pasture amid the short and burnt grass. I also descend and wander in the phantom town.

Ruined palaces, ruined temples, ruins of mausoleums and of palaces, and here and there, lean flocks that nibble among the stones, and spread out over this vast, melancholy, and walled in plain. And in the midst of all this desolation the rose tower seems to keep a sleepless vigil."

(The Rose-Tower was the sign of the Hope of India, the Spirit of history, the sentiment of Indian Unity and national determination, even amidst ruins and desolation of today.

But never mind these comments. Read yourself Pierre Loti's wonderful book on India.)

India a Nation—Annie Besant

The noted Theosophist leader, Mrs. Annie Besant published an excellent little book on India, in London, when the great war was on. She was at that time one of the first leaders of the Home Rule for India Movement. (We differ from Mrs. Besant on many points, but recognize that she loves India as deeply as any naturalized Hindu of British origin can possibly do: we regard her as a great British woman who has become a naturalized Indian. She has every right to call India her country. We believe in full independence for India, and regard Mrs. Besant's lukewarm Home Ruleism as regrettable.)

"Is India fit for freedom? She claims it as her right. You will not say her, nay.

What does India want? She wants everything that any other nation may claim for itself. To be free in India, as the Englishman is free in England. To be governed by her own men, freely elected by herself. To make and break Ministries at her will. To carry arms, to have her own army, her own navy, her own volunteers. To levy her own taxes, to make her own budgets, to educate her own people; to irrigate her own lands, to mine her own ores; to mint her own coins; to be a sovereign nation within her own borders.

A large claim, you say? Does the Englishman ask for less for himself in England? What is there strange that an Indian should ask the same for himself in India? What is the radical difference between them which should make an Indian content to be a thrall? It is not the angle of vision that needs changing. It is the eye, purified from pride and prejudice, that can see clearly and the heart, purged from arrogance, that can beat with healthy strokes.

India can never be at rest, till she is free."

"Haves and Have-Nots"

By X. Y. Z.

Note: The article that follows is reproduced, with slight modifications, from a brilliant article written by a then prominent leader of the India's Nationalist Party, under the title, "Class Psychology and Public Movements." It was published in the February issue of the Modern Review of Calcutta, in 1914. It is in a sense a strong denunciation of the moderate Nationalists or Liberals, who at that time were in control of the Indian Nationalist Congress, and were called the Congress Wallas.

TODAY the Congress is in the hands of men like Mr. Gandhi whose ideas are so extraordinarily similar to the ideas given in the article that follows. Even the blind and deaf-mute know that the world is divided into rich and poor. Every society has phrases to indicate the contrasts and antagonisms created by the unequal distribution of wealth. The Haves and Have-Nots, landlords and tenants, governors and governed—such terms tell the story of class divisions that everywhere mutilate the unity of human society.

Society is everywhere divided into many economic groups. But a broad line of demarcation separates the two social strata: those who work with their hands and those who don't. Those who live by manual labor are generally poorer than those who do not. Hence we find that a laborer wishes his children to rise into the more prosperous class. Everywhere, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the farm hand, or the cultivator earns less than the prince, the minister, the land owner, the banker. The Hindustani word (current vernacular of North India) "safed posh" (immaculately dressed) covers all these "well dressed" gentlemen with a mantle of "respectability."

Along with a larger share of wealth go all the things that make life worth living—leisure, education, art, cleanliness, health, longevity. The poor man is every where condemned to a life of squalor and disease. He works long hours for a mere pittance, while the educated, wealthy folk enjoy good means, drive in carriages, rub their lazy bodies with oils (in India) wear silk and satin and "have a good time" all around.

It may be asked how this strange condition of things came to exist. . . . How is it that some people can live in luxury without hard work, while others can hardly get the necessities of life after toiling a whole day? How is it that one man pulls the punkha (a sort of fan pulled from the outside of the room to keep the air cool within, in hot weather in India) while another man, Hindu, Mohammedan or English, snores in the cool room inside? WHY SHOULD THE OTHER FELLOW NOT PULL THE PUNKHA?

Those who consume grain, milk, fruits and vegetables, and meats, without producing them must get them out of the labor of those who produce these. . . . And if we find that those who never cultivate the soil in fact get better food to eat than those who actually produce the grains and vegetables, we must surely surmise that there must be something wrong some where. This riddle can not be solved by the study of the sixteen systems of philosophy (the ancient Brahmanic philosophy).

Instead of the old questions about life and death, let us now ask this tremendous question: "Why are these two castes—the rich, the educated, the lazy, and the poor, the ignorant, the manual laborers, the producers of wealth on the other?" All movements that do not recognize this

problem are shallow, whether they are religious, political, national or international. . . .

Wherever you find a man living in comfort without doing hard work, be sure there is some swindling somewhere. The parasitic classes can never desire to raise the laboring classes; for the process of the gradual enlightenment of the latter would sound the death knell of patriotism for ever. How could the princes, members of parliament . . . live, if no one paid taxes.

A Sanskrit verse declares that love between the eater and the eaten is unnatural and impossible.

Referring to the well-known sentiment that the lion and the lamb (the British and the Indians—Editor) should lie down together, a humorist remarked: "Yes, but the lamb will be inside the lion."

Do the English capitalists raise the wages of English laborers without a bitter conflict? Do Scotch landlords throw open their parks to the Scotch people to prevent them from emigrating to America?

The rich classes love wealth more than anything else (religion or patriotism). . . . So it has been, so it will be in the history of humanity till there are no rich and no poor in the world.

A few great men, like Buddha or Tolstoy may renounce the parasitic life, but one swallow does not make a summer. The parasitic classes instinctively and almost unconsciously work for their own interests. They can not enter the feelings and the aspirations of the other classes. There are really two nations—the rich and the poor, and there is little mutual sympathy or knowledge between them. Most men are not gifted with keen imagination. They can not realize the habits of thought prevailing in a different social environment. Thus, besides the self-interest, there are other potent forces that make the rich classes oblivious of the poor. Men depend on experience for the ideas, and the rich have no experience of the life of the poor.

The rich generally initiate movements which benefit only their class, even though they may desire to do good to the whole of society. . . . The idealist sets out to help the weak, raise the fallen, and succor the poor, but he finds in the end that he has only served the rich and powerful in some way or other. Then his joy is turned to grief. But many noble enthusiasts never discover their mistake and die in the assurance that they have worked for the human race and for the poor.

(What happened at the Peace Conference?—Editor I. H.)

Such sad reflections come to one who surveys the entire field of public activity in modern India. (Written in 1914—Editor I. H.)

Except for a few half-hearted efforts by isolated individuals, the public life of India in the world of political and social reform revolves round the middle class, the educated parasites who live in cities and follow what are called the liberal professions.

I write this essay because I think that the only people who deserve our love and respect are the workmen and the peasants (small farmers). Carlyle's famous sentence, begins with the words, "Two men I honor and no third" is known to students of English literature. I would go further and say, "One man I honor and no second," and that man is the laborer, the producer of wealth.

(To Be Continued)

The Social Conquest of the Hindu Race

NOTE: We reprint below the last installment of an article published originally in the *Modern Review of Calcutta*, in September, 1909.

There is a dearth of sound thinkers amongst the Hindus. Let us learn wisdom from the confessions of our religious enemies, even if we are unable to think for ourselves. Mr. J. N. Farquhar, a Christian propagandist who is of course, an enemy of the Hindu religion, says in his article in the *Contemporary Review*:

"The leader and organizer of the central organization is not a Brahman, is not even a Hindu, but is a foreigner and a woman. How incredible, the religion of caste led by a foreigner—a woman the champion of Brahmanism! But this fact is not merely curious; it is pregnant with meaning. It is a visible embodiment of the truth that the enemies are in the citadel."

The attempt of Mrs. Besant and other Europeans to control and guide Hindu religious life represents the last phase of the social conquest which was inaugurated with the establishment of schools and colleges, hospitals and dispensaries.

Of course, the English "friends of Hinduism" may be unconscious of the significance of what they are doing. They may be sincere and noble philanthropists. The idea that they are not obnoxious to government is here advanced only as a hypothesis. But the fact remains all the same that the little success they have achieved represents the completion of the social conquest of Hindus by Europeans. That is its effect, whatever the motives of the workers may be. Thus Englishmen, who are government officials, are trying to oust the Brahman from the positions of *adhyapak* (teacher) and *vaidya* (physician). Englishmen, who are not in the service of the government, are occupying his place as religious leaders, *gurus* and *rishis*. When the Briton is teacher, physician and priest, either as a bishop of Indian converts to Christianity or as a real or sham champion of Hinduism, the social conquest will be complete. Then the excessive military expenditure, of which the congress complains, will be reduced.

II. A common platform for social intercourse on terms of inequality.

The feelings of national pride and self-respect having been undermined through the absence of a national state and the influence of British schools and colleges, the second requisite for the social conquest is also provided by the British people themselves.

The policy of associating the Indians in the administration puts the sons of our social and intellectual leaders under the leadership of the English officer, who is their superior. When a *Zemindar*'s son, who only pays taxes and obeys the laws in acknowledgment of the political conquest, goes further and applies for a post which is at the disposal of the local magistrate or the provincial lieutenant governor, he voluntarily assists in the social conquest of his race. There is no law which requires him to degrade himself and his nation in the eyes of the world by offering himself as a "servant" of the government. It is a matter of common knowledge that the district officer cannot treat a *Jagirdar*'s son who is his subaltern with the respect and consideration which he showed to his father who held an independent status.

Legislative councils are also such platforms. A member of the English nation is necessarily the president. And among those who are gathered together under his social leadership are Marhatta Brahmans and Sikh princes,

the leaders of Hindu society. Thus the viceroy can stand forth before all India as the social leader of the social leaders of the Hindu nation.

Have we ever reflected why the government admits us of its own accord to the legislative councils while Englishmen refuse admission into their clubs even to Indian judges and civilians? Government established legislative councils in 1861 on its own initiative and expanded them in 1892 with great advantage to itself. Now the council is a social body: a club is also a social institution. Of course one cannot drink or smoke or crack jokes at the council table. Then where lies the difference? Why should the viceroy himself nominate Indian leaders to the council while educated Indians cannot be admitted to English clubs under any circumstances whatever? The English rulers of India know full well that friendly intercourse with the Hindus will add to the stability of their dominion. Why should they refuse to promote such intercourse in their clubs as a means of consolidating their beloved empire?

The secret is that clubs lead to social intercourse on terms of equality, whereas the Englishman wants friendly intercourse with Hindus on a footing of *inequality*. He does not like to be addressed with undue familiarity and would be the last person to tolerate a hail-fellow-well-met style of greeting on the part of an Indian. The legislative councils, municipalities, *Durbars* and classrooms of colleges in British India provide him with a platform on which he can assert his social superiority, his assumed Brahmanhood, over our rich and cultured men. The dismal sight of high-born Kshatriyas and Brahmans meeting together under the presidency of a European civilian, whose father may be a baker, a shepherd, a butcher, a cobbler, a shop-keeper or a parson in England, brings tears to my eyes. When our children witness the spectacle, they naturally conclude that the white man must be a sort of *rishi*, since he is seated above the Brahman. He must be the Brahman of Brahmans, as Shelley is the poet's poet. How can our children learn the elementary virtues of national self-respect and dignity when they see their elders needlessly debasing themselves before ordinary Englishmen belonging to the middle class in England?

The princes, who are "educated" at Chiefs' colleges, should, of course, salute the principal of the institution at which they read. So it has at last come to this, that scions of ancient royal houses should acknowledge the superior social position of an ordinary English graduate from Cambridge and Oxford! There is no law to that effect, but the surroundings created for our young men by the government lead to that result. It is the peculiar feature of the social conquest that the element of coercion is largely absent from it. It is not altogether excluded, but it is not very much in evidence. Indeed the conquest would lose its significance if compulsion were employed to any large extent.

Sometimes we provide the British people with the opportunity of assuming the position of the Brahman over us. Some of us hold conferences under the presidency of European officials. Nay, even the august assembly which is supposed to represent the combined wisdom and patriotism of all India, is so devoid of national self-respect that it has now and then invited Europeans, who do not know Sanskrit, who despise our shastras and eat beef, to preside

over its deliberation! An assembly of Hindu "patriots" in British India under the leadership of an Englishman, a member of the conquering race! Could we imagine a meeting of Hindu patriots under the presidency of Shahab-ud-din Ghori in the year 1200 A. D. or a "national congress" of Hindus held in the year 1660 under Shaista Khan? The utter wreck of national self-respect which has followed the establishment of the British schools and colleges in India is illustrated by the following sentences which occur in a speech delivered by Babu Bepin C. Pal in 1904 at a meeting of the congress presided over by Sir-Henry Cotton:

"I am not ashamed, Ladies and Gentlemen, though I am ashamed in other connections to go down on bended knees to any authority—I am not ashamed, despite my sturdy and sensitive patriotism, to go down on bended knees before one whom we have anointed as our leader and as the master of this congress."

Of course, Mr. Pal had not then been converted to the new gospel of true patriotism. The spectacle of an assembly of learned Hindus, paying homage in this servile and barbarous fashion to one who was the sign and symbol of the political conquest of their ancient nation and its extinction as a member of the comity of nations, must have struck an intelligent foreigner, say a Frenchman or a German, as inexplicably absurd and ludicrous. I too could have laughed at it, were it not so tragic in its deep significance. It showed not only that we were not patriotic in our actions but that we did not even understand the meaning of the words "patriotism" and "self-respect"—which is a much more serious affair altogether. Thus does "educated" India become the laughing-stock of the world! Thus does the social conquest proceed from point to point, like an all-devouring fire consuming the last remnants of national pride and patriotic feeling. The exigencies of the social conquest direct the Englishman to meet the Hindu as a teacher in the class-room, as a physician in the hospital, as a magistrate in the court, as an official superior in the office, as a president and ruler in the municipality, the district board, the legislative council and the Durbar, but *never* as a friend in the club or the tavern. He wishes to play the role of a patron, a guide, a benefactor or a master in social intercourse with the Hindus. He requires a platform for intercourse on terms of inequality in order to carry on the work of social conquest, and he creates that platform. He finds a way or makes it.

III. In a healthy and living nation, no class of persons could be found to initiate the work of the social conquest. It is one thing to pay taxes and keep quiet: it is quite a different thing to come forward as an aspirant for the "honor" of sitting on a municipal committee or a legislative council. The existence of candidates for the humili-

ating positions of deputy-commissioner, of judge of a high court of British India, and of member of the legislative council indicates how far the social conquest has already proceeded, how near to acquiring the place of the Brahman the pushing Briton has come. How can an orthodox Hindu who refuses even to drink a glass of water in the presence of a non-Hindu consider it an "honor" to sit as a social inferior in an assembly presided over by a Christian, a beef-eater and a foreigner? There is no law which compels us to submit to such disgrace. Whether we are moderates or extremists, we shall be quite within our rights if we refuse to assist in the social conquest of our politically helpless nation. We cannot protest against our political degradation in any effective form without being considered disloyal: but we can stop the further progress of the social conquest without any risk to our life or property. The "educated" Indians are a class of persons thoroughly denationalized and demoralized: the majority of them are engaged in the hateful task of undermining the foundations of their nationality for filthy lucre. As pupils of English professors, as pleaders and barristers in courts, as subordinate officials in government service, as civilians and members of senates, syndicates and legislative councils and as organizers of movements which do not shrink from acknowledging the leadership of Englishmen, they are continually dragging the Hindu nation to a lower level in the scale of humanity. They are sapping the virtues which are the source of all national life, pride, self-respect and a sense of national individuality. It was "educated" India that lionized Keir Hardie as if he were a *rishi* or a *sanyasi* or a Hindu hero like Hari Singh Walwa. Then there was witnessed a sight which proved that we were fast approaching the mental and moral level of the negro—hundreds of high-caste Brahmans and well-to-do Hindu leaders giving parties in "honor" of a mere Englishman, who was the leader of a body of shoemakers, blacksmiths, and coolies in England. They thus put themselves below the cobblers and coolies of England in social position. The English officials in India must have rejoiced to watch the success of their policy of social conquest.

After the social conquest, serfdom and perpetual bondage! Those who assist in the process reduce themselves to the position of Pariahs. The military and political leadership of the nation has already passed from the Kshatriya to the Briton: will he also succeed to the social leadership which has been the privilege of the Brahman and the *rishi*? If the social conquest is completed, there is no hope for our nation. The evil effects of the process which has only begun are already visible. These must be counteracted in order to prepare the way for political regeneration. On this occasion, I do not propose to discuss the methods of resisting this social conquest. I only ask Hindu India the great question, "Shall the Briton be your Brahman?"

Unrest Grave Problem for India Rulers

Propaganda is Rife and Disturbances May Be Result of Situation

By HENRY MERCER

CALCUTTA, May 7.—The non-cooperative movement, through a failure as far as the boycott of the new councils, profession, schools, and universities is concerned, is nevertheless held responsible for much of unrest, discontent and strikes throughout India. The Government is beginning to feel the necessity of taking action to combat Gandhi, the Indian leader's influence, as it is feared the "non-violent movement" urged by him may be abandoned and a campaign of violence substituted.

The Government of the United Provinces has officially taken cognizance of the present unsettled situation in India and has issued a statement calling on all loyal members of the provinces to combat Gandhi's movement. The statement describes Gandhi's non-cooperative movement as being "frankly revolutionary and anarchistic, and can only bring misfortune and disorder upon the country at large."

Steps are also being taken in Madras to check the movement by counter propaganda and demonstrations.

Great Stories of India

(SENT BY A FRIEND IN NEW YORK)

WE intend to publish a number of the most popular stories of Indian mythology and folklore, stories that every villager knows and understands the moral of. In the education, and sometimes miseducation of the people of India, these stories have played an important part. They have, therefore, great importance, besides being exceedingly interesting, throwing as they do so much light upon the way the earlier folks thought and felt about the problems of life, death, social truth and untruth.

The following is a brief resume of the story of the Ramayana, one of the earliest and most celebrated epics of ancient Aryans, the so-called White Hindus: There is in it a hero, Rama, and a villain, Ravana. It is interesting that many of the people in India, among the villagers and town workers, call the British government by the name of the villain in this story, Ravana. But we must first give the story.

Characters: RAMA, SITA AND RAVANA. RAMA (the young Crown Prince of the kingdom of Ayodhya, that lies along the sacred Ganges, in Northeastern India), Rama is the ideal, virtuous young man. He is indeed the incarnation of the divine virtue, according to the poet-dramatist, Valmiki.

SITA (the beautiful bride of Rama)—Rama had won Sita in a tournament at arms. Sita's royal father, King Janaka, had announced that his beloved first daughter, celebrated for her matchless beauty, and noble character, will take as her bridegroom any young knight, prince or otherwise, who could bend a great heavy bow. . . . At the tournament came many, and indeed all, the great kings and princes and knights. They proud and powerful. Their dresses were of gold and diamonds, rubies, sapphires. . . . They had many, many servants.

RAVANA: But the proudest among them all was the swarthy, giantly, exceedingly learned, but vicious and crooked king of the Isle of Lanka (supposed to mean Ceylon). He was none other than Ravana himself. About Ravana, the poet says, that he had eleven heads. Ten of these heads had all the ten kinds of learning that was known then. But the eleventh head cropped up above all the other heads: that was an *ass's* head. What did it show? That in spite of his great learning, Ravana was the biggest ass alive, he was vain and selfish. So it is, that to this day an ambitious, clever but selfish man is called an eleven-headed Ravana by the people—the common folks in India. And, as we have said before, now they call the British government, Ravana (see Sir Valentine Chirol's Unrest in India).

These are the most important characters, these three: Rama, the Good, Sita, the Good, his wife and sweetheart, and the jealous, vile Ravana.

Other characters we shall name as we go along.

Now, what happened at the tournament where Sita had invited all the knights to choose a spouse from among them, was this that neither Ravana nor any other king or baron was able to break that bow.

But Rama was able to accomplish that great feat. Rama, however, had not come here as a Crown Prince. Indeed not. There was nothing to show that he was a prince, except the wonderful beauty and glory of his face. He was at this time a student, living a most simple life with his tutor, the great Valmiki, in a forest hermitage. He had just drifted in, casually, to see the great tournament where the prize was so precious as the hand of lovely

Sita. And when other big people had failed, he went forward and picked up the great bow and snapped it in two.

There was a great uproar among kings and princes. Who was this poor, wandering hermit to try for the hand of a king's daughter? Was Sita going to marry this No-body? But Sita had already decided. She just went forward and threw a garland around Rama's neck—she loved him at first sight—apart from his having fulfilled the condition of the tournament. In those days, women occupied a high place in India and chose their husbands as Sita did.

Ravana's pride was deeply hurt. He was full of lust, and had many wives and wanted to possess Sita by fair means or foul.

When it was known that Rama was not a poor lad, but the heir apparent of the mighty monarch of Ayodhya, Sita was doubly happy. The news of the engagement was sent by royal messengers to Rama's royal father, King Dasratha.

Let us turn a moment to King Dasratha, Rama's father. This rich monarch was easily influenced by women. He was good natured, and affectionate, but weak. He was a sentimental ninny. He had four wives, each of whom bore him a son. (Please remember that the author of this epic, the poet Valmiki, desires to show the evil of marrying more than one wife.) Contrary to ideas spread by the missionaries about Indian morality, the wise men of India had always inculcated one-man and one-woman system of marriage. The villains of Indian stories are usually kings or knights having lots of wives or mistresses, while the hero is always a strict monogamist.

This weak king Dasratha had Rama for his eldest son, for his heir apparent. The other sons were younger sons and could not inherit the throne. But all the four step-brothers were very fine lads and loved one another with utmost brotherly love. Their mothers, too, were gentle and sweet, and had no trouble with one another. There was one exception. That was the youngest queen, Kakaiyee. She cared only for herself and hated all other queens—and we surely don't blame her. The King had once been wounded and she had nursed him back to health. The weak, old dotard married her in gratitude and promised to grant her any boons she asked for in future. This young queen, Kakaiyee, was very much upset to hear that Rama had been engaged to Sita, and her worry became still greater when the King announced that Rama was definitely chosen by him as his heir-apparent, and that he was himself about to retire from the business of the state, leaving government to Rama. Kakaiyee thought of her own son, Prince Bharata. She wanted not Rama, but her own son, Bharata, to be the prince elect, the successor to the throne. She became hysterical with the selfishness of a mother who loves her own son too much to care anything for general principles or the rights of others.

The King was fond of her, and could not bear to see her in sorrow. What was the matter? When she told him that he owed her a debt of gratitude for having nursed him back to life once, the King said he was quite willing to keep his promise. "Please," she said, "I ask you to send Rama into banishment. Exile him, deport him from this kingdom. Order him to wander for twelve years in the jungles of Southern India and let the throne be occupied by my son, Bharata."

The poor old king was staggered. Between his duty to the state, and his old promise to this woman, his heart was torn. What was he to do? He fell in a terrible grief. A

lesson, a terrible lesson to a bigamist. And the young woman had made up her mind and would not relent. Strongwilled woman, like young women every where in the world—young women caring only for themselves. . . .

It was up to Rama now. He could have defied her, and his father. The whole court and the people of the kingdom had a deep affection for him and for his bride, Sita. They wanted him, and him alone, to be their ruler. But he had a sympathy for Kakaiyee, as well as for his old dad. "Father," he said, "you must keep your word with your queen. I'm determined to help you do that. I'm going to banish myself from this kingdom for twelve years. It is small matter. The years will fly quickly. You won't miss me much. And Bharata, my step brother, is a very fine fellow. He can govern just as well as myself, perhaps better. So it's all right."

Now, banishment was no joke in those days: three, or a thousand years ago. Much of India was still covered with beast-infested forests. It was a great, great unexplored wilderness down South. Rama was a Northern Hindu, one of a small band of pioneers who had taken a lot of trouble to clear up and settle the new country. And South was then ruled by the original race of whom the Northerners were still afraid.

Rama's mother swooned with sorrow. The King became so ill with the prospect of separation from Rama, that soon afterward he died of it.

As for Sita, she wanted to go and share banishment with her husband. Rama tried hard to persuade her to stay at home. But a Hindu woman wouldn't do such a thing. No love was greater than the desire for comfort. She was no doll that must be left wrapped up in soft cotton and silk at home while the man she loved and had married was away, wandering far from home, because of his sense of filial duty.

Well, did Bharata, Kakaiyee's son, accept the throne? No, he did not. He was loyal to his brother, Rama. Besides he was a highly educated man and did not want to have such a wrong thing happen as his mother wanted to happen. Poor Kakaiyee. Her plans for herself and her son were ruined by her son himself.

Bharata consented to act as the regent for Rama, in his absence, but he would not accept the kingship itself. That belonged to nobody but Rama himself.

The banishment began.

A long account is given of each year's adventures as Rama and Sita, with one other stepbrother, Lashman, wandered as pioneers in the jungles of the South.

The crisis for the party came, however, when Ravana, the wicked king of Ceylon, to the extreme South, heard of Rama's banishment. Here was his chance to seduce or kidnap Sita. He sent his agents to mislead these three wayfarers. He sent black magicians to do harm to them. But they were brave young men, Rama and his step brother, and Sita was as courageous and patient as she was beautiful and sweet.

One day, however, Ravana himself came to some place in the wild forests where Rama had been camping. Ravana came in the disguise of a humble mendicant. Rama and his brother had gone out for hunting. They were chasing the deer, as they all liked a piece of venison steak, and Sita had been left alone in the little cottage they had put up in the woods. Here came Ravana, disguised as a tramp, and he spoke like a friar of holy things. "Some wandering priest or friar," thought Sita. He wanted something to eat. Sita was willing to give him whatever she had left of the food.

The wily Ravana, gradually lured her away from her cottage. Then suddenly took hold of her, the brute, and as Sita began to shriek and scream, he gagged her mouth. Sita tore her clothes and threw them around to leave clues for Rama. And her piercing cries were heard by Rama as well as by a few wild animals and half men and half animals (some wild aborigines).

This was the greatest sorrow to Rama. Losing a throne was nothing compared to this. What is manhood without true womanhood to sustain and complete it by love? And his half brother, Lashman, was just as fond of Sita as any one could be. They cried and cried—heartbroken boys. And they started in chase of that black-hearted brute, Ravana, the swarthy king of the Isle of Lanka.

They suffered untold hardships. Weary, broken, but persistent, they went on and on and on. At last they came to a point within sight of the Isle of Lanka, the mighty fortified kingdom of Ravana.

There was going to be a war now. Without a war, wicked robbers like Ravana, do not yield the loot they take from others. A war of right against might. Rama started to get together and train an army of such people whom Ravana had been oppressing for years. They were in daily terror of this Ravana. The poor people hailed these beautiful youthful knights as deliverers from the clutches of Ravana.

And what was Sita doing? She was a prisoner in the fortress of Ravana. Ravana had done his best to break down her virtue. He tempted her in every way. "Share my empire with me, Sita. Can there be anything more glorious than that I, Ravana, and thou Sita should be joint rulers of this great empire that I've already built up!" And he used violence on her. He did everything he could to subdue her will and confuse her mind and to make her forget that she was but a captive whom he had captured not by love and not in fair way at all, but by fraud and force. Sita was civilization. Ravana was the caveman's method, the mailed fist, the brute force of pirates and highwaymen.

Ravana, lord of all the seas around, could not understand why this wandering, exiled frail Sita should not yield to him. Angry and cheated of his hunger, he had her imprisoned in a garden. Sita, a prisoner.

Between Rama and Ravana, there were exchanges of messages. But Ravana was proud, and saw not the way of right. He would not give up Sita, sure as he felt of instantaneous victory over the hastily got up army of Rama.

And there was war.

They were great warriors, those soldiers of Ravana. And Rama and his step brother, and his under officers, had a terrible time and were several times wounded. But Rama fought without skill. His generalship was wonderful. And it was not so much his generalship as the spirit that inspired his followers that gave him real strength.

The greatest generals of Ravana were killed and flouted by Rama's devoted warriors. The military machine of Ravana was shaken. But Ravana was puffed up with pride, and would not yield. He was a die-hard. At last he himself went out to fight. And he was a great warrior.

But victory came to Rama. Ravana's own allies and relatives had turned against him because they became convinced of the wickedness of their monarch and of the righteousness of Rama's cause.

There is that in most human hearts that makes them ultimately take the side of simple human justice and de-

(Continued on page 14.)

The Sins of the Opium Traffic

By C. F. ANDREWS

Perhaps one of the worst humiliations that we suffer in India to-day, is this, that we are having things perpetrated in our own country's name, which make us burn with shame and indignation, even to think about; and yet we all know that we cannot prevent them, so long as we have not got our own independence.

One of these humiliations is the terrible fact, often referred to by Mahatma Gandhi, that Indian troops have been summoned to fight in Mesopotamia and elsewhere against those who are really our brothers. The Egyptians, Arabs, Syrians and Turks have learned to hate Indian soldiers, because they have been employed, as mercenaries, by the Imperialist statesmen of Great Britain, whenever they have been engaged in seeking to deprive the Middle Eastern countries of their independence.

All this is well known. But there has been a far more deadly secret war carried on all the while in which we have been aiding and abetting the policy of economic greed and oppression. We have been engaged in selling poison to the Chinese people and debauching them. We have even been engaged, as I shall show later, in doing the same to our own Indian fellow-countrymen abroad.

The story of all this, when one comes to think about it, is more cruel and mean than war itself. For nearly a century the British rulers in India had forced China to receive Indian opium. Twice, the Chinese government had resisted; twice they were defeated by the gunboats of Great Britain; twice, they were obliged to admit opium by treaty. So the unequal struggle went on; and each year the Indian revenue was enriched by many millions of pounds sterling.

Then, in 1907, conscience awoke. The British Parliament agreed that this immorality must proceed no further. The amount of opium forced upon China was to be diminished year by year, until it vanished altogether.

China herself made a remarkable effort after this to eliminate the vice; and by the year 1914, she had begun to hope for success. Then the Great War began. In the world, confusion which followed an altogether new and hateful traffic, was secretly carried on from Japan. Morphine injections took the place of opium-smoking. The opium, from which morphine was manufactured, was grown in India; it was sent over by ships and then made into morphine in Great Britain; last of all, it was introduced into China from Japan.

How the evil spread during the war may be seen from the following figures. Japanese official statistics show, that the importation of morphine rose from 30,000 ounces in 1913, to 358,543 ounces in 1915, and 600,228 ounces in 1917. There has been a diminution since then, owing to a change in the Japanese law; but the evil has by no means been checked and new ways of evading the law are already being found.

The following is the account given by an American, Mr. Edmund B. Chaffee, who has traveled all over North China:

"It is not after all the *smoking* of opium that is increasing so rapidly; for that is the vice of the rich. The danger lies in the widespread use and abuse of *morphia*. The needle is injecting the poison into the masses of China. The coolie class especially is threatened. They are spending their coffers for 'shots' of morphine. Three 'shots' per

day, and the victim is dead in a few months. The millions of China—fifteen millions is a conservative estimate—are now being debauched by opium and its derivatives. The number is rapidly increasing."

Again the same writer says, "Thirty tons of morphine reach China each year, principally from Japan. The retail value of this, at sale prices, to the Chinese coolies would represent over £10,000,000." When this huge sum is considered, it is easy to understand the attraction which this traffic has for unscrupulous manufacturers and dealers.

We go on from China to Singapore. Here is one of the wealthiest ports in the world, where the British merchants have been accumulating riches, year after year. Yet they are refusing to tax themselves to any proportionate extent for the upkeep of the island. They prefer to save their own pockets, and obtain nearly half the yearly income from a shameful opium monopoly. Out of a revenue of \$19,000,000 more than \$9,000,000 are derived from opium.

I will here give Miss De-la-Motte's own account of her visit to the opium dens at Singapore. "We got into a rickshaw," she relates, "and went down to the Chinese quarter, where there are several hundreds of these government licensed opium shops—all doing a flourishing business. Each packet sold bears a label—'Monopoly Opium.'"

"In one den, there was an old man—but you can't tell whether a drug addict is old or not; he looked, as they all do, gray and emaciated—as he caught my eye, he laid down the needle on which he was about to cook his opium pill, and glanced away:

"Why doesn't he go on?" I asked my guide. "He is ashamed to have you see him," I answered. "But why should he be ashamed?" I asked. "The British government is not ashamed to sell the opium to him. Why should he be ashamed?"

"Nevertheless," replied my guide, "he is ashamed. You see what he looks like; what he has become. He is a more recent victim. He still feels that he has become degraded. Most of them do not feel that way—after a while."

Miss De-la-Motte goes on to say, that the same evening in Singapore she read a Reuter's telegram from London as follows: "Thirty-one Chinese were arrested during police raids on opium dens in Liverpool."

"Coming fresh," she adds, "with my companions from these opium dens on Singapore, I must say this item caused me some mental confusion. It must be also confusing to the Chinese sailor." He must ask himself, "why is it that the white race is so sedulously protected from such vices, while the subject races are so eagerly encouraged? It may occur to him, that the white race is valuable and must be preserved; and that the subject races are not worth protecting. It would seem, at first glance, as if subject races were fair game—if there is money in it."

Such is Miss De-la-Motte's own narrative. But where does their opium come from? *From India*. And who gets the greatest profit from it? *India*. And who has been responsible for this cultivation of opium for the poisoning of the Chinese? *The British Government in India*.

I shall give, last of all, the facts concerning Mauritius, which to all intents and purposes has become an island of Indian settlers. Two out of three of the population are Indians. Those Indians who came out, under indenture,

were degraded and demoralized in the first instance by the government of India's own regulations, which allowed a proportion of three men to every one woman who was sent out to that colony as indentured laborers. This altogether unequal sex-proportion has led to terrible immorality in every colony where Indians were sent out under the indenture system. Mauritius was not in any way different from Natal or Fiji, in this respect. Up to the time of the Great War, the amount of opium sent to Mauritius from India was greatly in excess of the medicinal requirements, but not so outrageously in excess as to imply the encouragement of drugging and poisoning. Since the Great War, the figures can only bear the latter interpretation: and while the Mauritius government is primarily guilty for thus making a rapidly increasing revenue from opium, yet at the same time, the Indian government is guilty for selling that opium without the appearance of any check, yet knowing well all the while how it would be used. The figures, from the "Statistics for British India," English issue, are as follows:

	Chests.
1912-13	10
1913-14	19
1914-15	23
1915-16	65
1916-17	120

The revenue derived from opium in 1915 was 54,126 rupees. The revenue in 1916 was 227,628 rupees,—an increase of over 400 per cent. This increase cannot possibly be due to increase in population, because the population of the island is very nearly stationary.

No! It can only have one meaning. The Indians of the island are being debauched with opium and the government of India have been receiving indirectly a large portion of the profits. The sale of those 120 chests to Mauritius is a very small, but most significant item in the trade which makes up the £3,160,005 opium revenue received by the government of India from the sale of opium abroad in the year 1916-1917.

Can it be dreamed of for a single moment that, if the people of India had the full power in their own hands, they would endure for a moment such a disgraceful state of things as this? It is the huge military burden, far in excess of India's need; it is the huge foreign administrative burden far in excess of India's need; it is the vast expenditure of India, which makes the present government resort to such shady practices for obtaining money.

The only remedy for all this, I am more and more convinced, is the attainment of Swarajya at the earliest possible moment.—*The Democrat*.

Life Sketch of M. K. Gandhi

(Continued from the May issue.)

MR. GANDHI was, we have said, loyal to the British during the Boer War. And after the Boer War, when the South African Republic gave place for Dominion Rule in Transvaal, Mr. Gandhi said: "I consider myself a lover of the British Empire, a citizen of the Transvaal, prepared to take my full share in promoting the general well being of the country."

He was in British Transvaal, practicing law. But that was not what he was chiefly doing there. He had gone to South Africa to fight for the rights of the Indian workers and laborers there. The Boers did not like the Indian workers.

If the Boers had objected to the immigration of the British, Canadians, Australian workers as well as the Indian workers, there would have been no particular issue involved. But they discriminated against the Indians on the ground of the latter being not of European stock. That was, of course, an affront that the Indians could not bear. They would not have had a chance in the world against Boer race fanatics. But in Gandhi they found an extraordinarily stubborn leader.

The number of Indians in Transvaal was very small. There was no prospect of its increasing. The issue was not of economics but of honor, of national honor for the Indians. Gandhi said at the time: "The handful of Indians who had a right to remain in the Transvaal should be allowed to remain as worthy citizens of a mighty empire, but should not remain as beasts so long as he (Gandhi) could help it."

Gandhi urged his small band of Indians to resist passively all laws passed by the Government of Transvaal, imposing any invidious restrictions upon the Indians. The Boers, said Gandhi, would respect the Indians if they did not yield to pressure, and stood up and fought for their rights as British subjects. It was in Transvaal that Mr. Gandhi first urged his countrymen to use passive resistance against the laws of the government.

"At the end of 1907, Mr. Gandhi was arrested, together

with a number of other leaders and consigned to gaol, and when he heard that some of his friends in Pretoria had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labor, the maximum penalty, he pleaded with the magistrate to impose this penalty upon him too, as he had been the acknowledged leader and inspirer of the opposition against this law (imposing certain restrictions upon the Indians in South Africa)."

Mr. Gandhi's passive resistance created quite a crisis in the South African State, and General Smuts, the Boer leader, "opened negotiations with Gandhi." A compromise was effected by which the objectionable laws were to be withdrawn by the Boer government, provided the Indians carried out the wishes of the Boers in certain matters, of their own volition.

There were some extremists among the Indians in Transvaal who thought that Gandhi had betrayed them by accepting the compromise offered by General Smuts. One of them, a Pathan, made a personal assault upon Gandhi, wounding him severely. There were people who wanted to have the Pathan severely punished for this fanatical and murderous assault upon Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi issued this statement from his bed in the hospital:

"The spirit of passive resistance, rightly understood, should make the people fear none and nothing, but God—no cowardly fear, therefore, should deter the vast majority of soberminded Indians from doing their duty. The promise of repeal of the act, against voluntary registration, having been given, it is the sacred duty of every true Indian to help the government and the colony (the Boers) to the uttermost."

Mr. Gandhi became, thus, a passive resister even against his own countrymen, when the occasion called for it, in his judgment.

Once before, Mr. Gandhi had been brutally beaten up, "half killed," by a gang of Boer toughs who had been told by some agitators that the Indian leader was going to bring

in a lot of Indian laborers with him, into Transvaal—which was all nonsense. At that time, too, Mr. Gandhi displayed his spirit of "nonresisting evil by evil."

Mr. Gandhi is quite used to be insulted, imprisoned, beaten nearly to death—"in his passive resistance to unjust laws or customs." It was characteristic of Mr. Gandhi that in his practice of law, he would retire from a case in open court, and in the middle of the hearing, if he realized that his client had deceived him, "and he never took up a case except on the express understanding that he reserved to himself the right to withdraw at any stage if he felt that his client had not dealt honestly with him."

In the fight against the Boer reactionaries, Mr. Gandhi had the sympathy not only of the vast majority of the Indian people, but also of the British Imperialists of the school of Lord Curzon, Lord Lansdown, Lord Hardinge (all had been Viceroy of India).

These British aristocrats regarded the Boers no better than the Indians. To them everybody was alike the subject of the Crown. Provided their own class remained in power, they believed in equality under the Crown, for everybody in the empire—Boer, Canadian, Australian, New Zealander, Hindu, Moslem or Sikh.

And so it happened that in spite of being an ardent disciple of Count Tolstoy, and Ruskin and other great humanists and nonviolent anarchists, and in spite of being a hero of many jails, Mr. Gandhi remained on good terms with the British.

During the great war (1914) Gandhi stood by the British Government, sincerely believing that he was taking the right side. He still had faith in the British Government, and thought that British politicians and statesmen were truthful like himself, and would keep their promise to India—the promise to reward India for the help she gave Britain in war, by giving her Self Rule.

Then Mr. Gandhi's eyes were opened by the treachery of the British. He saw the enactment of the Rowlatt Act, and the spoliation of Arabia, and Mesopotamia, and last of all the shooting down of his own people by General Dyer, at Amritsar.

That made him a rebel and he started to use the tactics of nonviolent resistance to authority that he had developed and practiced first in South Africa.

Mr. Gandhi wants to have Swaraj or Self Determination for India in less than a year from now.

It is evident that the Boers are beginning to honor and respect him, since he has started his Peaceful Revolution to set aside the existing British Government in India.

In one of the latest issues of his paper the "Young India," he says:—"Several Europeans (in South Africa) are prepared to help the struggle for Swaraj—Self Determination."

But these friends want to know what Gandhi's Swaraj exactly means—just Dominion rule or Independence?

Mr. Gandhi replies:—"I should certainly be satisfied with full responsible Government on Dominion lines, if

the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are redressed (reparation for Dyerism.)

India cannot remain within the Empire, if the latter can not redress the two wrongs, for full responsible Government will have no meaning for India, if she cannot refuse to give pensions to officers who have wronged her, or if she cannot secure a settlement of the Khilafat terms, England then becomes an Enemy Country."

In reply to a British Interviewer, Mr. Gandhi said:—"My Swaraj (Self Rule for India) is the Parliamentary Government of India, in the modern sense of the term, for the time being, and that Government would be secured to us either through the friendly offices of the British people or without them." "Swaraj means a state, such that we can maintain our separate existence without the presence of the English."

Mr. Gandhi is confident that his movement is making satisfactory headway.

He writes, "I feel Swaraj running to us. If we keep up the same velocity, we shall be a free nation within this year. (6th April)

It was natural that all sorts of English and American newspapers should send their representatives to interview this old, stubborn, small, Mahatma Gandhi, who feels sure of deposing the British Government in India without the use of any physical force.

One of the most interesting little interviews with Gandhi we have come across is that published in the San Francisco Chronicle in one of its May copies.

It is taken from a letter by Stella Benson, the author of "Living Alone."

ALLA BENSON'S SKETCH OF GANDHI "at present the soul of the Indian revolutionary movement"—

"I....."

The following from a letter by Stella Benson, author of "Living Alone," contains a little description of Gandhi, at the present time the soul of the Indian revolutionary movement:

I went to see Mahatma Gandhi, the cause of much of this excitement, last month. I asked for an interview in the vulgar Saxon way and got granted through the vulgar Saxon telephone, which was somehow unexpected in dealing with a vedic saint. I expected a masked, mysterious stranger to come and beckon me in silence, but no, as I say, a brisk secretary rang up, and I went to the Mahatma's lodging in a brisk taxi. The crowd of disciples all around the house was a shade embarrassing as they expressed their disapproval of the British Raj by throwing light impediments at me, but the Mahatma himself was adorable, and most courteous, with a benevolent smile he dictated treason (so to speak) at me and I took it down perspiringly in my self-made shorthand. He is a beautiful, bent, old gray man, with eyes of pure fire, his chin is on his breast and he blazes his eyes upward over his forehead at you.

Great Stories of India

(Continued from page 11.)

feats the plans of a few clever, gold, robber-like men who want to take all the good things there are in life and leave nothing for others.

Thus Rama won back Sita. They returned to the kingdom as the time of banishment was over. They returned and were hailed by their people.

Such is the time honored story of the Ramayana.

And now the Nationalist propagandists in India tell it and tell it in this way:

"RAMA?

That is Self-Rule, or National and Republican Government for India. The soldiers of Rama are the Nationalists and other Democrats of India.

SITA?

India—with her great civilization of old and her still greater civilization of tomorrow—provided she becomes Free.

RAVANA?

British Imperialism."

Sikh Nationalists' Massacre at Nankana

NO people on Earth has a more splendid and fascinating record as the Sikhs of the Punjab. These robust and stalwart sons of India are world famous for their uprightness virtuous loving, heroism and religious devotion. They are hospitable and courteous to a fault, their love of country is proverbial.

The Punjab was the last to be annexed to the British dominions in India, and Sikhs were the sovereign people then. Even since the British have tried to undermine their manly qualities, to conquer them socially, to impress upon their and their childrens mind, that it was preordained by Almighty, that they should be helots in their own country, and therefore accept the foreign rule as inevitable.

Without social conquest, political supremacy is at the most transient. People, so long as they have manly qualities within themselves, must assert them sooner or later. This the invader is thoroughly familiar with. He knows India is the Empire and without it Britain at the best, could only be regarded as an obscure fourth rate power.

To perpetuate his rule, the invader sought to become a political as well as a social Brahman of the Indian peoples. He undertook a task, the magnitude of which he little understood. He professed publicly to keep his hands off religious matters, but privately he helped to establish the Mahants (Popes) as hereditary popes of the chief temples. The Sikhs have what they call four big gurdwaras (char Takhat) or literally "four thrones" and innumerable other shrines and temples all over the country.

Under the laws and traditions of the Sikhs, these temples are the property of the Khalsa Panth (Sikh Brotherhood) and all the mahants and priests are directly under the control of, and responsible to the Sirani Jatha (Grand Committee) of the Panth.

The Sikhs are born democrats, theocratic democrats, if it is necessary to specify. If their Jathadar (Commander) who is elected by them, should make any mistake, he is at once called to account. The commander with his hands folded would stand up and say with humility, "What ever you order will be accepted eagerly and devotionally—O Community."

My motive for showing this was that under the laws and traditions of the Sikhs, these temples and shrines are direct property, and their mahants and priests are removable at the order of the Khalsa Community. It also must be remembered that gurdwaras and temples in India bear huge incomes annually. These mahants with the British connivance, used their trusts for purposes detrimental to the Sikhs and the country at large. A movement has been on in India, for a number of years to purge the Gurdwaras of the mahants, that had squandered in dissipation the hard earned money of the public, and made the temples a resort of the undesirables.

This movement of the Khalsapanth of gurdwara-reclamation and reorganization is headed by Akali Dal (Crusader's Army). They have gone on record to conduct their activities for reclamation of temples, etc., purely on peaceful lines, as recommended by the Indian National Congress and indorsed by the Sikh League.

A group of Sikhs passing near the temple at Nankana Sahib on their way to Sirin, a village in Lyal Pur, District,

Punjab, where they were going in order to make preparations for the reception of people coming to the palace from all over the country for a meeting, went to pay homage at the shrine of the birth place of Guru Nanak. It was the 20th of February, 1921, Sunday, yes, the "Bloody Sunday" when the Jatha (party) led by Sardar Lachman Singh of Dharowal reached Nangana Sahib, and immediately went to the temple and proceeded to pay homage before the Granth Sahib (The Holy Scriptures) with a party of 500 men, in the hours of early morning.

According to eye witness: "As soon as all had entered, and Jathadar (Commander) Lachman Singh sat down in Janam Asthan (birthplace) to read out of the holy book, all the gates of the temple were closed and an attack began on the members of the Jatha, with rifles, chhavis and takwas (weapons) and revolvers, etc., by Mahant Narain Das and his men who were hidden on roof and the verandah of the temple. Brick-bats were also thrown at the Jatha party, from the roofs, where I saw sixteen heaps of them in all. The attacking party consisted of the mahant and other mercenaries hired by him for the heinous crime."

Practically two hundred or more were killed as the Jathadar and his party were pledged to suffer rather than resist violence by violence. They therefore did not retaliate. The mahant, threw the dead and dying in furnaces built for the purpose; sprinkled the bodies of the wounded with kerosene and set them on fire. Thus a most diabolical and deliberate massacre was committed in the very sacred place all Sikhs loved.

The Amrita Bazir Patrika of Calcutta remarks: "The pacific intention of the victims is further evident from the fact that none of the attacking party were killed or even injured. No resistance was offered by them, their remonstrance against this unprovoked attack having proved unavailing; they sought to get out of the temple, but found to their utter amazement that they were in a trap with all its exits having been carefully barred from outside. Then began a blood-curdling butchery, too horrible to contemplate. A few huge ovens were also ready, and into them the dead, dying and the wounded were all thrown pell-mell, and burnt with the help of kerosene—huge quantities of which seem to have been stored for the purpose."

"For about four hours the orgy went on, and the strangest part of it is, that there was no sign of the existence of the police or the authorities during the period."

More than two hundred God's precious lives were destroyed wantonly. The same paper goes on remarking further: "It is not strange, that the police, particularly the ubiquitous C. I. D. (secret service of India) did not know anything about the grand preparations in the way of collecting arms, ammunitions, weapons, etc., that the mahant was making for weeks, if not for months together. 65 revolvers and 4000 cartridges are said to have been discovered in the possession, besides a large number of chhavis and gandasas (butcherknives and axes). It seems therefore that he had quite an arsenal in his possession. Evidently the government is at the back of this heinous of crimes. The police from early in the morning, till the coming of the Deputy Commissioner late in the evening, did not move a finger even to try to stop the massacre.

There must be a good many police in town. And again it is inconceivable that a person from the Mahant class, however greatly degraded and fallen man may be, would dare to even think of such an atrocious deed; if not sure of some backing up from higher quarters. It is just possible, that the mahant went far, far beyond his limits; but in cases of murder, and this is much worse both murderers and abettors are held responsible, and liable for the consequences of the actions.

The fact is that the British Government is more responsible for this dastardly crime than cowardly mahant and his accomplices.

As for the men who so heroically and valiantly laid down their precious lives for their faith and for the non-cooperative movement, and therefore for the country.

I would say in the words of the poet:—

How could man die better,
Than facing fearful odds?
For the ashes of his fathers
and the temples of his gods?

When crimes are committed legally, when injustice is perpetrated, when innocence is no protection and harmless men are treated as criminals, then Indian live in a condition of anarchy, no matter what legal sanction may cover the wrong doer. Civilization does not protect them. They should be better off in a state of savagery; for then they should be on their guard. Let the martyrdom of these brave men be a guiding light to the living Indians, and an inspiration to the millions coming after. They have shown us how to die for faith and country.

—Bhagat Singh.

Regime of Terror in India

India is aglow with the spirit of Independence. The spirit pervades every nook. It pervades all strata of society.

Movement to give every organized society a thorough examination and to reform wherever necessary in order to make to accord with the policy of the nation, has been on foot for some time.

The overhauling of the constitution of the Sikh Educational Conference is an important item in this program. The intention of taking up this task at the thirteenth annual convention of the body scheduled to be held at Hush-iarpur, Punjab, in the end of March last, was announced months ago.

Newspapers from India report that, in order to frighten people into staying away from the convention, the British government sent to the site an infantry and a cavalry detachment. During the continuance of the sessions, machine guns were held trained on the platform from which the speakers spoke.

The Hindustan Gadar, the organ of the Hindustan Gadar party, commenting on the report, says that the British government is following a suicidal policy. It explains that, by nature, the people of India are averse to the use of physical force, but, repeated display of it on the part of the British government can not but suggest to them what kind of arguments the British government believes in.

The report states that there is a rumor afloat that the military force had been sent there for the purpose of arresting Master Mota Singh, a nationalist of great renown.

Master Mota Singh was sentenced to penal servitude for life during the Punjab Martial Law days at the time of the Dyer massacre at Amritsar. Last year, along with some other political prisoners, he was given a commutation and released. Since, he has been energetically engaged in the fight for the freedom of his country.

Some months ago a warrant was issued for his rearrest. But, notwithstanding that Master Mota Singh has made it a rule to attend all large political meetings and deliver speeches there, the British government has so far failed to put him under arrest.

There is an interesting story about another meeting held shortly following the above-mentioned convention. It was held at a large village named Kot Fatuhi. Some thousands attended. The government dispatched a force of 500 police with orders to arrest a number of leaders.

The people warned them against any kind of misbehavior during the continuance of the meeting.

Most of the people who came to attend, came on horse back or on camels. Immediately upon adjournment, all who were in danger of arrest, with the aid of a strong bodyguard of the people, rode off to safety. The police had to retire without making a single arrest.

Psychology of Ignorance

"There is amongst Englishmen in Burma a superstition that the Burmese do not and cannot work. They are 'lazy.' The men never work if they can help it, and all the work that is done is done by women. How this idea arose is an interesting study in the psychology of ignorance, but I need not enter into that now.

The idea obtains universally, and is an acknowledged shibboleth. My young assistant (an English officer) was not with me many days before he brought it up.

"Oh," he said, "the Burman is so lazy."

"You are sure of that?" I asked.

He stared at me.

"Why, everyone says so."

"Everyone said four hundred years ago that the sun went round the earth," I answered; "were they right?"

—Fielding Hall, *Passing of Empire*.

"Lay hold on your sword, and join in the fight. Fight, O my brother, as long as life lasts."

"He who is brave, never forsakes the battle; he who flies from it is no true fighter."

—Rabindra Nath Tagore.

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The Independent Hindustan

INDEPENDENCE

*A Monthly Review of
Political, Economic,
Social and Intellectual
Independence of India*

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JULY, 1921

No. 11

Editorial: Ireland
and India

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on the Flag

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Britain Wanted
American Lecturer

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SAN FRANCISCO, JULY, 1921

No. 11

Editorial

An Imperial conference will start its session in London soon. At this conference will be discussed the various problems of the British Empire, arising out of internal and external intricacies.

There will be, of course, a man or two from India. They will be presented as the representatives of India. But the question is, who will give them the warrant to speak for India?

No general election was held in India to select an Imperial representative. The gentlemen who will claim to be the spokesman of all Hindustan will be neither more nor less than puppets in the hands of the British bureaucracy in India.

The day, however, is soon coming when *real* representatives of the Indian people will be settling final terms with the British, as ambassadors plenipotentiary, etc., etc., of the United States of India, in London.

Meanwhile, all these Imperial farces, as far as India is concerned, are model shows for future action. We are neither against them nor for them. We're just amusedly indifferent to them. They mean nothing for the welfare of the people of India.

Ireland and India

It is natural that those Americans who are of Irish parentage or sympathize with Ireland, should be keenly interested in the freedom of India. Now, that is not because the Irish have no sense of balance in international politics, not because they are fanatical in their hatred of the British. No, that is not the reason why the Irish are friendly to India. The reason simply is that they have had an experience of the nature of British autocracy on foreign peoples that gives them a special insight, sympathy and wisdom when it comes to understanding the struggle for liberty, waged no matter where, and against whom.

By the way, the longer the British maintain their tyranny over India and Ireland simultaneously, the closer will these two countries be drawn by the bonds of historic necessity. And the resulting combination will be a formidable power for making and keeping the world safe for democracy. (Plain democracy, without a capital initial letter.)

But why look so far ahead? Because it won't be so far

ahead; and besides, the lives of nations are longer than the lives of individuals composing them.

A business corporation in all its contracts and policies, takes about a century as the time unit. And it is necessary that in matters of national concern, we should learn to take a long-time view.

Taking a long-time view, it seems inevitable that all such nations as the Irish, the Indians, etc., will have to work out their destinies in co-operation.

"Bed-fellows in misery"? Oh, no! Comrades in arms in the cause of freedom.

There are many people in the world, besides the English themselves, who regard the Irish and Indian nationalists as unreasonably uncompromising. Now, suppose the Irish and the Indians compromised with the English. Who would be the chief sufferer, the Irish or the Indians? Hardly. If India accept to remain for ever a part of the British Empire, she can have a fairly good time, in a way. Her manhood and her finances will be used to conquer other nations, under foreign policy guided by British. And when that happens, Britain would be willing to put modern arms and modern machinery into the hands of India. Well, would that be a thing for the world at large to contemplate with satisfaction? And the same thing is true of the Irish. Ireland and India can easily buy off all the Imperial elements in England, and under their direction (for in this game of Imperialism the British Imperialists are most clever) they can commit depredations all around. What a sad thing that would be for the peace and progress of the world at large! And yet, the world at large does not appreciate the usefulness to itself of such movements to nullify the vices of British Imperialism as India and Ireland are carrying on.

There are excellent opportunities for American trade in India, provided it is not carried on through London. If American business men care to deal directly with India, that is India of the people, they will find themselves heartily welcomed in India. Mr. Gandhi has made it clear in one of his recent statements that the boycott of English goods does not mean the boycott of all foreign goods. Among foreign goods, American goods will be especially welcomed by India—provided, we repeat, they are genuinely American, and not camouflaged English goods shipped from American ports.

The Spinning Wheel on the Flag

SOMEbody has made the novel proposal in India that the Nationalist inscribe upon their flag the "spinning wheel." What is that? That is a hand-loom for weaving cloth. Yes, but why put it as the symbol of India's revolution? For several reasons. We'll show what the reasons are that impel these Nationalists to choose so humble, so commonplace, so useful a thing as the mark of their resolution to win freedom.

First of all, according to the advocates of the spinning-wheel flag, it is the ammunition-in-chief of the war against Britain. This war, at the present moment, is not a clash at arms with British soldiers. It is something far more potent. It hits directly the pockets of the British capitalists.

The story has been told many times, and may be told again. India came under British domination as a monopoly market for British goods. The British went to India not so much to possess its lands as to possess the sole authority of selling the goods it needed. They went to India with greed of a merchant in their hearts. When they became the masters of India they started to ruin the home industries of that land. India was a wonderful maker of cloth, especially cotton goods, upon its hand-loom. That was until the industrial revolution in Britain. In those early days the cotton goods of India were sold in England at the highest prices. They were among the most exquisite fabric manufactured anywhere, at least outside Asia. The British were jealous of this source of India's wealth. They wanted to destroy it. And they did destroy it. They did that in two stages. First, they tried to enslave the weavers themselves. They opened large establishments in the coast cities of India, where, with soldiers brought from England they were able to establish strong garrisons, as the Japanese tried to do foolishly in Siberia recently. In these garrisoned towns they set to work the poor weavers of India; made them work like beasts of burden, underpaid them, confiscated their produce and sold it at enormous profit in the markets of England, France, and so forth.

The Europeans began to pass laws against the sale of this Indian made cloth. In England the Parliament passed sundry laws making it unlawful for any Indian fabric to be sold in the country. That was done to protect home hand-loom industry. Then came the industrial revolution in England. The factory system was begun, and England began to make and export cheap cloth to India. The hand-loom of India could not compete with this Lancashire and Manchester made shoddy cotton stuff. The weaving industry of India was utterly destroyed in this manner. India had no industry, left, beside agriculture.

The system became this, then, that cotton was grown in India and shipped to England. There it was manufactured into cloth, and this cloth was sent back to India and was sold to those very farmers who had grown the cotton of which the cloth was made. In other words, the farmer in India sold his cotton for, say, one dollar, to the British. Then the British took away that dollar from him by giving him a piece of cotton cloth worth less than ten cents. The British beat the Indian farmer by ninety cents every time. That was the system, boiled down.

The time came when some Indian capitalists tried to establish factories in India to manufacture cloth at home. The greedy capitalists of England became jealous at once, and they compelled the Government to make such changes

in the tariff laws as gave them, the English manufacturers, a distinct advantage over the factories in India. The result was that many of these newly started factories in India were ruined. It was a terrible blow to the growth of industrial enterprise in India.

For a long time the merchants and manufacturers of India beseeched and begged the British to change their industrial policy toward India. But what good could that do? It did no good.

The matter was eventually taken up by the Nationalists about 1905. At that time the Nationalists for the first time started a campaign of boycotting British goods. The idea was taken up half-heartedly. "Protect Home Industries" became the slogan, under the name of Swadeshi. It was, however, quickly forsaken. The Nationalists were busy with other things. Their first concern at the time was the spread of the Nationalist sentiment all over India. It was the work of educating the masses to stand together and fight for freedom that had yet to be accomplished. The real nature of the British rule in India was not understood by the people at large. It was only a minute fraction of the upper classes who understood the need of wrestling with the British. The people suffered from famines, plagues, ignorance of all kinds, but they did not know that the cause of their misfortunes was the existence of alien despotism. They were then like the Russian moujiks, who nearly adored the Czar as their Holy Papa.

For nearly a century the British had been doing a vast propaganda among every section of the Indian people, through their paid agents—petty Indian officers, etc.—and through their government controlled schools, and through the ignoble British missionaries, who preached the vilest kind of Imperialism under the disguise of Christianity. The people were taught that the Sirkar, which means the British Government, was their Father and Mother (Mai Bap).

It was necessary for the Nationalists to spread their ideas among this vast misguided, misled population of India. Now, to make the thing almost impossible of achievement, the British declared all propaganda of Swadeshim (protect home industry movement) "seditious." It became high treason in India for an Indian to say that English goods should not be used when Indian goods were available. So savage became the policy of the British that wholesale arrests, deportations, and imprisonments were indulged in. In a couple of years, from 1906 to 1909, nearly every prominent Nationalist was put in jail for a long term of imprisonment. That had the effect of depriving the movement of workers. It proved effective for the time being. The Government was very happy for a while. The swadeshi (home industry movement) stimulated the spirit of industrial and capitalist enterprise among the upper and educated classes just a little bit, but it was too feeble to make itself felt strongly upon the British manufacturers.

The Nationalists, meanwhile, had become engrossed with directly revolutionary schemes. The idea of talking about protecting home industries so long as the British maintained their despotism was to them like putting the cart before the horse. Get the British once out of India, by any means and every means. There would be plenty of time then, of building up industries at home.

That was the Nationalist idea, henceforth.

For the ten years or more that followed, the Nationalists worked inside and outside of India for overthrowing the British Government and it was not an easy task.

At last came the day when the British were driven to desperation by the Nationalists, and in the spring of 1919 the British determined to crush Nationalism once for all. That led to the massacre at Amritsar. General Dyer killed and wounded and assassinated, and violated innocent men and women, the simple masses, who knew little if anything of Nationalism or any other isms.

General Dyer did more for the cause of Indian freedom by his truly British brutality than all the Nationalists put together could have ever done.

In a moment a revolution took place in the hearts and heads of the simple masses of India. Their eyes opened suddenly. A revelation came to them. In one minute they grew up from a state of childhood to a state of manhood. It was like magic. In the rattle of a single machine gun they understood the meaning of the Nationalist gospel. All India turned in wrath, in disgust, in horror, from these human butchers that went to rule in India with blood and dynamite.

That day at Amritsar, what Dyer broke was not the spirit of proud India, but her easy-going habits. Bayoneted by Dyer and Dwyer, Indian jumped up from her bed of opium-sleep, the said opium being the illusion of Britain's might and benevolence. Since that day India has lost not a day in uniting and drilling herself for the struggle to overthrow British domination.

The first thing to do was to revive the idea of saving India from the rapacity of British manufacturers. Flushed with victory over her European rival, British had thought that her markets in India would henceforth be safe and unchallenged. Indian Nationalists put a monkey-wrench into the whole British scheme. The cry went up all over India, "Don't buy any British goods. Make your own goods at home." The biggest item of goods that India bought from the British was cotton cloth. Didn't the British once say that cotton was king? Well, take away that

king from them. If the Indians have no factories of their own yet, and if it takes a long time to erect factories, never mind, revive the old hand-loom industry. Get every home started on manufacturing the cloth it needs. Let no man or woman sit idle at home. Rich or poor, high or low, let everyone begin spinning, weaving.

During the great war every woman in America was seen knitting socks and sweaters for the soldiers. Today you will see something like that happening all over India.

Rich ladies of high families and culture are spinning, darning, weaving cloth. The cloth is coarse, to be sure, but the people love it all the more. It is like the pie you make yourself for the first time. It may be half burnt; it may not have the right amount of sugar or apple jam in it. But then, it is home-made pie. It is your own pie! It is like your own of anything. There is the joy of having created something yourself. You are no longer dependent upon others. You have done this with your own hands. In course of time the people will start co-operatively-owned and worked factories. That, however, takes time. They must not use, they have determined, anything not made by themselves. They will use, henceforth, only such things as manufactured by tools of production that they—the people themselves—own and operate.

Such a tool is the humble spinning wheel. And how the British are afraid of it! It is like a gun that shoots at the very heart of their industrial and commercial dominance over India.

It is the symbol, this spinning wheel, of a new civilization—a civilization based on service, on work, and not on war and aristocratic privilege.

The revolution that is coming to India will do something new of utmost importance for the working classes of mankind. Not the crown of proud monarchs, not the curved sword of the invader, not even the stars or moons of romantic, half-religious Nationalists of old fashion—but this simple, useful, serviceable thing that civilization is based on—a tool of production, an instrument of creation, not of destruction, are the people of India proposing to put upon their flag.

Gandhi! The Greatest Man in the World

TAGORE, the eminent Indian poet, is reported to have said that in his estimation Gandhi is the greatest man in the world today. That may sound as extravagant praise. But Tagore is a pretty well informed man, and has not a surplus of Nationalistic bias; if anything he is cosmopolitan. We can understand the sort of things he must have had in mind when he gave such high praise to the leader of the peaceful revolutionary movement in India.

Gandhi belongs to the fortunate class in India. He was born in a high caste, high class family. He was a very successful lawyer, having studied for the bar in England (bar-at-law). Men of that type in India, and in America and elsewhere, keep away from the poor. It is easier to understand why a working man should be taking interest in behalf of working men. It is natural that a peasant should feel for fellow-peasants. But to feel for a mass of people distinctly below yourself in wealth, position, privilege—that is a high moral feat. And Gandhi, please remember, was a man quite often honored by the highest authorities in India. Several Indian Viceroy's were among his admirers. In the time of war he was constantly in requisition as a counsellor by Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy. And yet, at the age of fifty-seven or so, this venerable, cultured gentle-

man jumped into this fight for freedom, and he has worked for it ever since with a zeal that puts to shame younger men. With the wisdom of his years, with the culture of a whole life, with all the prestige of his unselfish past, he combines the fervor of a young, fiery revolutionist. How many men are there in the world like him? Among moral geniuses of the world he must be placed very high indeed.

He has worked wonders already. Without his efforts in the past two years there would not have been that unity of purpose in India which has made British rule pretty nearly a thing certain to go.

And all this fight without arms! Look at the brave peoples of Europe. How many of them have cowed down before the British, having been just once defeated. And here was India in rags and tears, and without any money, any leadership, any arms, her pride broken, her patriots on the gallows, in the dungeons, or in exile. When death and slavery stared her fully in the face, when the whole world was licking the boots of the victorious British, when with the exception of the Russians (whom most people call mad), the peoples of the world were fauning on Britannia, when Lloyd George's pride knew no bounds—when it

seemed impossible that any subject people should dare to raise a signal cry of protest—then this weak-bodied, but strong-spirited aristocratic Indian, Gandhi, challenged the British Empire, and challenged it as a rebel leader.

"We'll crush Gandhi," said the rulers of Hindustan. They have not crushed him yet. And they dare not touch him now. And if they lay hands on him now they will have to reckon with the most powerful struggle for freedom ever waged upon the plains and dales of India.

We are watching for that time to come. We have become impatient of this damned slavery of the one-fifth of mankind, inhabiting the pear-shaped land of India.

In time of war, a man like Mr. Gandhi may not prove of much use. But these men always come before great world-shaking events. There was Tolstoy in Russia, a much less able political strategist than Gandhi, though an artistic genius that Gandhi is not. There were strange propagandist figures of a non-military type in France before the great revolution. In England, before the Cromwellian Puritanic rebellion against the kings, there had been a whole series of saints of the people. Men like these raise a struggle for liberty from the plane of factional quarrels to the level of great creative revolutions.

Gandhi and Gandhism are passing phases of the Indian movement for liberty and progress.

There is one trouble always in a large country like India. It is that the man becomes often greater than the movement. That is, there is a danger of the people beginning to follow a single man as if he were a god, instead of an erring mortal.

Fortunately, Gandhi has done everything in his power to discourage such an attitude toward himself. What he wants is that the people should not begin to worship him, but follow his personal example of impassioned love for liberty and readiness to make great personal sacrifices.

We call upon every man, woman and child of Indian blood to dedicate his life, fortune and everything else to the cause of liberty for the masses of India.

At first it seems that the task before us is impossible of achievement. But it is not. Gandhi has shown that it is not. But long before Gandhi, our party has shown that the masses of India are quite capable of understanding and fighting for the values of freedom and civilization. Now, let us go to it.

Rumored Incarceration of Ali Brothers

Mahomed Ali, a graduate of Oxford, is one of the most prominent colleagues of Gandhi.

Mr. Mahomed Ali's Statement

MR. MAHOMED ALI, during his recent visit to Madras, delivered a speech in the course of which he said:

I am told that Lord Reading has come with a *carte blanche* from the Cabinet in England. He must have landed yesterday and he must have assumed the reins of power today, short-lived power, shortly to be broken. The people are asking what is he going to do? Some people say that he will hold a round-table conference. Others say that Ali Brothers are going to be incarcerated. Quite welcome? My old associations of prison life will be renewed. Perhaps we might be hanged. That is still higher eminence. But what is incarceration to each one of us who goes to the prison, cheerfully like my friend Yakub-Hassan and his great patriotic friend? (Cheers). The incarceration of each one of us means freedom of the nation. The death of each one of us in the cause of the nation means the life of the nation itself. (Hear, hear, and applause). I am not quite sure whether Section 144 of the R. P. C. permits me to mention a name that I used to talk of with great veneration—the name of Mrs. Besant. In the days before her internment and during her internment she sent me a short history of the Congress and there she wrote a simple line to tell me that "they only know how to live who know how to die." I do not know whether she is still in the land of the living. (Laughter.)

Ready for Any Sacrifice

But if Lord Reading or Sir William Vincent or any one in Indian civil service desire to take us to prison or to deprive us of our lives I can assure them they will be hastening the day when the British Empire would have ended and that would be the death-knell of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) I am quite content that my brother and I give up our lives, if at the same time the British Empire should also breathe its last. (Hear, hear.) I will stick to the bargain, but I am not quite so sure that the Indian civil

service would stick to their bargain. What are we to be killed for?

However, whatever disclosure there was to make about the attitude of the Mussulmans in India toward Afghanistan and an invasion of India from the outside, has been made in our letter to the Viceroy of India sent from the jail in Bathoul. We said clearly in that letter that if the Amir of Afghanistan or any outside power, Germans or Bolsheviks—Bolsheviks were not discovered then—or Turks or any outside power comes to invade our country and its people and to subjugate them, we shall not only assist, but we shall consider it our duty to lead the resistance in India. (Hear, hear.) We have been made slaves once; we do not want to be made slaves again. But if the Amir of Kabul does not enslave India and does not want to subjugate the people of India, who have never done any harm and who do not mean to do the slightest harm to the people of Afghanistan or elsewhere, but if he comes to fight against these who have always had an eye on his country, who wanted to subjugate his people who hold the Holy Places of Islam, who want to crush Islam in their hostile grip, who want to destroy the Muslim faith and who were bent on destroying the Khilafat, then not only shall we not assist but it will be our duty and the duty of everyone who calls himself a Mussulman to gird up his loins and fight the good fight of Islam. Well, gentlemen, this was what we said in a letter sent through the superintendent of our jail and the District Magistrate and the local Government of the Central Provinces to the Supreme Government of India and from the internal evidence of some conversation that my friend and I held with His Majesty's Secretary of State for India. I understand that that letter was also communicated to His Majesty's Cabinet. And what was the result? We were in prison and we were let off. (Laughter.)

No Change In Views

Today we hold precisely the same views without the change of a jot or tittle or an iota and if the Government

means to incarcerate us, all I can say is that this Government is more mad than I ever credited it with. Is there no lunatic asylum in the neighborhood of the Government of Delhi or Simla to which His Majesty's Supreme Government of India could be consigned for letting off people for making these sensational disclosures of policy when they make it themselves through all these official channels, and incarcerate them afterwards when the same disclosures were made by their friend, Sapru? Whatever the Government wants to do it can do. But I assure you and I want to insist upon this point. Do not waste a moment's thought. Do not wake up a single minute in the night. Do not let a single thought of this character weary you as to what Lord Reading is going to do. Lord Reading comes as the Viceroy of India. He has a very responsible position laid on his shoulders. I do not want to interfere with his discretion. Let him realize the responsibility and let him do what he thinks best for his country and humanity. I am not hostile to him. I am not hostile to his country. I am not hostile to his nation. But I am in love with my own nation. I am in love with our people and I am in love with our land. I consider it a breach of faith if Mussulmans take a single minute of time or waste the slightest idea on anything beyond what we intend to do and what we have got to do. Do not waste your time. Do not waste your energies, but concentrate your attention on what you yourself have got to do and what we have got to do in three months' time. We want men, we want money, we want munitions.

Wanted—Men, Money, Munitions

Everywhere you hear the cry "Gandhi Mahatma-ki-Jai." You want victory for Gandhi Maharaj. Well, there was a time when this Government wanted money and it appealed for men, money and munitions. Well, we want money and we appeal to you for men, money and munitions. When the Government, through the money, men and munitions, achieved victory over the Germans, what did you and I get? The Rowatt Act, the crawling on our bellies, the lifting of the veils of our womanhood by insolent hands and the torturing of our children by asking them to march in the hot sun of May and June thirty-two miles a day. That is what out of that victory we got. But out of the victory for which we want men, money and munitions you will get the inestimable boon which is never given by people, but always earned by oneself, the inestimable boon of freedom, the power to destroy Dyerism, the power to cut off by one stroke all the chains and manacles and fetters of the manhood and womanhood of India. That is what we are going to do. What are our men for? In three months' time we want one crore of men and women to be enlisted as soldiers in the good fight—peaceful and bloodless fight—over those who vie with the bulk of my brother. We want one crore of men to be enlisted as members of the Congress. Are you willing to enlist yourselves? Yes. Then, four annas is the subscription for a year and I promise you Swaraj within six months. Then we want one crore of rupees from the whole of India for the Tilak Swaraj Fund for national purposes, for national education, for national service, for fighting the good fight. And lastly, we want munitions. And what are our munitions in this peaceful fight? The British Government has machine-guns and their machine-guns, I am told, can aim and kill at the distance of two thousand yards, while we have a very ancient machine made in our country, made by our own village carpenters, that kills at the distance of seven thousand miles over sea and land. (Hear, hear.) A shot fired from Madras kills Manchester. (Applause.) But the root of all these things lies here—the intense love of your country.

Need for Sacrifice

Until and unless you think it a dishonor for a single minute to keep out of the ranks of the Congress, and would you think it shame to wear those gold bangles, those earrings and even those jewels in your noses, you cannot achieve your ends, not only those of manhood but also of womanhood, so long India is a widow, I say unless you feel that you should bring money into the coffers of the Congress, the Tilak Swaraj Fund, you cannot attain Swaraj and I cannot promise you Swaraj. If you feel the burning love of your country and intense patriotism that you would rather go naked than cover yourself with foreign cloth, which you should think would burn your body, then I promise Swaraj. This is the time of my prayers and I wish that you will find that I am a man who would stick to my word. You want education; you want higher education and I assure you under Swaraj in India there will be no room for the uneducated and uncultured. We, too, want more education even than this Government wants. By the way, ever since the Government have developed their love for education you and I knew that, and even Mrs. Besant, when she founded national colleges, knew that, I understand, and she is now shortly going to hand them over to the Government. Well, you cannot get higher education before you have received primary education. The primary education for every man, woman and child that possesses a soul is this: that each should hate slavery and each should have a passionate love for freedom. (Hear, hear.) Until and unless you can free yourselves you are not fit for any other kind of education; you should take to the charkha, which may be women's work. But do you think that you are better than women. The womanhood of India is far more courageous and manly than the manhood. Women still sacrifice their everything to maintain their honor. Will you also sacrifice your everything. In England the workmen will starve to maintain your and their honor. Do not cast a slur on the womanhood of India by saying that the charkha is woman's work. Do the woman's work first and then you will be fit to do man's work. You are doing the work of the eunuch of the world; you are doing the work of soulless slaves. Today there is no manhood in you and there is no womanhood either. Once achieve this charkha and you will succeed with other work.

The Real Position

I read in today's "Hindu" a message sent in that very democratic paper called "People" in England by Lord Amphil, who was once your Governor and for a little while our Viceroy. In that message Lord Amphil appreciates better than our so-called co-operators what our movement means, what charkha means. The Lord is very much worried and wants to make the people of England know that if the movement succeeds more than sixty crores of money which goes to Manchester for the yarn and the piece goods of Lancashire will cease to go. (Hear, hear.) So will British working families have to starve. He paints a pathetic picture how the people who work in many walks of life, who build the ships and those working in cotton factories, all their families will have to starve. This was the man who was your Governor for your benefit. This was the man who advocated the cause of Indians in South Africa. He calls himself the friend of India even today. It reminds me—I wish the Government to take note of it and I hope the C. I. D. reporter is a good shorthand writer—of a picture when an English matron went with her son to a British academy of pictures and there she saw the

(Continued on page 9.)

Can India Trust "Naturalized Englishmen"

SOME American friends have written to us that we should warn the people of India against a few Englishmen and that embraces English women, who have adopted residence in India, and have declared themselves "Indians," and whom we have called, in these columns, Englishmen who have become "Naturalized Indians."

There can be no doubt that as a rule an Englishman does not change at heart when it comes to a critical decision between taking the side of his own people and of another people.

But exceptional people are to be found everywhere. And Indian Nationalism is not a narrow thing that admits only a tiny stream of humanity into it. There is room in it for any and every kind of worker, no matter what his race or religion. The point is that Indian Nationalism, in that respect, is like American Nationalism. The human material of both is of great variety. As in America, so in India, no Nationalism can be erected upon the foundations of identical religious or racial customs or origins. In the war time of America, men of foreign birth were not only welcomed, but drafted into service. But of course they were not taken into the inner councils of the military. The same thing will be done, and is being done, in India. An Englishman will have a small chance of being in the place of leadership. But when it comes to performing useful, patriotic service for the good cause, we would advise great liberality, worthy of a nation of such human aspirations and traditions in India.

Now, there is Mrs. Annie Besant. She wants to be at the top. Well, for such an autocratic, vain, old person, whether English or anything else, there can be no place in the movement for the freedom of India. But a man like C. F. Andrews, who proposes to do merely the civilian service of spreading the good word, can be and should be admitted as a duly qualified "Naturalized Indian."

On the civilian side of the Indian movement, anyone and everyone should be able to work.

There is nothing new in the catholicity of this attitude, as far as India is concerned. India has been the most open-hearted country in the world. And although that has in itself been a source of weakness to her in the past, when she was engaged chiefly in the arts of peace, it need not be a source of weakness to her in the future, when she will determine not to lose her independence, and her inner freedom. Let India treat the foreigners with generosity, but not with weakness.

The time, fortunately, is gone when the word "foreigner" used to mean something better than the "native" in India. That was the damndest topsy-turvydom under the sun. How did that ever come to be is a riddle of modern history!

How India Was Subjugated

How did it happen that India became a bond slave to Britain? Were these people of India "barbarians" when the British pounced upon them?

Let Edmund Burke answer that:

"This multitude of men does not consist of an abject and barbarous population. . . . (They are) a people for ages civilized and cultivated; cultivated by all the arts of polished life while we were yet in the woods (we—the British)."

There are, of course, Englishmen, like Mr. William Archer, who say that the vast mass of the Indian people are "the most backward of civilized nations." And it so happens that we ourselves have no quarrel with such an estimate, provided it is clearly understood that we hold the British primarily responsible for this horrible and disheartening situation. But even William Archer, whom H. G. Wells has characterized as an unduly prejudiced writer, regards the people of India as a distinctly "civilizable people."

"Fundamentally they (the vast millions of India) are inferior to none; but a long chain of prehistoric and historic circumstances has reduced the masses to a condition of stagnant barbarism, and 'the classes' (the select classes) to an even less desirable state of inveterately self-satisfied pseudo-civilization, which must be radically amended before India can reasonably aspire to take her place on a footing of equality among the nations of the world. . . ."

So William Archer says in his own way that India has "high racial potentialities, contrasted with its actual state of degradation." As to all that we agree, in a measure—even a large measure. But that is something of a long digression. What we were wondering at was, how it happened that India, with all her gifted and civilized and "civilizable" millions, passed so thoroughly under the domination of Britain.

The answer is easily furnished by history. The proposition is simply this, that the British were just lucky.

Now, what do we mean by saying that the British were a lucky nation when they landed in India? We mean that they found India in the throes of a terrible civil war. That was in the early eighteenth century, after the death of the Moghal Emperor Aurangzeb.

The nations of Europe, too, were at that time pretty barbarous. They quarrelled incessantly. Their continent, from Paris to St. Petersburg, was one vast wilderness of warring tribes.

When India became plunged in internecine war, the vultures of European rapacity pounced upon her, and made her confusion worse confounded. And they came from every corner of Europe. There were the intriguing emissaries of the French monarchy. There were agents of the Prussian monarchy. There were soldiers and spies of Holland. The whole bunch of European brigands was there in India, plotting, counterplotting—making the situation a thousand times worse than that of Russia after the last revolution.

The Russia of today is fortunate in having so many friends abroad, so many sympathizers in those very countries the imperialists of which want to dismember and gobble her up. But India had, at that time and for long decades afterwards, not a friend in the world. One poor, distracted, self-torn country against a whole pack of rapacious wolves, tearing at her vitals!

And of all these wolves the most prepared navally, and that means militarily, was Britain. Of all the countries in the world at that time, Britain alone was without any internal war. She was stronger than any nation of Europe, and stronger than India, of course.

Nor was Britain a novice in India. She had sent her agents of the Empire to India as early as 1600, before even the reign of Aurangzeb. These Britishers found their op-

portunity—after a watchful waiting of two centuries—when Aurangzeb died, and India fell into anarchy. The British had men and money.

It was a great advantage to them to have their headquarters war removed from distracted India. From London, the war of aggression upon weak, bleeding India—which had had a whole century of internal war—could be directed most efficiently. Britain played her hands with assurance, coolness, skill. She knew that there were many, many people in India who wanted a restoration of peace, at any price. A hundred years of war is terrible for any society. It saps the very energy that is necessary for progress. And to make peace with them, and under them, alluring, the British not only bribed many of the Indian fighters and priests and rajas, but held out all kinds of promises to the people at large.

Well, they had their way, just as the Germans came very near having their way with the Belgians. It was fortunate for Belgium that Americans and others cared for her, but who cared in this heartless world for a somewhat distant people, the people of India? Not readily, not willingly, but at last India submitted to the British, submitted to them bit by bit. Submitted, and passed under a state of slavery far more cruel and irksome than any she had hitherto experienced. With all their horrible medieval superstitions and caste-prejudices, the rajas of Hindustan were tolerant and mild, compared to these British brutal civilians and military officers. Talk of civilizing the people of India! Can burglars civilize the burglaried? Can war civilize its victims? If any progress has resulted in India in this past century of British domination, it is merely a proof of the curious ability of the people of

India to be able to progress under the most adverse conditions possible. The people of India were wise enough to acquire wisdom by watching their enemies. That is not a sane, natural way of learning anything. It was something like the poor Belgians trying to learn German music from some songbirds among the German soldiers in occupation of Belgium. But that was the only manner in which India could acquire any sciences or arts since she had the misfortune to become a slave of the British.

Under British mis-rule in India it has become impossible for the people of India to make any progress. There is no country inhabited by so gifted a people as those of India, where arts and sciences have fallen so low, where barbarism flourishes so widely as in India. And that is because of the existence of these modern barbarian rulers of hers. How India hates the English today! Hates them because they check her growth, thwart her desire to be a sane, prosperous, happy, cultured nation, like other nations. But how can she become that so long as the British keep her under eternal and perennial martial law, under which the people can not hold meetings, establish schools, discuss politics, study foreign languages or sciences, meet Americans or Europeans socially or otherwise?

Do the Americans know that the British would not let Catholic American missionaries go and work in India? Whether the same applies to Protestants is not known to us. The question we are interested in is not of Catholics or Protestants. The question is that the British are preventing Americans from doing the work of education in India, even when the people of India want these Americans and Europeans to come and work among them.

Under British rule there can be no civilization for India.

Incarceration of Ali Brothers

(Continued from page 7.)

painting of Nero's time when good Christians in the early days of Christianity—not these, degenerate days—but those days when Christians went to be slaughtered for their creed as the Muslims and Hindus want to do now. There was the picture of Nero's time when English Christian, poor, praying Christians, were being devoured by lions. It was a horrible picture and Nero and his Court were witnessing the horrible scene. The child began to cry and the mother thought the poor child was so frightened by this ghastly sight that his little heart was filled with emotion for those poor Christians who were being devoured by the lions. So she said, "Jack, Jack, it is not the men. It is only the picture. You must not mind the poor praying Christians. Now Christians are not thrown to the lions!" But Jack began to weep, his eyes were dim and he said, "Nay, mama, it isn't the Christians that I am crying for. There is one poor little lion that hasn't got any Christian at all to eat." (Laughter.) Well, that boy was a true British-born Jack. He was sorry for that solitary lion who had no Christian to eat. Today Lord Amptill is crying his eyes out and is appealing to his mother to make the people of England understand more and more that before long if this Gandhi's movement succeeds, there will be a solitary British lion with no Hindus and Muslims to rub over and that is the Government with which you co-operate. That is the Government which you accept as your teacher and they are the people that dominate over you. (Cheers.)—*The Hindu*.

India Near to Great Revolt

The following item of news was published in the San Francisco Examiner, of Monday, June 13, 1921:

Within a year a definite attempt will be made by revolutionists to overthrow the British Government in India, according to Captain F. L. Skilton of the British army, who arrived in San Francisco yesterday (June 12) on the steamer China, from Singapore.

Captain Skilton said that Gandhi, the Hindu revolutionary leader is gaining strength daily, and now has a following estimated at more than 50,000,000—Fifty Millions—whose motto is, "INDIA FOR INDIA at any cost," which means, according to Captain Skilton, that the most powerful movement ever launched to overthrow British rule in India, is under way. "The entire country is seething with revolt," declared Captain Skilton. Continuing, he said, "The caste system, which with its different principles has held the natives divided into many separate groups, has been swept away by Gandhi's revolutionary doctrines."

Gandhi is described by Captain Skilton as being a man of education and high ideals, who has given his life to the cause of India's freedom from British rule."

Captain Skilton has been retired from the British army at his own request, and will take up farming in California. He participated in many important engagements during the World War.

Colonel C. R. M. Green also a British army officer and fellow passenger of Captain Skilton, who is returning to his home in England after several years in India, described the conditions throughout the country as "most serious."

Making India Wet

At a time when the people in the United States are engaged in making their country dry, the British Government in India is busily engaged in making India wet. From time immemorial India has been dry. Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and other religious sects have never supported drinking. However, careful research discloses the fact that in some particular religious ceremony intoxicants were used. The sentiment against such practices was so strong that when Buddhism became prevalent (early Christian era) it forbade entirely any use of any liquor at any time. Such was the feeling before the advent of the English. Whereas now, this benign British Government has encouraged the trade of intoxicating liquors. Not only with England is this traffic carried on, but with France, Germany, Holland and America, all of whom call themselves Christian countries. It is not necessary for us to go far for facts. "The Moral and Material Progress of India" for 1920, published by His Majesty's order in London (a British Blue Book) gives the following figures covering three years.

1917-1918.....	10,161,706 pounds sterling
1918-1919.....	11,567,900 pounds sterling
1919-1920.....	12,153,300 pounds sterling

These figures, which represent the annual revenue of the excise department, are enough to prove the onward march of the British toward intemperance in India.

For many years influential men and women in India have been protesting against this trade. The India National Congress, the Indian Industrial Conference, the Provincial Conferences, the Congress Democratic Party, the various Home Rule Leagues and other similar organizations have protested again and again. The emphatic way in which these protests have been made may very well be understood by the resolution of the Indian Industrial Conference, which is quoted below:

"In view of the great benefits to trade and industry which have already been secured by the United States of America through their prohibition of liquor, and in view of the fact that the efficiency and welfare of Indian labor have greatly suffered through the liquor traffic, the Government of India should set before themselves the early adoption of the policy of total prohibition of the manufacture, import and sale of liquor in the country for intoxicating purposes."

The All-India Temperance Association came into existence a long time ago. This and other organizations have taken active steps in forcing the Government to close the liquor shops, but to no avail. Even such extreme measures as picketing saloons have been used, with the result that leaders of that movement were punished by fines and imprisonments for having encroached upon "the liberty of the drunkards." The liberty of indulging in the desires and appetites of man is precious in the eye of the Government and should be safeguarded by them. At the same time they are listening to that passionate cry for freedom? No! This is what is called "British justice." Readers should remember that there is no such thing as "British" justice or "American" justice or "German" justice. Jus-

tice is justice wherever found. Justice or liberty can not be stamped as British, American or German. Hence the quotations marks when we said above "this is what is called 'British' justice." When the Indian people demand liberty and the application of the principle of self-determination then the British are deaf. But when it comes to the trade of liquor their sense of justice awakens. Then they shed crocodile tears and use all their strength in defending and preserving the liberty of the people who drink. And why is it that they encourage this trade? Because:

1. It fills their coffers. It brings them an income of about 13,000,000 pounds sterling, which is absolutely necessary to keep up the topheavy expenditure of the civil as well as the military departments.
2. It keeps the illiterate people, the workers of the land, in utter darkness as to what is going on in the country. It makes them actual slaves. They thus forget their country and always remain under the false impression that the British are really benevolent as they claim to be. Then it is easy for the "Defenders of the Faith" to protect "the liberty of the drunkards" while at the same time oppressing the people.
3. It makes it easy for the capitalist masters—both British and Indian—to pay low wages to the employees who, when once under the influence of liquor and drugs, do not care what they get and work at hard labor as many hours as their masters demand of them. The drunk-sodden condition of their minds and bodies causes them to lose their true sense of value.
4. It affects the life of the worker as well as lowers the whole moral tone of his family and eventually that of the community. Thus the worker and his family become victims of vicious habits which sap their energies and enthusiasm, qualities very necessary in getting rid of an autocratic system of government. Where ambition is lacking the standard of living is at low ebb.

Then, think of it! Under the new Government of India Act the only substantial source of income put under the control of Indian Ministers is the excise (liquor) revenue. With this education, sanitation and other public services must be maintained. In other words, the necessary measures which have to be taken to raise the standards of living must depend for its financial support upon a vicious traffic which leaves degradation and destruction in its wake. While the major portion of the entire revenues collected from land sources, etc., is used on the upkeep of the military. What a see-saw game it becomes!

But the most humorous part is that everything done in India by the British bears the stamp of civilization. We wonder what Christ would think if he were alive today and should go to India to investigate the conditions endured there under a people who claim to be His followers!

What a paradox! One country striving to be dry while the other is forced to be wet.

Not until India gets rid of the British will the liquor and opium traffic be discontinued.

N. S. Hardiker.

India in the League of Nations

IN the Peace Conference at Versailles "the High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world," established what was called the International Labour Conference. The permanent organization was to consist of (1) a "General Conference of the representatives of the members of the League of Nations," and (2) an "International Labour Office." The "Labour Office" to be under the control of the "Conference."

The "Governing Body" of this Conference is made up of 24 members, divided in the following manner: twelve representatives of Governments; six delegates from the employers; and six delegates from the workers. Of the twelve government representatives, it was provided, "eight shall be nominated by the members which are of the chief industrial importance." Note the ambiguous words of the *chief industrial importance*. I say ambiguous because it is the interpretation of these words by the League Assembly that this article proposes to analyze here.

At one of the last sessions of the League of Nations, at Geneva, was discussed the question of representation in the "International Labour Office." Thereupon India at once presented a claim for a place on the "Office," considering herself entitled to such a place as one of the eight powers of *chief industrial importance*. The question now rises, what is India's industrial position in the world? And what is the basis of her claim?

It is not difficult to show the place of India in the industrial world. The following data will make this clear. Examining the farmers who own their lands, India has twenty-eight million farm hands. The number of her industrial workers attains the huge figure of twenty millions! Furthermore, the number of her seamen, marine and dockyard workers is exceeded only by that of the United Kingdom. The Council of the League of Nations itself, in its report of August 5, 1920, declared itself convinced of, and recognized India's great industrial importance considering the great number of her industrial population, her international importance, and her overseas commerce.

With these facts before us let us now see how the Assembly treated this claim of India. When the issue came up for discussion the special Organizing Committee, appointed by the Assembly to report on the question of representation, advised that the Assembly had no power to deal with the specific question of representation. For, it argued, this power was given to the Committee, ignoring the fact that this power was explicitly given to the Council of the League of Nations, as we shall see presently. And what did the Assembly decide?

The Assembly, despite the report of the Council, of August 5, agreed that it would not interfere with the powers and authority of the Committee; and further, that the list of nations to be given representation had been drawn up by the Labour Conference held at Washington, in 1919. And the upshot of this quibbling was that India's claim was rejected, and she is not to have a representative in the "Labour Office" till the end of 1922, a period during which will be discussed industrial questions of supreme importance. What a cruel deception of the small group of the so-called *intelligencia* of India, who had welcomed the League as a panacea for all evils!

The worse was, however, yet to come. The Organizing Committee that drew up the list gave representation to the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Bel-

guim and Switzerland! And, a curious coincidence (?), all the seven states thus given representation were those to which the members of the Committee belonged! The eighth choice fell on Germany. India, however, does not understand the principle that guided the Committee in its selection of some of the representatives. For instance, why did they prefer Switzerland to India? Switzerland whose population is about one hundredth of that of India? And again, when the United States refused to take part in the governing body of the "Labour Office," its place was given to Denmark, a choice that is equally incomprehensible to India. But the curious part of it all is that when the question of collecting funds came, the importance of India was so *thoroughly* recognized that she was placed at the top of the list, with Belgium and Switzerland third, and Denmark fourth! !

And now as to the conduct of the Assembly: Did not the Assembly know the principles on which the Organizing Committee was created, and the exact meaning of the *chief industrial importance*? The Article 393 of the Peace Treaty declares that "any question as to which are the members of the chief industrial importance shall be decided by the Council of the League of Nations." It is clear therefore that the Council could, if it had so wished, alter the resolution of the Organizing Committee.

Further, one of the paragraphs of the Article 4, of the Convention of the League of Nations declares that "any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League." Under these conditions India ought to have been invited to make herself represented in the meeting which resulted in the report of August 20, 1920, the outcome of which report we have just analyzed.

There is yet another point of interest in the composition of the International Labour Office, which affects not only India, but all the world. In the present constitution of the Governing Body of the "Office," which is composed of 24 members, no less than 20 are representatives of European States. A fact in itself enough to make one question the usefulness of this Body. Because it is this Body that is going to regulate questions of interest to all the world, and questions which also materially affect the non-European States.

India has, thus found her real place in the League of Nations! India never believed in the League as a panacea for all ills. She knows well that the remedy for her ills must come from within, and no number of visionary schemes like the League can be of help to her. But she asks the League enthusiasts: Is this the way in which the League is going to make international adjustments, and avert war? Is this the way in which the League is going to achieve its object of "establishment of universal peace"? Are not facts like the one related above giving causes for irritation, which, sooner or later, might produce disagreeable consequences?

—Luis Jose de Souza.

"Into that heaven of freedom may my country awake."

Rabindra Nath Tagore.

Britain Wanted American Lecturer

THE British Government could not prevail upon the Indian member of the Imperial Legislative Committee of India to make a grant of a large sum of money for employing an American orator to do the work of lecturing for the British Government in America. The desirability of such a lecturer, the Government's spokesman, Sir William Vincent, pointed out, arose from the propaganda activities of the Hindustan Gadar Party, that has its headquarters at San Francisco.

The proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of March 11, sent by the Associated Press of India, read as follows:

"Sir William Vincent emphasized the ignorance that prevailed in the United States about Indian affairs and quoted instances of gross misrepresentations spread there by the Indian revolutionary otherwise called the Hindustan Gadar Party about the Indian affairs in India. The Government intended to call an American lecturer of very high repute who could attract audiences by the thousands to come to India, and after studying into position to go back to America and supply the most accurate information. The step was taken in order that America might be able to appreciate what stage the people of India had reached in the political, social and religious spheres. The step was to be taken in the interest of the people themselves to enlighten the world of the stage of development and it was for the Assembly to say whether it wanted such a course.

Mr. Seshagari Iyer, an Indian member, replied that it was an unheard of procedure that an American lecturer should come here, and then, going back to America, tell something about India. If there was need for dissemination of correct information about India in America this year, who could say that there would not be the same need in the case of France, Germany and Japan.

Mr. Rangachari, another Indian member, doubted how an American could gain accurate knowledge about India

during several weeks, when Englishmen could not get such a true knowledge in the course of thirty years. Even men like Lord Sydenham recently were carrying propaganda against the reforms in India.

Mr. Kamal, Indian member, said that one lecturer could not counteract the extremist propaganda carried on by hundreds of other lecturers.

Sir William Vincent withdrew the item from the budget, saying that "the Government would be led by the decision of the Assembly."

THE GADAR PARTY WOULD WELCOME AN AMERICAN LECTURER APPOINTED BY THE BRITISH INDIAN GOVERNMENT

The Independent Hindustan, published by the Gadar Party, regrets that the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Assembly voted down Sir William Vincent's proposal for the British Government to hire an eminent American lecturer to put "correct information about Indian affairs" before the American people.

The Gadar Party wants above everything that the American people should learn to be interested in the affairs of India. And it does not matter who secures their interest, the Gadar Party would welcome him. The Gadar Party will welcome Sir William himself, should he care to come on a lecturing tour to America, and talk about India, no matter from what point of view. If the Gadar Party knows anything, it is this, that the American people are shrewd and critical, and always want to know both sides of a matter. If the American lecturer paid by the British Government should start talking about India from a strictly official point of view, it will give the Indian Nationalists also an opportunity to say what they may have to say. And that is the only way truth comes out.

India Is Not Asia; India Is India

No words have created such mischief in the world of today than these four—East and West, Europe and Asia. Division of mankind in such sharp categories is a terrible thing. The reason is that both sides of the division are masses of old habits, and these old habits are mostly a bundle of ignorance, and superstitions. The West has its accumulated ignorance. The East has its inherited and clustered and garnered rubbish heaps. Ignorance can not tolerate ignorance of a different sort.

But truth is the same everywhere, and for every one. The truth of science is universal. Fire burns in Tokio, in Calcutta and in London, according to the same laws. What is correct of the truths of physical science is also correct of the truths of human science.

On the basis of a scientific law, all mankind can meet. The division between East and West is a legacy of the past. The sooner we forget it the better.

In the case of India, however, this division has proved an utmost lie.

For to call India Asiatic, in the sense of China or Japan being Asiatic, is the biggest bunk possible.

The plain fact is that India is at bottom, and at top, a land of the same sort of people as inhabit the Eastern and Southern regions of Europe. India is a land of European national inclinations. She differs from Western Europe, merely in being in a state of arrested development.

Modern India was born and has been since brought up in a prison where darkness prevails. That is an English prison. For India to think of herself, to talk of herself, to aspire even for her liberty—is sedition.

Well, any one so long imprisoned becomes unnatural, begins to look and act queerly. That's what the matter is with India. When she comes out of this British Jail, India will cease to appear strange to those portions of humanity who are free and progressive. They begin to see that under her sunburnt skin, India is a nation of the same type as say, Italy.

We say this in order to promote understanding of India among the less enlightened people of Europe and the European Colonies. The truly enlightened man does not talk of racial divisions, of East and West or any such artificial divisions of mankind.

You Are Right; Therefore Get Out!

By TAGORE, THE SECOND.

I'M TAGORE the Second, no relation whatsoever to Tagore, the great poet. You see, he is a great man, and I am not. He knows a lot about religion, and great things of the world beyond. I am quite ignorant as to that. I am so ignorant that in a discussion with an Englishman I lost all the points—but—but, I say again—did the Englishman win in the end? Well, did he? That's what I'd like you to tell me. Well, here is what passed between us.

The Englishman is a mighty smart fellow. He has been all over India. He writes and reads books. And he said to me, "Well, Tagore, why do you want to drive the British out of India?"

"Why not?" I asked him. Then we started to talk like this:

Englishman—Your people are sunk in ignorance. Only ten out of a hundred have ever been to school. Do you deny that?

Tagore—No. You are right. Our people are ignorant.

Englishman—Your people are very superstitious. They worship strange, horrible gods, and bathe in sacred rivers, and some won't eat pork, and some won't eat beef, and some won't eat dogs.

Tagore—There is much truth in what you say.

Englishman—Your women are in an awful condition. They are seldom educated. Only a few upper classes send their girls to school. Most of the girls are married early. Your women are pretty, but they become old looking very soon because they raise so many babies—

Tagore—And the babies die—

Englishman—Exactly. The babies die.

Tagore—What you say is so far true. That's why I'd like to see the British leave India.

Englishman—My God! You fellows are all alike, ignorant. If you are in such a damnable condition every way, why do you want to drive the British from India?

Tagore—Well, why not? What difference would that make?

Englishman—We English can civilize you.

Tagore—Surely. But will you?

Englishman—Yes. But you must first give up your ignorance, your dirt in the streets and in the homes. You must give up your foolish religion and other superstitions. You must cease to think that your Pundits and Moulvis and all that kind of fellows are wiser than our scientists and philosophers of today. You must cease to be an agricultural people. Now, the majority of your people live on agriculture. You are just a mass of peasants, like those of Russia. And you are so conceited about it that you think agriculture the best thing in the world. We English were

like that once, long ago. But what made us civilized is the machinery. You must begin to respect and use machinery. All your absurd opposition to machine civilization must go. . . .

Tagore—I see. First we must do these things, then you will start civilizing us. But then, we can civilize ourselves.

Englishman—How can you civilize yourself?

Tagore—How can a man without education educate himself? How can a peasant teach himself the use of a machine?

Englishman—What do you expect us to do? Start teaching you fellows the things we have ourselves learned at English schools and colleges? You want the whole civil and military British service in India, two hundred thousand strong, to become your schoolmasters? Is that what you expect us to do?

Tagore—No, I don't. It's too much to expect from you.

Englishman—Well, then

Tagore—Well then, get out of India.

Englishman—I'm a good natured man, Tagore. But I feel angry at your seditious talk. Another Englishman in my place would have you beat up, or done something worse for talking to me like that.

Tagore—Let's not talk about it. I and you can never talk this thing over coolly. You lose your temper so quickly.

Englishman—But I belong to the ruling race.

Tagore—I know.

Englishman—So, I can safely lose my temper. But if you lost your temper, you know what will happen—don't you?

Tagore—Guess you'll have me jailed, or sent to the gallows.

Englishman—I have got my temper back again. It's wonderful how reasonable I am, really. It is impossible for a civilized man not to be angry with you backward fellows.

Tagore—I sympathize with you.

Englishman—Now cut out that sarcastic tone.

Tagore—No, I am not sarcastic. I really sympathize with you. It must be awfully hard on you people, ruling over my people. India is a pretty warm country. You are from the foggy north. You people are used to drinking. In India drinking is deadly. Among a strange people you must often feel homesick.

Englishman—It is a great self-sacrifice we make, staying in India.

Tagore—Must be; but why do you do it? I think, indeed, I am sure, you must not make such a terrible self-sacrifice for the sake of India. Therefore *get out of India*.

The Fourth of July

THE FOURTH OF JULY is a day made sacred to all mankind by America. It is not of the ordinary patriotic fireworks that we are thinking when we say that. It is of the immense good that has come to humanity by the declaration of America as a Republic.

There are some in America who seem to have grown impatient of keeping up the memory of old historic events. There is much good in forgetting certain experiences of the past. But the Fourth of July is not a day to be forgotten.

And even if the descendants of those Americans who fought for the establishment of a free, popular, modern state and society in America, are getting tired of this great landmark in their country's history, there are whole masses of mankind who should continue to rejoice every time the Fourth of July comes.

Even in America there must be many, many unfortunate people whose Fourth of July is still to come. But of course, it will come, through the inspiration of the American Constitution. Liberty, equality, and the pursuit of happiness were declared by the forefathers of this Republic as the birthrights of all. Wherever these things do not exist there the Fourth of July has not been.

In the heat of party politics, people are sometimes apt to forget the good points of their adversaries, and this is true of every country. We would say that those American reformers who turn their backs upon so glorious an event as the Fourth of July is associated with, are making a refusal of an inheritance that is theirs and that is noble.

We have taken the especial advocacy of the cause of liberty in India. But that is merely a wave, a single wave, in the current of universal freedom.

The other day, according to news from England, a statue of George Washington was erected in Liverpool or some other town in England, we forget which. That Englishmen are doing homage today to the memory of the foundation of America as the world's first modern republic shows that the desire for and the need of liberty is universal.

Today England takes a mean sort of attitude towards the longing of India, Ireland and Egypt for freedom. But some day the English will rejoice with the people of these countries that these countries each had their days of emancipation.

This planet we live on is miserably small. The population of the earth is increasing. The earth remains the same in size. What all mankind should do is to get together like sensible people and arrange a method of living according to a plan of science, so that all men may get their birthrights, sufficient food, clothing, housing, education, certain

minimum of amusement, and there be no savage mutual hatred.

The spirit of war that is in all human hearts can then be turned against such enemies as are of all mankind—the great epidemics, wild beasts, criminals, etc.

But what keeps man apart from man is the fact that at this moment some are more powerful than others. When one is more powerful than the other he becomes more proud, and when pride comes in, two people can not sit together and talk things over like good neighbors.

There was the time when England was proud, and looked down upon the American colonists, and treated them just as badly as she treats Ireland or India today. What difference did it make that the blood of the Colonists was the same as the English's own blood? As far as blood goes, the Irish and the British have the same strains—the old Britons were Celtic—but when pride gets into the mind of someone, he forgets one's very blood.

And now that the Americans beat the British up and compelled them to recognize America as an equal of England, the British are talking day and night of "Anglo-American brotherhood."

Some day they will talk of "Irish-British" brotherhood, and of even Anglo-Indian brotherhood, in the real and true sense of the word. But that will happen after these countries, now under Britain, have had their Fourth of July.

We take this opportunity to express again our sense of gratitude to America for the generosity with which she has treated such few, very few as they are, children of India who happened to have drifted to her shores.

The immigrants from India are loyal to America, to the very last. But as they are not in American public life, they seldom have an opportunity to express their feelings of love and loyalty to America.

We can not close this note better than by wishing everybody the realization of that liberty and happiness for which the American Republic was established, the Fourth of July.

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high,
Where knowledge is free,
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;—
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into
the dreary desert sand of dead habit."

A Letter That Helps

By A WELL-WISHER.

(A friend who signs himself as "A Well-Wisher" of India, has written us a letter in which he writes many wise things. We adapt it and modify it here and there, to clear out a few errors, but otherwise give the letter just as it came.)

I HAVE been in India, and I love her people. If I knew any way to help them, I would do so. What can we do from such distance? The English are masters of the sea. But Ireland can still do many things. However, I don't know what can be done for India from America. All that can be done is to tell our people some truth about India, although that does not do any good either. If Indians started to fight for freedom earnestly, this country will neither help them nor hurt them. If our businessmen had sense enough, that is as much sense as the English have, they would do something to help India and get her good will and her trade, now is the time. But they seem not to care.

I read in the San Francisco papers of the coming here of the Queen of Afghanistan with her sons who are going to England for study. Why do they go to England for study? Why don't they enter some American College? One of these Princes says he wants to learn engineering in order to build railroads on going back to his country. That is all right. But that is not what the Afghan needs most. What the Afghan needs, I think, is some understanding of the great principles of liberty, which have made us a powerful nation (Americans).

If the Afghans become democratic, and get European education they can become a great force for good for India, Palestine and Persia. They are a brave and unsubdued people. But they are not up to the minute. That's the trouble, by the way, with all your people. Well, I mean with most of them. They want to go back, instead of going forward. You know our saying, that the hands of the clock can't be turned back.

Indians and Afghans and Persians will make the mistake of their life if they stick forever to their old superstitions.

You must not blame everything upon the British. The world won't believe it, even if it be true. I know you are doing everything to make your people progressive. But don't let up on it. There are old foggies in every nation. We have some here, too. But that is no reason why you should be lenient to your back numbers. We are very very far ahead of your nation, and can afford to let a few blockheads and back numbers to flourish among us. But your case is different. You require a clear road, and the people who adhere to the foolishness of centuries are like stones in your path. Your enemies can always use them against you. They can always hurl your fools back at you. What is that saying that an ignorant friend is a damn sight worse than a host of wise foes.

Why don't your women come out to Europe and America? So long as a nation's women remain backward

its men are also going to remain in misery and degradation. Get them started. But of course they will have to adopt our manners and customs. It is true that when we go to India, we don't adopt your manners and customs, and you may ask why we should want you to change your ways when you come here. But one reason for that is that our ways are more comfortable. Suppose we try to adopt the old Indian fashions, while in India. Well, we would have to wear a long robe or dhoti, and discard our boots and shoes for sandals, etc., etc. You don't expect us to do that, because you yourself are giving up that sort of thing. And you should be glad to give that all up, because that will make it easier for you to meet and mix with Europeans and Americans.

I hope these things I am saying to you will not hurt any of your people's feelings. If I were not your well-wisher, I would flatter you, and encourage you to keep your time honored traditions. But I tell you—don't trust any European or American who encourages you in remaining old fashioned. He is not your real friend. He is just playing with you. He wants to get something from you. He is not honest. Or he is a nut, a crazy fool himself. We have a lot of birds like that. They are no good. Just avoid them.

Another thing, while I am at it. I have seen many of your students at our colleges. They are nice fellows. But there is something very meek and shy about them. They are not strenuous enough. I don't want them to be rude or incivil in any way. Some people think that Americans like rude manners. That is absolutely wrong. We like naturalness. We want people to be loving at heart, and warm in manners. Good manners come from the heart. There is great prejudice here against the Japanese, because we feel that though they have a lot of outward courtesy, they don't have any inner friendship for us. They live altogether for themselves. No nation will get very far in this world that does not think of others. If the Indians think always and only of themselves, they will not make a great nation. We prefer the Indians to many others because their great saints and teachers have always taught the love of the whole mankind. It is good to keep that in mind. Love other people, they will love and help you. And now that you have a quarrel with the British, you have enough to do in that way. Don't pick up trouble with Americans or Europeans, on small matters, any way. Because if you do, you split your energy, and lose your friends. And in the end find yourself extremely isolated and weak.

Let us hope for the day when all mankind could be united in brotherhood.—Yours, etc.

Science on Mixture of Races

EVERY one has heard of the caste system in India. It is based upon the idea that it is not good for different kinds of people, different in "race" particularly, to intermarry. And since intermarriage is hard to prevent when there is social intercourse—especially dining together—the caste makers forbade even social intercourse between different castes in India.

Independent Hindustan is against any practices that hinder the unification of India, without which there can be no internal peace and the national strength necessary for independence. That is our primary interest in the scientific settlements of the question of intermarriages. But the question has not become a world question. And so it will be of interest to all, Indians and non-Indians.

We feel the following views expressed, on the matter by the great American scientist, Professor Jacques Loeb, of the Rockefeller Institute, New York, will prove of as much interest to you as they have interested us.

The article from which we quote these passages was written and published by Dr. Jacques Loeb, M. D., Ph. D., D. Sc., etc., in or about 1915, under the title, "Science and Race."

"We have heard a good deal about inferior races, the white races being superior. . . . Biology has not in a single case been consulted, and if it had been consulted there are no data today to confirm any such sweeping statement. Each character is inherited individually. The pigment of the skin and the shape of the eyes and the nose have absolutely nothing to do with the intellectual power. They are inherited independently of each other. We do not even know the mechanism of that which we call mental and moral faculties. I protest that there is absolutely no basis for saying that the color of the skin or the shape of the eyes, or any other bodily characteristic has anything to do with the intellectual or moral inferiority of a race. Moreover we know this, that talent is not a question of race

but of strain or family. For instance, talent for music, talent for drawing, talent for mathematical work, literary talent may occur in any race. The main fact is that you find talented strains as far as experience goes, in different races."

Does mixture of different types make the resulting type better or worse? What says science? Dr. Loeb replies:

"We have some definite facts which show that in certain cases the hybrid (result of mixture) is superior to both parent races. Such experiments have been reported by Shull, East, Burbank (noted scientists). When we cross two breeds of fishes we get in some cases an offspring which is much harder than either of the parent races. So you have a number of cases in which it is found that the offspring is superior to the pure breed. It would be wrong to say that in each case the result of a mixture of races is better than the pure breed. That is true in some cases, in other cases the opposite is true. But the fact that in a number of cases the mixture yields results that are superior to both parent breeds is enough to show the absurdity of the sweeping statement that the intermixing of races should be considered a felony. Laws on these topics should rest on careful experiments, and not on fanatic sentiments."

"Civilization today," writes Dr. Loeb, "is not a race question. It is a question of the application of the energy of nations or communities to the development of science and its applications."

"People who have money to apply to education, if they are taught the methods of scientific research, if they are not impoverished by excessive armaments and wars, will rapidly make contributions to science."

India, poor India, has to give all her wealth to Great Britain so that her empire might increase. She remains hungry, ignorant, unprogressive herself.

Correspondence

June 5th, 1921.

Editor, "The Independent Hindustan,"

A Chara:

There is a strong resemblance between the histories of Ireland and India in their relations with England.

In both cases disunion among the natives opened the way for invasion; in each case greed was the motive of the invader; both countries have suffered from famine and emigration.

Ireland's struggle with the Sasanach has lasted for a period about five times as long as India's struggle with the same enemy. Ireland has never yet admitted that she is conquered and it will be well for Indian patriots not to regard their country as a subjugated province.

In the 750 years of Ireland's struggle the Gaelic people have learned the character and methods of their Sasanach enemies. This is why I, as an Irish Gael, presume to call your attention to three guiding principles in dealing with the common enemy:

(1) The foreigner is unable to establish a permanent government in your land without the aid of native traitors. For this reason it is important that natives do not join the military service of the invader, either as soldiers or policemen.

(2) The Englishman or Englishwoman who professes sympathy with the oppressed native is seldom or never worthy of the native's confidence. They may occupy their hearers with long talks on reform, home rule, self-government within the Empire and such like; but if you ask them how they stand in regard to complete Independence, they will probably answer, "It is unthinkable."

Indeed I am surprised that any Sasanach should be admitted on the councils of either Irish or Indian patriots.

(3) John Bull can be convinced by force only. If you appeal to the Englishman's reason or sense of justice you are liable to be treated with neglect, if not with contempt.

If the Sasanach can persuade you to negotiate, he has gained his point. Insist upon withdrawal of foreign troops before negotiating; then, present demands, not appeals.

—Andreas Mac Giolla Easpuig.

Andrew Gillespie.