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INVINCIBLE INDIA

WRITTEN BY ED GAMMONS for the Hindustan Gadar Party.



THEY MIGHT HAVE LAUGHED AT A BRITISH GENERAL!

"To secure good administration is one thing, but good government can never be a substitute for government by the people themselves." The late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, British Prime Minister, at Stirling, Scotland, November 23, 1905.

Two thousand unarmed and unresisting Indians, holding a public meeting to discuss their grievances, were shot down in less than twenty minutes in Amritsar, India, on Sunday, April 13th, 1919, by fifty riflemen commanded by Brigadier-General R. E. H. Dyer of the British army.

"They would have all come back and laughed at me if I had not shot. It was a merciful act and the people ought to be thankful to me for it," explained Dyer nine months later, when he was testifying before the Hunter Commission, which has now censured the doughty general and asked his resignation. Temporarily the "goat," he will doubtless be recompensed by appointment to some less prominent position.

Between 5000 and 7000 people were assembled at Amritsar to protest against the enactment of the Rowlett Bills the continuation of restrictive war legislation, the deportation of their local leaders and other features of misgovernment. General Dyer marched to the meeting and without a single word of warning killed 500 people and wounded 1500. The casualties were limited to this number because General Dyer could not get his armored cars, with their machine guns, into the meeting square and his ammunition was limited to 1650 rounds of ball cartridge. After every bullet found its billet, the gallant general marched off leaving his victims to suffer in the blazing sun for twenty-seven hours!

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and General Benyon, Dyer's immediate superior, heartily approved of the "merciful act." So did the London Morning Post. "General Dyer has done the highest credit to the British Empire," it commented admiringly. But there was some dissent.

"General Dyer's conduct appears to be indefensible," said the London Times.

"No blacker or fouler story has ever been told," proclaimed the London Daily Herald, the official organ of British Labor.

The House of Commons loudly cheered Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, when he announced on December 19th, 1919, that General Dyer had *not* been relieved of his command following the massacre! As a matter of fact he had been promoted.

Suppressed for nine months, the story of Amritsar recoiled on its suppressors and now the whole world is demanding the truth about India.

"One people may keep another for its use," said John Stuart Mill, "a place to make money in, a human cattle farm for the profit of its inhabitants. But such a thing as the government of one people by another cannot exist."

Does England regard India as a "huge cattle farm"?
Or does she govern India cleanly, disinterestedly?

GOVERNMENT — AUTOCRATIC, ALIEN AND IRRESPONSIBLE

"British rule in India is the despotism of a line of Kings whose reigns are limited by climatic causes to five years."—The late Marquis of Salisbury.

The doctrine of the responsibility of the Government of India to the British Parliament, sitting in Westminster, is farcical. The Viceroys of India are still the "despotic kings" described by Lord Salisbury. Their power is unchanged.

Last December it was announced, with a flourish of trumpets, that England, in consonance with her war promises, had conceded "Home Rule" to India. Many people were deceived by the glamor of the title—"Home Rule!" It suggested what the title implies. They forgot that the measures, blessed with that cognomen and doled out by England to subject peoples, merely allow them to patch roads and play with toy parliaments, possessed of none of the powers exercised by even semi-independent countries. The Montagu Act answers that description. It makes some technical changes in the Government of India. It makes no real ones. It does not detract from its despotism.

The Viceroy, or Governor-General, of India is chosen by the British Government. India has no voice in his selection.

His Executive Council, on which a few soulless Indians are permitted to sit, is also selected by the British Government. Again India is ignored.

The Secretary of State for India is appointed by the British Government. India has no voice in his selection.

The Indian Council of State consists of a majority of appointed members and a minority of elected members. It can pass legislation rejected by the Legislative Assembly. Its term is limited to five years.

The Legislative Assembly consists of a majority of elected members and a minority of appointed members. It cannot pass legislation rejected or disapproved of by the Council of State. Its term is limited to three years.

The masses are not permitted to have any representation in either body.

The elected members are returned on a property franchise exercised by two and a-half per cent. of the people of India.

What a queer brand of democracy.

POWER OF LEGISLATURES EXTREMELY LIMITED

The governmental power rested in the hands of this small privileged class is so meagre and restricted as to be almost negligible.

It is forbidden to legislate on local self-government, medical administration, public health, education, agriculture, development of industries, excise, public works and many other subjects of the most vital interest.

The Governor-General and a few hand-picked officials have absolute control of these matters.

Whilst the reservation of this important power deprives the legislatures of every chance of ameliorating the condition of India, there are other restrictions which make the Montagu Act a hollow mockery.

1. The financial budget can be discussed, *but not amended*, by the legislatures. No revenue can be appropriated except on the recommendation of the Governor-General.

2. The Governor-General can veto any laws passed. He can stop and even prevent the discussion of any bill "*if it affects the safety or tranquility of any part of a province.*" He can enact laws despite the opposition of either legislature, and he can dissolve them, or prolong their terms, just as he pleases.

3. Except permitted by the Governor-General the Assembly cannot vote on (a) appropriations for interest and sinking fund charges on loans; (b) expenditure, the amount of which is prescribed under any law; (c) salaries and pensions of chief commissioners, judicial commissioners and persons appointed by the King or Secretary of State in Council, and (d) expenditure classified by the Government as ecclesiastical, political or for defense.

If the Assembly refuses the demand of the Governor-General for money for any of these purposes, or reduces the amount, he can ignore their action and order the original amount expended.

4. Rules governing the procedure of business by the Council of State and Legislative Assembly are made by the Governor-General and the Executive Assembly and cannot be changed without the sanction of the Governor-General.

"The Government of India is an indefensible system," said Secretary of State Montagu, when he was a candid critic of the bureaucracy he now belongs to himself.

Today, with the possible exception of the two and a-half per cent, the people of India tell Mr. Montagu: "Your scheme is indefensible. It does not give us the slightest voice in our government. Our determination to win Indian independence is unaltered."

How does this government govern?

“THE TERROR OF THE ENGLISH NAME!”

"Clive left no government in Bengal, but merely the tradition that unlimited sums of money might be extracted from the natives by the terror of the English name." Sir Wm. Hunter, British-Indian official.

We have seen the autocratic nature of the Indian Government. So it is no surprise to find an Englishman tell us that it is founded on a heritage of terrorism handed down to his successors by the infamous Lord Clive.

Clive's administration of Indian affairs in his day was denounced by the directors of the British East India Company as "*the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct ever known in any age or country.*"

He and the horde of empire-builders imported from England looted the country of all the physical wealth they could lay their hands on. Gold, diamonds, rubies and other valuable metals and stones were shipped in a steady stream to England and the "Bengal plunder," as it was termed, is estimated at a value of from \$2,500,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000!

England's great industrial impetus towards the close of the eighteenth century was only possible because of this vast inflow of treasure.

The practice of openly looting a subject country has been discarded. It is done more scientifically these days. In the case of India it is done, as Adam Brooks says, "*by indirect methods under forms of law.*"

One-third of the revenue of India goes to England. It goes in many forms: the upkeep of the Indian Office in London; pensions to Englishmen who have helped in the exploitation of India; interest on the Indian National Debt incurred by England masquerading as the Government of India, and scores of other ways. Thus is India looted now.

Most of the remaining two-thirds is spent, not on improving the condition of the Indian people, but on ensuring their permanent subjugation.

Education is neglected. Public health is neglected. Industrial development is neglected. Scientific research is neglected. Most of the revenue is spent on militarism and railroads.

Railroads have been built steadily until the British military strategists and traders were satisfied that they had as perfect a system as they could wish. Though the military establishment comes first in point of expenditure, the railroads are of prior importance.

They have a triple value: (a) they afford means of instantly rushing troops to any disaffected district; (b) they convey British goods to the formerly inaccessible interior in competition with the few remaining Indian industries, and (c) they are indispensable in stripping India of the raw materials and foodstuffs England needs for her factories and people.

In the fiscal year, 1919-20, 48% of the estimated revenue was spent on the military machine, 28% on the railroad system, and less than 2% on the combined subjects of education, public health, sanitation, agriculture, irrigation, scientific research and industrial development.

The significance of these figures lies in the fact that 32,000,000 Indians perished from preventable famine and plague in less than one year, whilst the British bureaucrats were yet allotting these expenditures.

A GOVERNMENT OF ALIENS

"It is our will that our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, duly to perform."
From Queen Victoria's proclamation to India, 1857.

Of the many solemn pledges made to the Indian people by British monarchs and statesmen, and afterwards glibly broken, the most solemn and binding was that given the Indian people by Queen Victoria when she ascended the British throne.

"*All Indians are disqualified by reason of their race,*" said Lord Curzon fifty years afterwards whilst he was Viceroy of India.

In no country on earth are the people so much excluded from responsible office in government as in India.

The current edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica states in its section on India that, at the time the information was compiled, out of 1355 positions in the higher Indian Civil Service, 1263 were held by Britishers and 92 by Indians.

When William Archer was in India, getting material

for his book "India and the Future," he asked why there was discrimination in this regard. He pointed out that the holding of the examinations in England automatically excluded almost every Indian. The reply of his British friends was: "*The Hindu has such a prodigious memory and is so clever at examinations that the Englishman cannot stand up against him.*" Another alibi was the alleged superior administrative capacity of the Englishman! As Mr. Archer believes the British Empire "the most beneficent fact in history," he cannot be accused of any bias in setting down the incapacity of the Englishman to compete with the Hindu on even terms.

The Indian Year Book for 1916, compiled from official sources, states that only 5% of the positions in the Indian Medical Service were held by Indians.

Of 115 appointments made in the Indian Educational Service, during the period 1911-16, 108 were Britishers and 7 were Indians.

The following figures are from British Blue Books and show how the higher appointments in the different governmental departments are made:

	British.	Indian.
Agricultural Service	38	5
Botanical Survey	2	0
Educational Service	34	3
Forest Service	9	1
Geological Survey	2	1
Indian Munition Board	11	1
Indian Trigonometrical Survey	46	0
Medical and Bacteriological Service.....	24	5
Meteorological Department	10	2
Veterinary Department	2	0
Zoological Survey	3	1

Ninety per cent of the positions are held by Britishers.

The Indian officers receive about half the salary Britishers are paid for the same work.

Only in the degrading, least-paid branches of administration are Indians admitted in any number.

"The Commission regrets to report that they have the strongest evidence of the corruption and inefficiency of the great mass of investigating officers of the higher grades. . . Deliberate association with criminals in their gains. . . Deliberately false charges against innocent persons. . . Deliberate torture of suspected persons." Extract from Lord Curzon's Commission report on corruption of Indian police system, 1905.

The police system, so scathingly denounced by the Indian Government, is largely composed of Indians, commanded, of course, by Britishers. It is one of the main props of the invader. It is to India what the Royal Irish Constabulary is to Ireland. Corrupt and inefficient in police duties, it is highly efficient in its work of terrorizing India. In return for their poorly paid treachery the Indian police seem to have unofficial permission to prey relentlessly on the unfortunate people. Of course inquiries from time to time reprobate their crimes, and hundreds, too calloused in crime to be careful in its practice, are dismissed and punished, but the system goes on. *It is, from the British viewpoint, a political necessity.*

In Bengal, according to Commissioner of Police Halliday of Calcutta, 569 inspectors, sub-inspectors, sergeants, head-constables and constables were dismissed

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RESTRICTIVE LAWS FORCED ON PEOPLE.

"I am bound to say that nothing was ever worse done in disregard to the feeling and opinion of the majority of the people concerned." Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, discussing the partition of Bengal in House of Commons, February 26, 1906.

The Government of India, autocratic, systematically plundering "by indirect methods under forms of law," and mainly manned by aliens, pays little heed to the wishes of the people.

The Indian members of the Legislative Assembly are permitted to protest all they like. The appointed members yawn and smoke and vote the Indians down. Under the Montagu Act it is remotely possible that remedial legislation on some petty subject may be passed by the majority, representing the propertied class. But the Council of State is ready to kick them back into line and, failing that, the Governor-General is always ready with his veto.

The partition of Bengal, so unsparingly denounced by the then Secretary of State for India, was forced through by Lord Curzon. He considered it a brilliant tactic in the task of insuring the perpetuation of Hindu-Mohammedan discord. Setting up a purely Mohammedan state did appeal to a few, but the vast majority saw through the dishonesty of the scheme and made a memorable protest. But it went through.

The latest proof of the absolute irresponsibility of Simla is contained in the recent statement by Secretary of State Montagu that he first read the details of the Amritsar massacre, *nine months later*, in the columns of a London morning newspaper. We are assuming, of course, that Mr. Montagu told the truth.

The Arms Act, the Defense of India Acts, the Press Act, the Official Secrets Act and the Rowlatt Acts were enacted, like the partition of Bengal, against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Indian people.

The Arms Act denies Indians the right of possessing firearms or weapons. Framed to protect British rule from the slightest possibility of revolt, it leaves the helpless peasantry at the mercy of the hordes of wild animals which roam the country and the deaths from this cause are increasing every year. But the Government refuses to even consider any modification of the law.

The Press Act has almost wiped out the freedom of the press in India.

Three hundred and fifty printing presses have been

penalized since 1910, 500 publications have been proscribed, and hundreds of enterprises have been abandoned because of the restrictions imposed by the Press Act. Before any publication may be issued a large money deposit must be made with the Government, and this is confiscated the moment anything appears in print which is considered obnoxious to the bureaucracy.

Editors and publishers have been imprisoned under the Press Act, and their deposits forfeited, because they published: (a) translations of articles on India written by William Jennings Bryan after he toured India in 1906; (b) extracts from Sind Law Reports stating that the practice of reserving railway compartments for Europeans was illegal; (c) quotations from the liberal press of England, and (d) opinions of English liberals on Indian affairs.

Imagine the dilemma of an Indian editor, who must conform to the Official Secrets Act, forbidding "*newspaper criticisms likely to bring the Government, or constituted authority, into suspicion or contempt!*"

The Rowlatt Acts and the Defense of India Acts completely abrogate the liberties of the people. According to the provisions of the Rowlatt Acts, *which were passed against the unanimous opposition of the Indian members of the Legislative Council*,

1. Any Indian is subject to arrest without warrant and is subject to unlimited detention without trial.

2. The burthen of proof rests upon the accused.

3. Trial by jury is denied. Right of appeal is denied. "*No order under this act shall be called into question in any court and no suit or other legal proceeding shall be against any person for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.*"

4. The accused may be convicted of an offense with which he is not charged.

5. The prosecution "*shall not be bound to observe the rules of the law of evidence.*" In other words the testimony of dead, absent and non-existent "witnesses" can be used against a suspect.

6. The accused is denied the right of employing a lawyer or producing witnesses.

7. The authorities are empowered to use "any and every means" in carrying out the law and obtaining confessions. *This undoubtedly means torture.*

8. The accused is given a secret trial. The method of the procedure and the findings of the trial may not be made public.

9. The accused is kept ignorant of the names and is not confronted with his accusers.

10. Any person (*even his or her own family*) voluntarily associating with an ex-political prisoner may be arrested and imprisoned.

11. Any place or home can be searched without warrant.

INDIAN INDUSTRIES KILLED TO BENEFIT BRITAIN

"The fiscal policy of India, during the past thirty or forty years, has been shaped far more in Manchester than in Calcutta."—Lord Curzon, former Viceroy of India.
"British policy in India is British trade." William Pitt, British Prime Minister.

India was the greatest trading nation of the East as early as 3,000 B. C. With 4,000 miles of seaboard, the best-built ships in the world and unexcelled textile products, she did a gigantic business with China, Babylon and other Eastern nations.

Marco Polo, the famous explorer of the thirteenth century, wrote: "The Coast of Coromandel produces the finest and most beautiful cottons to be found in any part of the world."

Baime, in his "History of Cotton Manufacture."

states: "India is the birthplace of cotton manufacture, where it probably flourished long before the dawn of authentic history. The Indians have in all ages maintained an unapproached and almost incredible perfection in their fabrics of cotton—some of their muslins might be thought the work of fairies or insects, rather than of men."

Up to the year 1813 Indian silk and cotton goods sold in England at a profit of from 50 to 60%, a fact which was bitterly resented by English traders and man-

ufacturers. As early as 1678 they angrily protested against the admission of Indian goods, which, they contended, are ruining our ancient woolen manufactures." About 1814 England levied a prohibitive import duty against Indian cotton and textile products. *It was the death stroke.*

In 1831 the merchants of Bengal protested to His Majesty's Privy Council for Trade that their business was "nearly superseded by the introduction of the fabric of Great Britain into Bengal, the importation of which augments every year to the great prejudice of native manufacturers." They asked, as British subjects, for fair play. Their plea was ignored.

A select Committee of the British House of Commons examined further Indian complaints in 1840 and found that "the displacement of Indian manufacturers is such that *India is now dependent upon British manufacturers* for its supply of those articles."

They also published these eloquent figures:

Cotton Piece Goods Imported into Great Britain from the East Indies.

1814	1,266,608 pieces.
1835	306,086 pieces.
<i>British Cotton Manufactures Exported to India.</i>	
1814	818,208 yards.
1835	51,777,277 yards.

Thus was the cotton industry of India killed.

Sir Charles Trevelyan, British-Indian official, testified that the ruin of the cotton industry in India had resulted in the reduction of the population of Dacca, the great cotton manufacturing center, from 150,000 to 30,000. He said that *Dacca was rapidly becoming a jungle.*

According to other witnesses before this Select Committee, the Indians turned to agriculture, chiefly. The story of their fate on the soil of India is told in a later chapter.

SHIPBUILDING DESTROYED, TOO

An English naval expert stated in 1911 that Indian-built ships lasted fifty years or more and that those built in Europe for Indian trade could not make more than six voyages with safety. Due to this superiority of construction ships were rapidly built on the banks of almost every navigable river in India. English shipbuilders borrowed many improvements from their Indian rivals.

In 1857, 34,286 Indian-built ships entered and sailed from Indian ports.

In April, 1863, the *Indian Marine was abolished*. It was reasoned that Indian-built ships would have to be manned by Indians and that this was "undesirable," "unadvisable" and "unpatriotic."

England's policy has ever been, not the freedom of the seas, but a monopoly of the seas, and, wherever possible, a monopoly of the building and manning of every ship that sails the seas. Mark Sullivan, noted political writer, recited a remarkable instance of this spirit in

"Collier's Weekly," of which he is a former editor. He told how a member of the House of Commons bitterly arraigned the Lloyd George Administration during the war because ships, carrying American goods from New York to South American ports, *flew the Stars and Stripes!* The indignant Briton grew blue in the face demanding an explanation of this terrible outrage. Where was the good old Union Jack which always flew over these cargo ships freighting American goods in American waters? It did not occur to this gentleman that America had a right to build ships to carry her own products to a neighbouring nation. All he saw was, as he considered, the ill-mannered act of a formerly ignored competitor daring to carry his own goods under his own flag, instead of under the piratical Union Jack.

In 1898, the number of Indian-built ships in commission was 2,302.

A year later they further decreased to 1,776.

The English shipbuilders thus wiped out their rivals.

DEVELOPMENT OF OTHER INDUSTRIES PREVENTED

England permits India to grow jute because British capital controls that industry; to grow wheat because England depends for its food-stuffs on the outside world; to grow cotton so that the mills of Lancashire may have the raw material they need and she encourages the growth of opium, because it is the most insidious and efficient weapon she has for stupifying the Orient in preparation for its commercial exploitation.

On the other hand England sees to it that the tremendous industrial possibilities of India are not realized.

As early as 1500 B. C. India was noted for its iron and steel products. Its smelters turned out the finest steel in the world and it found ready sale from Persia to London. Now, despite the fact that India has unlimited ore, the raw metal is shipped to England, manufactured there and sold back to India at twenty times the cost of the raw material.

Hides, to the annual value of \$50,000,000, are exported. Shoes, saddles and all kinds of leather goods are imported.

There are unlimited resources for manufacturing salt. Yet a large amount is annually imported. (On April 26, 1906, Mohormulla, a merchant of Rajbarighat, was fined 50 rupees by Subdivisional Magistrate Holmwood for not selling Liverpool salt.)

India has the best soil in the world for sugar cane. Six million pounds are imported.

Almost every kind of dye material is found in India. 400,000 pounds are imported.

Oil seeds are exported in huge quantity. The manufactured oil is imported.

So with their only large industries killed by England, and facing the embargo against further industrial development, the people of India are compelled to take up agriculture. They have no other choice.

AGRICULTURE HANDICAPPED—MILLIONS PERISH

"The Government land tax does not leave enough food to the cultivator to support himself and his family throughout the year."—Sir Wm. Hunter, British-Indian official.

"In the eleven years ending 1890 there were 840,713 peasants dispossessed of their land in the presidency of Bombay, because they could not pay the Government land tax."—Hon. G. Rogers of Indian Civil Service.

Having destroyed the principal industries of India and prevented the development of others, England made little or no effort to see that the displaced scores of millions of workers found a decent livelihood elsewhere.

They turned to agriculture, as the English witnesses

testified before the House of Commons' Committee, which held the inquest on the cotton industry.

80 to 95% of the Indian people are now dependent on agriculture.

The agricultural industry of India does not give these

hundreds of millions even a bare existence. It is an absolute failure in this regard because of, (a) the intolerable and crushing government land tax; (b) the lack of capital; (c) the lack of education in improved means of production, and (d) the lack of modern implements and fertilizers.

The land tax provides one-third of the annual revenue of the country. It is levied, not on the actual produce, but on the area of the land. It is not reduced in years of famine. It increases with the value of the land. It is computed, not every year, but every ten or twenty years.

It is confiscatory and wrong in the opinion of many Anglo-Indian officials, themselves.

"The Government demands press so heavily on the people that all enterprise has been crushed," said Colonel MacLean, Anglo-Indian official, 1867. "I have personally satisfied myself that in many instances the Government demand exceeds the gross rental assets of some villages."

The only alibi adduced by Englishmen for the land tax is that it was bequeathed them by the old native rulers of India. They forget that then it was the only tax. They have imposed many other taxes. The combined burden is what is decimating India.

The statement that the tillers of the soil lack capital needs no elaboration. The poverty of India is proverbial. Lacking capital, they can obtain neither modern implements nor the proper fertilizers.

The Government, not content with extracting the last penny from the unfortunate agriculturist through the iniquitous land tax, has also deliberately neglected its duty of educating him in the latest methods of farming and other essentials. Lord Curzon, when he was Vice-

roy, talked a lot about this matter, but we must, in this as in all other things, judge the Government of India, not by its roseate promises, *but by its performances*.

The land is getting less productive every year. The Government seemingly does nothing to avert the resulting and inevitable effect.

In the seventeenth century, 223 pounds of cotton were grown to the acre in India. Today the yield is but 52 pounds. Egypt grows 400 pounds to the acre, whilst Imperial Valley, California, grew 430 pounds to the acre in 1912.

The Indian rice crop averages 800 pounds per acre. Europe grows 2,500 pounds to the acre, whilst California, in 1910 and 1911, averaged 2,500 to 9,000 pounds, according to the variety of seed sown.

The wheat crop of India runs 11.44 bushels to an acre. The farmers of England and Ireland produce 32.41 bushels from the same area.

Java produces 8,000 pounds of sugar per acre as compared with India's yield of 600 pounds.

Whilst the exactions of the Government of India are primarily responsible for the dire poverty and chronic famines of India, conditions might be improved by spending large sums of money on irrigation. Very little attention is paid, however, to irrigation and when money is expended on irrigation projects dividends of from 15 to 30% are exacted. How different from the native state of Baroda, where the Ghakwar limits the interest on irrigation loans and enterprises to 3½%. It is the difference between the scientific extermination of a race and the rule of a wise leader, who loves his people and always has their interest at heart.

The famine question is inextricably woven with the agricultural problem. We will discuss it now.

FOOD EXPORTED WHILST MILLIONS DIE OF STARVATION

"Indian famines are famines of money, not of food."—The late Lord George Hamilton, Under Secretary of State for India, 1901.

"Famine is a providential remedy for over-population."—Statement of Anglo-Indian official to Wm. Jennings Bryan.

"Half the agricultural population do not know from one year's end to another what it is to have a square meal."—Sir Charles Elliot, Chief Commissioner of Assam.

The largest quantity of wheat ever exported from India in one year was 2,150,000 tons. This was in the year 1904-5. It was also a famine year. Millions perished for want of a crust of bread.

Cereals valued at \$45,000,000, including 1,500,000 tons of wheat, were exported in the year 1918-19. That was also a famine year.

Thirty-two millions of the Indian people perished from preventable famine and plague that year.

Lord George Hamilton was right. There is plenty of food in India. But England ships it home and the Indians starve to death.

The rice crop of the year, 1917-18, grown on an area of 80,141,000 acres, was 36,236,000 tons.

The rice crop of the year, 1918-19, grown on an area of 75,864,000 acres, was 23,670,000 tons.

The decrease in production in one year was 12,566,000 tons. The decrease in the yield per acre was more than 300 pounds.

With India facing this shortage in the main food of her people, and scores of millions dying of starvation, a large part of the crop was shipped to Europe for the manufacture of liquor and starch.

British apologists argue that; (a) famines are always occurring in India; (b) that they are due to insufficient rainfall; (c) that the mortality would be slight if the people would only produce more food to tide them over

famine years, and (d) that they are due to the density of population.

Sir William Digby states from the eleventh century down to the year 1800 there were 22 famines, many of them local famines with light mortality. From the year 1800 to 1900, according to this official, there were 31 famines, all of them causing millions of deaths. The worst in the history of India was that of 1918-19, which swept off 32,000,000 people.

India has the heaviest rainfall in the world. But it is not stored by the administrators, who believe that "famine is a providential remedy for over-population." Carnegie Ross, the British Consul in San Francisco, in an argument with Arthur Thomson, author of "The Conspiracy against Mexico," urged that "the main cause of famine in India is the earlier or later breaking of the Monsoon." Thomson floored the Britisher by quoting a score of official authorities and figures which directly contradicted the consul's ridiculous assertion. The rainfall is not stored. So it doesn't matter if it falls Monday morning or Saturday night, March or December. The year of the great Madras famine, 1877, sixty-six inches of rain fell. The Bombay famine of the previous year occurred when the rainfall was fifty inches. Fifty-two inches of rain fell in 1896 and forty-two inches in 1897, yet both were famine years.

Increased production of food-stuffs is impossible with

the Government of India paying no attention to agriculture. India produces enough food right now to tide her over famine years, but England grabs it. It is proved by official records that more food is shipped out of the country in famine years than in non-famine years.

The argument as to the density of the population is false, yet ingenious. People are apt to think of the huge population of India without regard to its area and so arrive at a false conclusion. India has 211 people to the

square mile, Italy 294, China 266, Japan 317, Holland 454 and Belgium 589.

It has just now occurred to us that famine has also been attributed to the improvidence of the Indian people. The average annual income is about \$10 a year. One meal of rice a day costs at least \$11 a year. How could they be improvident?

Famine is a weapon of Government in India. England cannot escape its blood guilt.

EDUCATION OF INDIAN PEOPLE OBSTRUCTED

"The political ruin of England would be the inevitable consequence of the education of the Hindu."—Lord Ellenborough, Viceroy of India, in 1842.

"Anything less Machiavellian than our conduct in this whole matter of education it would be hard to conceive."—William Archer in his "India and the Future."

"The Hindus were Darwinians many centuries before Darwin, and evolutionists many centuries before the doctrine of evolution had been accepted by the scientists of our times, and before any word like 'evolution' existed in any language of the world."—Sir Monier Williams.

It has been truly said that the wealth of a nation lies, not in its gold and diamonds and like valuables, but in the minds and bodies of its people. A people alert, physically and mentally, can conquer gigantic obstacles. The reverse is equally true. A people of poor physique with no education are overwhelmingly handicapped in the battle of life.

The theft of India's physical wealth by England would not have hurt India, if the peculation stopped there. In addition to robbing them England disarmed them, starved their bodies and robbed them of any chance of education. In brief, she devoted her whole energy to the assassination of the country!

India has been so consistently lied about that it is almost impossible to counteract the idea that England has conferred a great boon on India by taking over the country. "Just think of all the splendid schools England establishes in India," said a lady who had just heard an English propagandist lecture. A friend, who knew something of the subject, replied: "I am thinking of the splendid culture England has almost destroyed there."

India was highly civilized five thousand years ago. A Hindu invented the decimal system. A Hindu, Arya Bhatta, discovered the rotation of the earth on its own axis. Copernicus afterwards reaped the credit. Scientific grammars were known in India as early as 1400 B. C. The first medical and surgery schools were established in India. Alexander the Great brought Hindu physicians back to Greece with him because they were the most skilled physicians he met in any of the countries he conquered. "We owe our first system of medicine to the Hindus," admitted Dr. Royle, noted physician of King's College, London, when he reviewed the history of his profession.

An educated people will not submit to slavery. Lord Ellenborough saw that if the people were properly educated England would have to get out. The directors of the East India Company promulgated a similar doctrine almost a century before. "We have lost America from our folly in allowing the establishment of schools. It would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India." And as late as August 7th, 1915, Mr. Watson of the Senate of the University of Calcutta moved the following resolution: "That the Senate views with alarm the rapid increase in the percentage of passes in the university examinations, and desires an immediate inquiry to be held as to its causes and significance." India is about the only country in the world where the spread of education is "viewed with alarm!"

The following statistics will explain the educational situation in India today:

	Expenditure per Head.	Literacy.
United States	\$4.00	92.0
England and Wales	3.20	97.6
France	1.07	92.5
Japan	.53	90.0
INDIA	.02½	8.0

What a change from the days when India's philosophers, divines, poets and scientists were noted all over the world for their achievements! After 150 years of British rule India is only 8% literate. After twenty years of American rule, the Philippines are 60% literate. And Iceland, which nobody covets, is 100% literate!

The United States has 300,000 schools. India, with three times the population of the United States, has 180,000 schools.

India has 218 technical institutions. Japan, with one-fifth of India's population, has 846.

The native state of Baroda spends 13c per head on education. British India spends 2½c; 79% of the boys of Baroda go to school; 21.5% of the boys of British India go to school; 81.6% of the girls of Baroda attended school in 1914-15; 4% of the girls of British India attended school. Education is compulsory in Baroda. It is not compulsory in British India. This comparison holds good for the rest of the native states.

India has made many unsuccessful fights for the institution of free and compulsory education. The last one was in 1911, when Mr. Gokhale introduced a bill in the Imperial Legislative Council. It was killed by the vote of the appointed members.

J. N. Tata, the Bombay industrial magnate, made a bequest of \$1,000,000 in 1901 for the establishment of an educational institute. The project was scientifically sabotaged by the Government of India. It took them ten years to consider how the money could best be used. Finally the institute opened with seventeen students! "Public opinion holds that the teaching is incompetent, and that no education worthy the name is being imparted," says Lajpat Rai in "England's Debt to India."

The question of free and compulsory education is still to the front in India. The people realize that it is tremendously vital to the nation. The London Times' plea that "Education will only accentuate trouble, for educated men and women will not suffer the conditions now imposed on the Bombay working classes," is a correct resume of the situation.

An educated people will not submit to slavery. Therefore England dreads the education of the Indian.

SUBJECT PEOPLES RAPED, TORTURED AND MURDERED

"What happened to the young Corporal, who, in a fit of excitement, shot the first native he met? Was he put on trial? Was he hanged? If we are not strong enough to prevent murder, then our Pharisacal glorification of the stern justice of the British Raj is nonsense."—Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, in letter to Lord Minto, who was Viceroy of India, August 19, 1908.



BANTA SINGH
Indian Nationalist, crushed to death between two wheels for the alleged murder of a police spy at Lahore a few years ago. The official sentence was "hanging."

at all times and in all places," declared "The Civil and Military Gazette" of the Punjab on September 5, 1906.

The British enforce this "respect and deference" in many ways. An Indian must step off the sidewalk if he sees a Britisher coming. He must travel in a "Jim Crow" railway coach and never dare to enter a coach "Reserved for Europeans." This "Jim Crow" law is so strictly enforced that even Indians who have attained high rank in the Government and are obsequiously servile to the enslavers of their country, are often kicked bodily out of coaches reserved for Britishers. Indian judges, often of the higher courts, are the victims of some young British lieutenant. If any Indians resist invasion of their rights and bring their assailants into court the latter demand to be tried as "European subjects." This means that they are tried, not by a jury of Indians but by a jury on which a majority of Englishmen sit. For the sake of effect now and then a few petty Indian officials are also impanelled. "In trials in which Englishmen are tried by English juries the result is sometimes a failure of justice not falling short of judicial scandal," says Sir Henry Cotton, a former Anglo-Indian official.

If the superior Briton kills the offending Indian the result is about the same. If he is not openly acquitted he pays a small fine or serves a short jail sentence.

Superintendent Henderson of the Telinpara Jute Mill, near Bombay, kicked a native to death. He was fined the equivalent of \$32.

McGee, an overseer of the Howrah Jute Mill, on the outskirts of Calcutta, shot a native dead. He was fined the equivalent of \$48. Note the fine distinction. McGee was penalized \$16 more than Henderson. The judge perhaps thought that Henderson was the more brutal terrorist and made a more lasting impression on the natives who saw him kicking his victim into eternity.

In the fall of 1907 a British journalist, resident in Lahore, shot his Indian servant dead. He got six months' simple imprisonment.

Lieutenant H. R. Plunkett, without cause, shot a fruit seller dead in Lahore. Judge Broadway eulogized the

England has always sought to impress her rule on subject peoples through the assassination and deportation of national leaders, the rape of their women and the wholesale murder of masses of defenseless men, women and children.

British rule in India possesses these characteristics and many others. The Indian has absolutely no rights in his own land. "British blood has conquered India and rules it, and respect and deference must be shown to it at all times and in all places," declared "The Civil and Military Gazette" of the Punjab on September 5, 1906.

defendant to the jury and urged his youth and inexperience as the cause of his murdering the Indian. The jury, needless to say composed of Englishmen and a few safe Indians, promptly acquitted the murderer.

Lieutenant C. M. MacLorron of Allahabad suspected two native servants of theft. He bound and gagged both of them and burned the soles off their feet with a redhot poker. He was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment.

It should be mentioned that these sentences are seldom served. They are on a par with the case of Captain Colthurst, who shot Sheehy-Skeffington in Ireland without trial or the opportunity of bidding farewell to his devoted wife. This gallant Briton, who learned his barbarism whilst serving in India, spent a few weeks in an alleged lunatic asylum and was then returned to duty "perfectly cured."

AN IRISH AMRITSAR.



EAMON DE VALERA
President of Ireland.

In a thrilling speech, delivered in Chicago, Illinois, toward the end of March, 1920, Eamon De Valera, President of Ireland, gave a graphic instance of English hatred of Ireland:

"There was fell purpose in the ordering of Irish divisions to Gallipoli and the murderous deserts of Mesopotamia, after they had volunteered to fight, because they considered they were fighting for the freedom not only of others, but of their own small nation.

"Let me give you an instance. In Mesopotamia the barracks of the British forces were plastered with notices which read: 'Do not leave this room for any purpose between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m.' and 'If Turks are seen in the distance during the day hours, do not fire or move.' It was death to move in that heat. But one day 1100 Irish were ordered to march at midday to a point forty miles distant. They went.

"No Turks were there. Four hundred died on the march. The next morning they were ordered back. Of the 1100 not one lived to see the post they left. And not a shot had been fired. It is not our hatred of England that breeds this strife. It is England's hatred of us."

Those uninformed Americans who wonder why Ireland did not put her manhood at the service of England in the late war should ponder over this massacre of 1100 young Irishmen.



STUDENTS FLOGGED AT RANDOM.

At Kasur and many other places parties of students were flogged. They were not individually guilty of any crime. They were picked at random and flogged, because the authorities considered the atmosphere of the colleges as "seditious," and the students took part in nationalist demonstrations.

Professor Rai, Vice-President of the Lahore Sanatan Dharma College, testified before the Hunter Commission that the Publicity Board of the Government of India posted bulletins at the college containing the following statements:

"People should take no interest in politics. It is the rulers who know the art of government. You should all live a life of seclusion and not dabble in politics."

"Those who criticise the government wash their hands in their own blood."

SHAMELESS VIOLATION OF WOMEN

"WE REGARD WOMEN AS SACRED."

—General Dyer, testifying before the Hunter Commission.

Where do Englishmen really regard women as sacred? They certainly don't regard the women of India, Egypt, Africa or Ireland as sacred. After reading the English press for thirty years we cannot see that they regard even their own women as sacred.

The women of India have been sacrificed wholesale to the lust of the British army of occupation. Moore, British Station-master at Rawalpindi, was found guilty of raping a young Indian girl. He was nominally dismissed from the service. The unfortunate girl committed suicide. Six British soldiers outraged a little girl at Jhalkati. They were reduced in rank. The great mass of the culprits go free. Where Indian men have been active in defending the honor of their women, they have been victimized by officials. Two privates belonging to the Ninth Lancers beat a native to death for refusing to ensnare Indian women to cater to the lust of the regiment. This occurred whilst Lord Curzon was Viceroy. The murder got such publicity that the Viceroy was compelled by public opinion to discipline the regiment. The actual murderers, well known to the entire regiment, were shielded.

The English in India have set a very low standard of morals in the treatment of their own women. Mrs. Alice Kees was recently convicted in Calcutta of leasing her *fourteen-year-old sister*, Adelaide Philben, to a Mrs. Mitchell, who ran a house of prostitution patronized by officials. She was sentenced to three months' simple imprisonment and a fine of \$60. W. J. Brewin was sentenced to *two months'* simple imprisonment for criminally assaulting Dorothy Evans, a little nine-year-old girl. K. Morgan was fined \$30, with the alternative of *one month's imprisonment*, for the same offense. His victim, however, was a *matured woman*.

Indian women are not the only victims of the armies of Britain.

AFRICA

The girls of Nigeria, a British protectorate in Africa, are so abused by British officials and others of that nationality, that mulatto children are being born wholesale. If a black man resents the seizure of his wife, daughter or sweetheart by a Britisher he is got out of the way often by unscrupulous means. If the victim appeals to the British Commissioner he is often subjected to arbitrary punishment for his pains.

The practice of flogging native women naked was brought out in a libel suit against John Eldred Taylor, editor of the "African Telegraph," last December. Mr. Taylor published an account of the flogging of two native women found on the premises of a British officer. They were, after being divested of every stitch of clothing, flogged in public at the instigation of the officer.

"Why didn't you complain of this to Governor-General Sir Frederick Lugard?" demanded the government counsel of Mr. Taylor.

"Because the Governor-General, himself, stated in an article he wrote for the Edinburgh Review that '*the only way to subjugate and tame the African native is by flogging him*,'" replied the African editor.

EGYPT

Every reader of this pamphlet should procure or borrow a copy of the Egyptian White Book. The office of the Egyptian Commission is 420 Southern Building, Washington, D. C.

The atrocities committed on the women of Egypt by the British army of occupation make heartrending reading. Affidavits by mayors of Egyptian cities, responsible police officials and school teachers relate details of British rapine and murder which baffle description.

Mayor Mansour El D'Ali of the city of Bedrechein tells how he was knocked unconscious by a stroke of the butt of a rifle, when he attempted to go to the assistance of his wife, his daughters and daughters-in-law who were being raped by a gang of British soldiers.

Hussein el Mohr, married man, stated in the course of his affidavit: "Fifteen British soldiers entered my house and looted the jewelry and money. The women, panic stricken, ran upstairs and we went also. The soldiers followed us. They indecently assaulted one of the women and one of them committed rape on her. I attempted to enter the room, but was threatened by the soldiers with their rifles. My brother cried out, saying: 'We have endured everything, but we cannot see our women raped. This is insupportable!' He rushed into the room and was instantly shot. He died the next day. The soldiers stayed with the women a long time. I, with my very eyes saw my own wife, Aisha, being raped. I think no woman escaped that disgrace."

Mahmud Abdel Hadi was held by four soldiers whilst two others raped his sister. When they satisfied their lust they shot her and set the house on fire. The bereaved brother escaped and saved his life by jumping from the roof of one house to another till morning.

IRELAND

The Republican government of Ireland is so well organized that Irish women are comparatively safe. However, when the British soldiers have the opportunity they violate unguarded women. Two little Irish girls were recently admitted to the Curragh Family Hospital, County Kildare, in a dying condition, the result of being criminally assaulted by Privates Neill and Rutherford of the Scottish Rifles.

The English courts, as in India and elsewhere, are very lenient with these brutes. The "Dublin Independent" of January 16th, 1920, states that Private William Roberts of the Royal Field Artillery was fined but \$25 for indecently assaulting a little Irish boy.

Such decisions are a semi-approval of the commission of these dastardly offenses.

GOVERNMENT DRUGS PEOPLE WITH OPIUM AND LIQUOR

"The Government is driving the liquor trade as hard as it can in India. If the Government continues its present policy of doubling its revenue every ten years, in thirty years India will be one of the most drunken and degraded nations on the face of the earth."—W. S. Caine, M. P., in speech in the House of Commons in 1888.

The Indian nation is not a "drunken and degraded" one today. India has bitterly fought the liquor traffic since England instituted it to steal the senses of the Indian. And though Archbishop Jefferies, who did missionary work in India for 31 years, states that: "The drinking practices of England have made a thousand drunkards for every Indian converted to Christianity," India has not accepted the vice to a serious extent.

Thirty years ago a prohibition movement was started in Bombay. The Government immediately imprisoned eight leaders. In informing London of this drastic action the Bombay authorities said: "The question for decision is, shall we sit quiet and allow the temperance movement to continue and to spread, and thereby for-

feit a large amount of revenue, or are measures to be adopted which shall bring the people to their senses?"

Despite this unprecedented action the Indian people continued to fight the liquor traffic with the result that the people did not succumb to the extent the Government expected.

OPIUM IS THE REAL CURSE OF INDIA

The Indian opium traffic is not only the curse of India, but the curse of the whole world! For opium, grown in India, is smuggled into the United States to devour thousands of our own flesh and blood, who are every day falling victims to this official product of the Government of India.

The British Blue Funnel Liner, "The Cyclops," was raided last summer in Seattle and found to contain 778 tins of opium, 670 ounces of cocaine and 16 ounces of cocaine *not listed in the ship's manifest*. On June 24th, 1919, according to the "Seattle Union Record," the ship was fined \$49,265.

How many British liners of the "Cyclops" brand entered our ports for the past ten years? Can it be that Britain, who carefully safeguards herself against the drug, has no compunction about smuggling it in here?

The rapid increase in the number of drug addicts in this country provides food for reflection.

Is the Government of India the real culprit?

India realizes, and has always realized, the deadliness

of the opium menace. Her incessant opposition to the growth of opium in India at the instigation of England, masquerading as the Government of India, resulted in an investigation of the traffic by a Royal Commission in 1893. But eight out of nine of the members saw nothing but merit in opium!

The receipts from the traffic increased 44% in the year 1916-17. The receipts from liquor and other drugs increased 48%.

Ellen N. La Motte, in her impressive book "The Opium Monopoly," scathingly criticizes the English Government for its forcing this deadly drug on the Indian people in these terms: "A nation that can subjugate 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 the increase of 44% in opium consumption, and the increase of 67% 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 body and soul in order to procure their daily supply."

This treatment of a so-called "heathen" nation by one which aspires to lead the Christian white civilization of the world, must provide food for the grave thought of those who treasure the olden ideals and history of the Anglo-Saxon race.

GOVERNMENT OF ALIENS (Continued from Page 3)

or punished *in the course of one year* for different crimes ranging from torture to common assault.

Promotion is gained by a maximum of convictions. Consequently the police have a habit of torturing innocent people into confessions of guilt. In the Punjab in March, 1909, three men accused of the murder of a woman pleaded guilty under police pressure. Just as their trial started *the woman walked into the courtroom alive and well*.

On December 5, 1911, it was officially stated in the British House of Commons that 57 Indian police officers had been convicted of ill-treating prisoners during the previous few years and that death had ensued in 17 cases.

Police frame-ups are common in India. Hundreds of Indian patriots are rotting in Andaman Island dungeons from this cause. Some, of course, fail. The perjury, or some other mechanism of the frame-up machine, jams.

The machine jammed in the famous Midnapur case in the Province of Bengal in 1909. Three men were convicted of a conspiracy to use bombs, which were found in their possession. The British High Court of Calcutta reversed the conviction on the ground that the confessions, on which the convictions were based, had been extorted by torture and that the defense charge that *the police, themselves, had manufactured and placed the bombs was not unlikely*.

THE INDIAN LABOR AND SWADESHI MOVEMENTS

"A system more likely to bring about degradation of labor is impossible to conceive."—Dr. T. M. Nair of the Indian Factory Labor Commission on the factory system.

But a short while ago the Indian factory worker worked for from seventeen to twenty-two hours a day! The report of the Indian Factory Labor Commission in 1911 resulted in a reduction of the hours to twelve. Dr. Nair filed a dissenting opinion and condemned the suggestions of the majority as temporizing and inadequate to meet the situation.

Today Indian labor does not wait for governmental action to alleviate the intolerable industrial situation.

Three hundred thousand Indian workers recently struck in Bombay for better conditions. They won after many of the strikers were killed by the British army which was at the beck and call of the employers. The strikers demanded a nine-hour workday, a large increase in wages, a full hour instead of a half-hour for lunch, the limiting of the age of child workers to 12 years, full pay for disabled workers during the period of their disablement, the early closing of the liquor shops which are considered detrimental to the interest of labor and many other important things. *Because the dread cholera was slowly creeping from the workers' district toward*

the rich residential district, the employers suddenly made important concessions. The workers were granted a ten-hour day, a 40% increase in wages, full pay for disabled workers and many other demands.

This is the first big victory of the Organized Labor movement of India.

The next strike will be for the introduction of the co-operative system in the ownership and management of Bombay mills and factories.

Before Labor organized industrial conditions in India were deplorable. In some districts they still exist. The workers had to leave home at 4:30 o'clock in the morning and did not return till 8 o'clock at night. They worked seventeen to twenty-two hours a day. *The mortality in the one-room industrial tenements of Bombay was 675 per 1000 in 1916*. The physique of the industrial workers was so impaired that, according to official statistics, they were exceeded in weight by the prisoners in the different jails and penitentiaries. The prisoner in Bombay Jail weighed 112 pounds. The factory operative weighed but 102 pounds. In the United Provinces the

average weight of the jail inmates was 115 pounds. The weight of the factory worker was 107 pounds. This physical deterioration was, of course, mainly due to low wages and insufficient food.

The Government in 1919 clapped many strike leaders in prison and broke strikes by putting soldiers in the places of the strikers. This is no longer feasible. The strikes are so large now that the whole British army of occupation would have to go to work if the policy were continued.

Hand in hand with the increasingly powerful Organized Labor movement of India goes the Swadeshi movement, which pledges the individual to wear only clothing of native manufacture and to destroy "all foreign cloth in their possession." Whilst primarily intended to assist in the revival of the textile industries, the Swadeshi movement aims at the fostering of all native Indian industries. It is vigorously fought by the British Gov-

ernment. In 1906 merchants were fined for refusing to sell English products, a British magistrate, Dunlop, personally flogged a little Indian boy for shouting *Bande Mataram* (Hail Motherland!), the Swadeshi rallying cry, and printers, students, merchants, lecturers and editors were terrorized and imprisoned for the crime of advocating the manufacture and use of Indian manufactured goods.

A slight increase in the number of cotton mills is noticeable as the result of the Swadeshi movement. It received quite an impetus during the war when factories were started to produce war material, which could not be turned out in sufficient quantity in England.

The Indian people see great possibilities for good in both the Labor and Swadeshi movements. Their future development will be watched with great interest by the entire world.

INDIA'S MEN AND MONEY CONSCRIPTED FOR "DEMOCRACY"

"India was bled absolutely white during the first few weeks of the war."—Lord Hardinge, former Viceroy of India, in speech in House of Lords, July, 1917.

"The people of India have no voice in this or any other act of Government. It is sheer dishonesty."—The London Nation referring to war "gift" of \$500,000,000 from the Government of India.

"Women were kidnapped till their relations who fled from the recruiting officers returned or enlisted. Men were forced to stand naked in the presence of their women and often driven naked through thorny bushes. The crops of those who fled from the recruiting officers were in many instances destroyed and their houses looted. Women were abused in the presence of their men folk."—From evidence given before the Hunter Commission on the Indian system of "voluntary enlistment" by A. H. Khan, Revenue Official.

During the recent war England convinced a good many people, ignorant of the situation in India, that India had thrown herself, heart and soul, into the great war for "democracy and the preservation of small nations."

It was a lie!

Some Indians were deceived. The Indian people were not deceived. There are always people, blinded by their great faith in humanity, who can be hoodwinked by charlatans. And when David Lloyd George solemnly declared: "As the Lord liveth, England does not seek a yard of territory. We are in this war from motives of purest chivalry to defend the weak," there were some Indians who believed the great political chameleon. And when their faith was waning, America, their land of dreams and, to their minds, the greatest influence for universal liberty, entered the conflict with the solemn pledge that all nations, without distinction as to size, would be granted self-determination. The pledge given all mankind by Woodrow Wilson was breathed as a prayer by the Indian:

"The Allies are fighting for the liberty, the self-government and the undictated development of *all* peoples, and every feature of the settlement, that concludes this war, must be conceived and executed for that purpose."

British propagandists told America that India, in its war exuberancy, forced a "gift" of \$500,000,000 upon the "mother country," and "voluntarily" raised a huge army in return for the blessings of British civilization.

And these lies, for they are lies, are repeated even now. And, sorry to relate, they are still swallowed.

The "gift" of \$500,000,000 was made to England by English officials, who constitute the Government of India. The Indian Legislative Council was never consulted.

"It is sheer dishonesty," said the London Nation. "The people of India have no voice in this or any other act of government. If they had, they would be forced to think before contributing out of their *dire poverty* this huge sum to the resources of their *wealthy rulers*."

"For Mr. Chamberlain to throw upon the Indian

people the responsibility for originating and devising the \$500,000,000 contribution, and the protective duties connected with it, is as unconvincing a rhetorical excuse as the House of Commons has listened to for many a long day," commented the Manchester Guardian.

England bought huge war supplies from India. They consisted in part of 70,000,000 rounds of ammunition, 1,500,000 tons of wheat, 2,250,000 pounds of wool and blankets, 1,500 miles of railway equipment and similarly large quantities of boots, shoes, rifles, etc.

England then made herself a gift of \$500,000,000 to pay for part of this war equipment.

In other words she robbed the defenseless people of India of these vast stores in order to fasten her rule more securely upon India, Egypt, Ireland and the other enslaved nations and to grab the German colonies and trade.

The lie that India furnished an army of volunteers is made out of whole cloth. England terrorized the Indian people into furnishing an army of conscripts. Every village in Northern India was compelled to furnish a certain number of recruits. If it failed to furnish its quota it was punished. If men fled from the recruiting officers their crops were destroyed and their homes robbed.

The two sons of Gauhar Singh, head man of a village near Gujranwala in the Punjab, fled from the recruiting officers. The father was arrested, his property confiscated, he was dismissed from his official position, and it was ordered that, unless his sons surrendered, any person touching his property or cultivating his crops, was to be instantly shot.

The evidence of A. H. Khan, government revenue official, given before the Hunter Commission, gives positive proof of the atrocities committed upon the unfortunate people to compel their participation in the war.

England states that 1,401,350 Indians fought. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the other British colonies contributed 1,548,701 men.

What was India's reward for contributing this huge army and the \$500,000,000 "gift"?

AMRITSAR

The startling Amritsar massacre was the act of panic-stricken autocrats. They were panic-stricken because they recognized in the nation-wide protest of the Indian people against the enactment of the Rowlatt Acts, a force which, by its mere passivity and proportions, was at once menacing and invincible. When the puppet, Dyer, mowed down two thousand unarmed Indians at Amritsar, he wasn't shooting merely at the crowd. He was shooting at the Spirit of India—that Spirit which saw Greece and Rome rise and fall and which, from its throne in the Himalayas, shall similarly witness the decay and death of the British Empire, founded on greed and sustained by brute force.

The Rowlatt Acts, which swept away every right and constitutional safeguard of the Indian people, were designed to check the great reaction which was inevitable when the Indian people faced the fact that the war was not fought for their self-determination, or that of any other people, and that Lloyd George's glittering promises were on a par with all of England's past promises—made in moments of emergency and repudiated on the eve of their supposed fulfilment.

The fiction was carefully spread by Indian officials that the Rowlatt Acts were necessary to check the spread of anarchy, Bolshevism and all that was abhorrent in revolutionary doctrines. But the Rowlatt Commission, in recommending the enactment of the Acts, completely gave the game away, when they admitted: "There will, especially in the Punjab, be a large number of disbanded soldiers, among whom it may be possible to stir up discontent."

The Punjab contains 14 per cent of the population of India. It contributed 40 per cent of the Indian Army. "There is enough military material in the Punjab to shake down the empires of Europe," once remarked Lord George Hamilton.

Hence the fear of England that these splendid fighters, disbanded, disillusioned, and even disarmed, would tear down the tyranny which, they were told, was to be scrapped as a result of the great and glorious deliverance of the world from the dreadful curse of Prussianism!

But that much-berated system had not been killed! It had but moved from beneath the Black Eagles of Prussia to the protecting embrace of the Union Jack of England!

THE GREAT PROTEST

Mahatma Gandhi, prominent Nationalist leader, organized a passive resistance movement in protest against the Rowlatt Acts. It began on April 6, 1919, with the closing of all shops and places of business, the people joining in one monster voice of indignation and sorrow.

Satyagrahis, as the participants were termed, took the following solemn vow: "We shall bear any abuse, any insult, any violence, any suffering, even unto death, without hatred, without resistance as brave men, as martyrs determined to maintain the truth at all cost."

Two hundred thousand people were present at the big protest meeting in Calcutta. One hundred thousand attended the Delhi demonstration. In every important center the people met and passively protested.

The outstanding feature of this mighty demonstration was the display of Hindu-Mohammedan unity. England has always done her utmost to keep the two races divided and she has always represented to the outside world that her presence in India was absolutely necessary to keep them from one another's throat. Their joint participation in this great protest bore a deep significance for the invader.

England's reply was aeroplane bombings, machine gun massacres, public floggings, widespread deportations and the reopening of the closed shops and stores at the point of the bayonet. If the shops were not opened soldiers were put in charge. In Lahore, Colonel Frank Johnson said the soldiers put in charge "would not be authorized either to make book entries or receive payments."

Before we detail the terroristic practices indulged in by the British in the different parts of the Punjab, it is perhaps proper to examine one persistent charge made against the participants in this memorable protest, viz., that it was the result of Bolshevik influence. This charge has been made by all the now discredited militarists and also, we are sorry to say, by Mrs. Annie Besant. This lady has always "proof positive" that Indian revolutionaries are swayed by gold. During the war it was German gold. Now it is Bolshevik gold. The people of India are so incensed at her continual baseless allegations and her fulsome eulogies of the fake Home Rule bill that she is now howled down every time she attempts to address a public meeting.

"I found no trace of Bolshevik influence behind the disturbances," swore Police Superintendent Orde of Delhi before the Hunter Commission.

"There was no conspiracy to create rebellion," stated Police Superintendent Broadway of Lahore.

"I was not aware of any revolutionary movement," testified Commissioner Kitchin of Amritsar.

Surely these police officials are just as watchful of the interests of empire as General Dyer and Mrs. Besant!

THE BIG TRAGEDY!

On April 10th the Amritsar authorities secretly deported Kitchlew and Satyapal, leaders of the local protest movement. When the people went to Commissioner Kitchin to protest against the deportation and ask for the restoration of their leaders they were fired on and several of them killed.

The people immediately got out of control. They destroyed two banks, the town hall and a telegraph station. Three English bank officials were killed. It is charged that about \$600,000 was looted from the destroyed banks. On January 13th, 1920, one Sub-Inspector, several head constables and about twenty ordinary police constables were arrested and charged with having a lot of this stolen money in their possession. An English woman, Miss Sherwood, was severely beaten by some enraged Indians because she refused to admit men, wounded by English soldiers, into a hospital of which she was in charge. A lot of propaganda was centered about this incident. General Dyer made Indians, using the street in which she was beaten, crawl on their stomachs as a punishment. It was in connection with this punishment that he coined his unconscious witticism: "We, Englishmen, regard women as sacred." Miss Sherwood is in good health again and recently stated in an Indian paper: "It was Indians who rescued me, an Indian house that gave me shelter and Indian hands that first dressed my wounds." She also refused a large monetary gift offered her by the Government. She evidently thinks that her case has been over-exploited by the British military butchers.

General Dyer arrived in Amritsar on April 11th, conducted his massacre on April 13th and declared Martial Law on April 15th. The declaration of martial law on the 15th was evidently an after-thought and, in his opinion perhaps, perfectly legalized the mass murder two days before.

The facts are comment enough on this tragedy, but one's mind instinctively recalls Macaulay's description of Colonel Hamilton, the author of the historic Glencoe Massacre, February, 1862: "All the moral qualities which fit men to bear a part in a massacre he possessed in perfection."

Jallianwala Bagh is a square plot of waste land, surrounded by a wall about seven feet high and has two or three small entrances. The largest of these could not admit three men abreast. A very large number of people were in Amritsar on the day of the massacre celebrating a religious festival, but owing to the size of the meeting place and other circumstances the crowd which assembled on the evening of the 13th of April was not over six or seven thousand. The speaker of the day was Lala Hans Raj, President of the Lahore College.

The outstanding features of the massacre are: (1) General Dyer knew at 12:45 p.m. that the meeting was to be held in Jallianwala Bagh at 4:30 that afternoon; (2) he took no steps in the interval to warn the people that the meeting would be dispersed by gunfire; (3) he would not have stopped the slaughter at 2000 but for a shortage of ammunition and the fact that the entrance to the meeting square was so small that he could not get in his armored cars with their machine guns; (4) he enforced the curfew law that night resulting in the 1500 wounded lying unattended, where they fell, for 27 hours; (5) the meeting could have been dispersed without a single casualty; (6) his object was to strike terror into the minds of the people.

We reproduce the following extracts from General Dyer's testimony before the Hunter Commission:

Q. You state in a report, General: "At twelve-forty-five I was informed that, in spite of my stern proclamation, a big meeting would be held at Jallianwala Bagh at four-thirty that afternoon?"

A. That's correct.

Q. I want you to explain why you did not take measures to prevent the crowd from assembling at all in the Jallianwala Bagh?

A. I went there as soon as I could. . . . I had to organize my forces. . . . I had to consider the military situation. (*Note the evasion.*)

Q. You did not open fire by the machine guns by accident because they could not go through the narrow passage?

A. Yes, if they could be got in the probability would be that *I would open fire with the machine guns straight.*

Q. Did the crowd at once start to disperse as soon as you fired?

A. Yes, immediately.

Q. Did you continue firing?

A. Yes.

Q. Why did you not stop when the crowd started to disperse?

A. I thought it was my duty to go on till it dispersed. If I fired a little the effect would not be sufficient. If I fired a little I would be wrong in firing at all.

Q. What reason had you to suppose that if you had ordered the assembly to leave the Bagh, they would not have done so without the necessity of your firing and continuing firing for any length of time?

A. Yes, *I think it was quite possible that I could have dispersed them perhaps even without firing.*

A little later: "If I hadn't fired on the crowd they might have come back and laughed at me."

Q. After firing did you take any measure for the relief of the wounded?

A. No, certainly not. It was not my duty. It was not my job. The hospitals were open.

Indians who did not salaam (bow in reverence) to

Britishers were compelled to crawl through Dyer's "sacred street" on their stomachs, with their noses rubbing the ground as they crawled;

Q. You think that the people ought to salaam every British officer?

A. Most certainly, yes, if you ask my opinion. India is the land of the salaam. Indians know and ought to know it. They all know salaaming. They salaam big people. They salaam Rajahs.

Q. Take your orders as regards crawling. What was your object?

A. I felt women had been beaten. We look upon women as sacred. I searched in my brain for a suitable punishment for these awful cases. I went down to the street and ordered a triangle erected. I felt the street ought to be looked on as sacred. I posted pickets at both ends and told them: "No Indians are to be allowed to pass along here. If they have to pass they will have to go on all fours."

Q. There were a number of floggings?

A. Yes. I think there were twenty-five in all.

After the wounded lay unattended in Jallianwala Bagh for twenty-seven hours, General Dyer, who "would not tolerate violence or wickedness," made the following concession: "The inhabitants may bury or burn their dead as soon as they please. But there must be no demonstration of any kind."

General Beynon, Dyer's immediate superior, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, telegraphed the victor: "Your action correct. Lieutenant-Governor approves."

The slaughter, the floggings, the crawlings—all might not have occurred if the British official listened to the people who went to him to protest against the deportation of their leaders.

"There was no disorder till the people were fired on," admitted Miles Irving afterwards, the man who was responsible for the firing of the military on the crowd.

LAHORE

Colonel Frank Johnson came from Africa to India. He was in charge of Lahore during the disturbances and of course used his African methods of terrorism. He flogged wholesale. He marched the students of the King Edward Medical College 16 miles a day in the broiling sun from their college to Lahore Fort for roll-call! Martial law notices had been torn off the walls of the college. The students of the Lahore Law College caught a police spy tearing down the notices on their college, but the police protected him when the students demanded his punishment! Colonel Johnson told the Hunter Commission: "I had been longing to teach the people a lesson." So he taught a lesson to no fewer than 1011 students.

His evidence shows that the people he shot, flogged and punished were not armed, did not attack his forces and were not rebels.

Q. Is there any recorded report of any member of the police force or of any soldier receiving any wound from any member of the crowd?

A. No.

Q. Was any of your men treated in hospital?

A. None that I know of.

Q. Were any arms discovered by anybody anywhere in the large number of searches you conducted?

A. No.

Q. If the people were bent on rebellion wouldn't they have secured arms?

A. I think you are right.

Q. From April 15th to the end of the month there was no rising at all anywhere?

A. That is a historical fact.

Other statements he made were: "I ordered persons shot who obstructed any person from opening his shop. 'Not a single firearm was used by a native.

"Sixty per cent of the disturbances at Lahore occurred after the Amritsar shooting."

Khan Bahadar Baksh, Senior Sub-Judge of Lahore, testified before the Commission that Lieutenant O'Dwyer, son of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, stationed himself outside a Mohammedan mosque and laughed and mocked at a funeral procession of people killed by the military as it was entering the place of worship!

Colonel Johnson's conclusions regarding his reign of terror are so absurd that it is difficult to refrain from the opinion that he considered the Hunter Commission as a joke and not a real inquiry into the atrocities practiced upon the Indian people.

"In such times you thought the right of whipping was essential?" he was asked.

"It was absolutely essential," he replied. "It was the kindest kind of punishment."

"You never imagined the punishment had serious effect?"

"I cannot imagine it."

"The people liked martial law," was his parting declaration!

GUJRANWALA

Nearly half the city of Gujranwala was destroyed by aerial bombing. The principal aviator, Captain Carberry, frankly admitted to the Commission that he wanted to do all the damage he could. He killed 11 people and wounded 40.

"When you threw bombs on them they dispersed. Why did you use your machine gun on them in addition?" he was asked.

He replied: "I wanted to do more damage. If I killed more people they would not gather again and do damage."

He admitted bombing the students of the Khalsa College as they emerged from the College after study hours. They were but "natives" to him.

Many of the most prominent public men of Gujranwala were sentenced to prison terms by courts martial. The chief government witness against them now states that he was "morally and physically coerced" into perjuring himself to insure their conviction!

A FAMINE SCENE IN INDIA

In famine years the starving peasants of India flock into the towns as a last resort. There may be a crust of bread there. It is the last chance to defeat death. Pierre Loti graphically describes how three little famine victims, suffering the last pangs, must leave the sunny sidewalk, where merchants are piling up sacks of grain:

"The tiniest of the three children seems to be almost dead, for he is motionless and has no longer strength to drive away the flies that cling to his closed eye-lids. 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."

KASUR

At Kasur, "martial law was relished and blessed by the people," according to Commissioner Marsden. The principal feature of martial law in Kasur was flogging. Students, deemed to be seditious and participating in nationalist demonstrations, were picked at random and flogged. Two British soldiers, passing in a train, shot and killed two Indians. A crowd then gathered and killed the soldiers. Immediately a public gallows was erected and the whole population was paraded twice for the identification of the men who killed the soldiers. Suspects were packed into an open cage, with no protection from the sun, with no toilets or urinals, for six hours.

Captain Doveton invented several new features in punishment. He whitewashed some itinerant priests with quick lime. He gathered all the town prostitutes sadist style, to witness forty floggings. He compelled people to rub their foreheads on the ground as a mark of homage to himself. Others had to compose poems in his praise. If any people left their homes when they saw the playful captain coming on a visit, he destroyed their earthenware cooking utensils and burned their clothing and beds.

People in Lyallpur refusing to salaam to British officers were flogged. At Ahmedabad the famous Lewis gun was used on unarmed men. In Bombay cavalry charged a large crowd *by mistake*, according to Commissioner Walker.

The details of the atrocities committed throughout India in this reign of terror would fill fifty pamphlets of this size. We have instanced Amritsar, Lahore, Kasur, Gujranwala, Lyallpur, Ahmedabad and Bombay to give the reader a general idea of what occurred. All these details are taken from the testimony given before the Hunter Commission by the officials involved and actual eye-witnesses, ~~not associated in any way with~~ the Nationalist movement.

As a matter of fact, the Hunter Commission was boycotted by the victims of these atrocities, because they were not afforded a chance to attend the hearings and cross-examine the militarists responsible for their sufferings.

The reader will judge General Dyer, Colonel Johnson and Captain Carberry on their own testimony, without hearing a single witness on behalf of the people.

WHY NOT IN INDIA?

"The balance of the India Gold Standard Reserve on December 31, 1919, was as follows: In India, nil; in England, cash \$30,003,185; British and Colonial Securities, \$104,255,755; British Government Securities, \$43,717,035; total, \$177,975,975." From "London Financial Times," January 14, 1919.

ENGLAND LEADS AGAIN (1911)

	Population	Criminals	Percentage
England & Wales..	36,070,492	570,723	1.58
India	244,267,542	391,238	0.16

"In India, on account of the economic drain and British misrule, we find preventable suffering, hunger, insufficiently clothed bodies, stunted intellects, wasted lives and disappointed men." Sir William Digby.

ENGLISH RULE IN ASIA NEARING END

"England's influence has never been stronger than when her motives have not been suspected."

—The late Lord Beaconsfield (Benjamin Disraeli), British Prime Minister.

England's world-wide propaganda is very resourceful, very powerful, very shrewd and very poisonous. Every theft of territory is portrayed as an act of mercy and love to the people she enslaves. When she sets out to cripple a competitor democracy trembles in the balance. When she mercilessly slays the unarmed it is a "merciful act!" The cries of her victims are drowned by the brass tones of her propagandists. If they do reach the ears of the public they are as soon forgotten as were the victims of the Belgian rubber barbarians in the Congo. Or they are condoned with the plea that the acts of our common Anglo-Saxon brethren must be upheld—not criticised!

But Asia is waking up! Its participation in the great war, the grossly immoral tactics used by the great European powers in their conquest of Asian territory, and the realization that the revolutionary movements of India, Ireland, Egypt and other nations have shaken the supposed invulnerability of England have, all of them, morally loosened the hold of Europe on Asia. England still retains her territory. She has also grabbed Turkey. But her expulsion from Asia looms large on the horizon. Russia has relinquished her sphere of influence in Persia. She has assured India that the present-day Russia is not like the imperialist nation of the past and that she has no expansionist ideas. She has renounced all the privileges improperly acquired from China by the late Romanoff government. Friendly peoples surround Russia of today. Sullen peoples suspected her every move yesterday.

Even Persia, quiescent in her pre-war slavery, is bravely battling England. One day an English official explained in the House of Commons that British troops were necessary in Persia "to protect the Persian frontier from invasion and to secure internal tranquillity." Many of our good citizens read the reassuring statement with satisfaction. Good old England, "the friend of small nations," was on the job. Then a few days later came the dispatch: "The Persian army today drove the British out of Resht, an important Persian port on the Caspian Sea." It appears that England was not at all solicitous about the Persian frontier. *She was on her way to the Baku oil fields.*

Afghanistan fought herself free of all British connection last year. For many years she received an annual subsidy from the Government of India, surrendering in return her right of dealing direct with foreign nations. Enraged by the massacre of some Afghans at Amritsar, Afghanistan declared war against the Government (not the people) of India. Peace was signed on August 8, 1919. It was a great newspaper victory for England. It was a substantial victory for Afghanistan. By the peace settlement England conceded Afghanistan the right of an absolutely independent nation to settle her own affairs without, in any way, consulting the Government of India. Incidentally England bombed the Afghan cities from the air with great success. When the Zeppelins bombed London in this fashion we heard a fearful outcry. But then the Afghans are "heathens!"

Insurgency surrounds India. It is in the air. Its influence on the Indian situation is unmistakable. Arms are lacking, 'tis true; but India has the will and determination to expel England. No longer are her people divided. No longer can England conceal the hideousness of her misrule. The provisional government of India is slowly encompassing the end of British rule. Every day brings fresh defeats to the British armies vainly trying to beat back the revolutionaries on the northwestern frontier. Day by day the unrest spreads from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. The slaying of India's millions by famine, the near-murder of her ancient civilization, the theft of her wealth to finance forty wars of English conquest, the deliberate extinction of Indian industries and the myriad other crimes of England have failed in their objective. England attacked and sought to kill the physical India. Whilst she partially succeeded, the Spirit of India remained untouched. It looked down from its throne on the pretentious invader implacable and unperturbed. The spirit of a nation cannot be killed. It cannot be appeased, but by the sacred fire of liberty. It lives whilst physical oppression wanes and dies. And in that sense India is invincible. She has never accepted her yoke. She never will.

And when the day comes when the people of India may apply the only force England recognizes—physical force, let America be swayed, not by propaganda, but by justice. The arch-assassin of small nations will have coined new catchwords, new slogans, new lies. As Disraeli said, England's motives will be hidden whilst her influence will be strong. Let America close her ears to that influence and judge the hidden motive.

The day of the nations oppressed by England is coming soon. There seems to be no element in England powerful enough to insist upon justice being done whilst there is yet time. The British Labor Party, even, will not pledge itself to evacuate India and Ireland.

India accepts the alternative. And as Eamon De Valera, the elected President of the Irish Republic, recently declared: "Men who are ready to face death for what they know to be right cannot be beaten, cannot fail to be victorious."

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India - Gant, 176 -

The Tragedy of India

By Ed Gammons



Gopal Singh

Santokh Singh

Bhagwan Singh

To the People of the United States of America:

We know you love fair play. The people of the other continents have looked on America for the past century and a half as the refuge of the oppressed—a haven where the fighter of right against might could claim sanctuary from the wrath of tyrants. We claim that sanctuary today! For we, the sons of oppressed and bleeding Mother India, have fled here from the vengeance of an empire, builded on the corpses of defenseless nations and peoples.

Today the United States Government proposes to send us manacled back to India. How joyous our hearts would be, if we were going back to a free and unfettered India. But the India we are being returned to is a pressed and desolate one. Famine and plague are killing our people by the millions. Death, raining from aeroplanes armed with bombs and machine guns, daily decimates those who dare protest against alien rule.

OUR DEPORTATION MEANS DEATH AT THE HANDS OF A BRITISH FIRING SQUAD. Will you countenance this outrage? "I am a friend of every dauntless rebel," sung Walt Whitman, your glorious poet. And America has been! Kossuth was welcomed here. The gallant Irish rebels from 1848, won their freedom. Eamonn De Valera, have been welcomed to your generous shores. All—all the world over, in peace and safety.

Read this pamphlet thoroughly! Try to realize the supreme justice of our cause. And then ask yourselves this question: "Is it justice to these men to hand them over to the clutches of an alien conqueror who has cruelly misgoverned their country, and is now ready to claim their lives because they have demanded the rights of free men?"

BHAGWAN SINGH,
GOPAL SINGH,
TARAKNATH DAS,

D. K. SARKAR,
SANTOKH SINGH,
S. N. GHOSE.

Famine and plague, deportations and firing squads, martial law with its machine gunned aeroplanes, buckshot and soft-nosed bullets—that is India of today!

"Bengal is a country of inexhaustible riches, capable of making its masters the richest corporation in the world." That is how Lord Clive, one of the administrators of the famous East India Company, described the great Indian province of the seventeenth century.

Why this vast change between the independent India of two centuries ago and the subject India of today? The most malevolent misgovernment of history!

India has been robbed morally, financially and physically.

Great Britain has violated every right of the Indian people.

She has killed any and every Indian industry which competed with her own.

She has kept the people of India illiterate so that they might never aspire to be free men.

She has fed her enemies' cannon with Indian armies in the interest of Britain.

She has taxed India without real representation.

She has shot, deported and imprisoned Indian protestants.

She holds India today by the bayonet.

These facts are indisputable and most of them are admitted by Englishmen themselves and by all impartial observers.

HOW AND WHY INDIA'S INDUSTRIES WERE KILLED

"The Coast of Coromandel produces the finest and most beautiful cottons to be found in any part of the world," wrote Marco Polo, famous explorer of the thirteenth century.

"The birthplace of cotton manufacture is India, where it probably flourished long before the dawn of authentic history," writes Baine in his History of Cotton Manufacture.

"The Indians have in all ages maintained an unapproached and almost incredible perfection in their fabrics of cotton—some of their muslins might be thought the work of fairies or insects, rather than men," said the same writer.

BGP
+

The cotton products of India were to be found everywhere. They are found mentioned in the lists of dutiable goods in the Justinian Code of the fourth century. Every part of Asia and Africa bought them down to the eighteenth century.

Then the manufacturers of Europe became apprehensive.

"As early as 1678," says Lajpat Rai in his England's Debt to India, "a loud outcry was raised in England against the admission of Indian fabrics, which 'are ruining our ancient woolen manufacturers'."

"Indian silks and muslins are becoming the general wear in England," complained a writer in 1696.

THE COTTON INDUSTRY OF INDIA WAS KILLED!

The importation of Indian dyed goods into Great Britain was absolutely prohibited. An import duty of 10 per cent was imposed on manufactured cotton and 14 per cent on manufactured silk.

The merchants of Bengal protested to His Majesty's Privy Council for Trade. "Your petitioners have found of late years that their business is nearly superseded by the introduction of the fabric of Great Britain into Bengal, the importation of which augments every year to the great prejudice of native manufacturers. * * * They came the less confident that no disposition exists in England to the door against the industry of any part of the Caspian Sea. *way to the Botants* of this great empire. They pray to be admitted to the privilege of British subjects and entreat your

Afghanistan to allow the cotton and silk fabrics of Bengal subsidy from these in Great Britain free of duty or at the same

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SHIPBUILDING AND MINERALS

India was once Mistress of the Seas in Asia. With a seaboard of 4000 miles and splendid harbors, she built and maintained a merchant armada, which carried her commerce to historic Babylon and China as early as 3000 B. C. Ships were built on the banks of almost every navigable river of any importance. An English naval authority stated in 1911 that Indian built ships lasted fifty years or more and that those built in Europe for Indian trade were seldom capable of making more than six voyages with safety!

Lord Wellesley, then Governor General of India, declared in 1800: "From the quantity of tonnage now in Calcutta and the perfection which the art of shipbuilding has already attained, it is certain that this port will always be able to furnish tonnage to whatever amount may be required for the conveyance to London of the trade of the British merchants of Bengal."

In April, 1863, it was found "undesirable, inadvisable and unpatriotic" to allow India to build and man her merchant marine.

*In 1857 India built 34,286 ships, tonnage 1,219,958.
In 1912 the entire merchant fleet of India consisted of 130 ships, tonnage 10,400.*

Another Indian industry stabbed to death!

We all read in our youth of the fabulous wealth of the East Indies in the days of the early explorers and how they set forth to reach this treasure house of the world's wealth.

Yes, India was a land of mystery and wealth then—

rate which may be charged on British fabrics sold here." This protest was made in 1831.

In 1840 a Select Committee of the British House of Commons examined Indian complaints and found that "the displacement of Indian manufactures by British is such that India is now dependent upon British manufacturers for its supply of those articles."

This committee published these eloquent figures:
Cotton Piece Goods Imported into Great Britain from the

East Indies.

1814.....	1,266,608 pieces
1835.....	306,086 pieces

British Cotton Manufactures Exported to India.

1814.....	818,208 yards
1835.....	51,777,277 yards

Here a very relevant question suggests itself. What became of the scores of millions dependent for a livelihood on the cotton industry? According to a witness before this Select Committee, Mr. Andrew Sym, they turned to "agriculture, chiefly." G. G. de H. Larpen, an Englishman, stated: "We have destroyed the manufactures of India," and he quoted Lord William Bentinck's minute of a meeting of the Court of Directors, held on May 30th, 1829: "The sympathy of the Court is deeply excited by the report of the Board of Trade, exhibiting the gloomy picture of the effects of a commercial revolution productive of so much present suffering to numerous classes in India, and hardly to be paralleled in the history of commerce."

But the cotton industry, despite this sympathetic reference, was killed!

till the arrival of the East India Company. Then both characteristics disappeared. The famous English traders were made "the richest corporation in the world," as Lord Clive had anticipated. The East India Company paid 171 per cent per annum on its capital and its stock was so much in demand that a one hundred pound share sold for five hundred pounds. How the East India Company and its corrupt officials acquired the wealth of India is best described by Lord Clive himself: "I shall only say that such a scene of anarchy, confusion, bribery, corruption and extortion was never seen or heard of in any country but Bengal; nor such and so many fortunes acquired in so unjust and rapacious a manner."

Every inhabitant of India, even the cheapest day laborer, had a hoard of diamonds and precious stones. The disappearance of this great wealth is described by Brooks Adams in "The Law of Civilization and Decay": "These hoards, the savings of millions of human beings for centuries, the English seized and took to London, as the Romans had taken the spoils of Greece and Pontus to Italy."

This enormous wealth was, to a large extent, the capital which insured the success of the British Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century. And in a short while England was able to undersell Hindu labor in Calcutta!

The minerals of India could not very well be seized and transported to London. They are, however, with the exception of the coal, largely in the hands of British capital.

Copper is largely distributed all over India. Yet, strange to say, \$10,000,000 worth of that metal is annually imported!

Iron ore is largely distributed all over India. The smelters of Indian olden times turned out the finest steel in the world. As early as 1500 B. C. India was noted for its iron and steel products. Indian steel was highly prized for its fine temper and found a ready sale in the markets of Persia and England.

"No local industry has suffered more from importation than that of iron smelting," writes J. S. Cotton, author of the "Oxford Survey of British Empire."

The Allahabad Leader gives an eloquent explanation. "The exploitation of Indian mineral resources is progressing quickly, but it has to be remembered that nearly all the metal ores are exported for manufacture and that they are imported back into the country in the form of wrought metallic ware for which we have to pay more than twenty times what we get from the export of the ores. In a recent year India exported \$5,000,000 worth of raw minerals, excluding coal, salt, petroleum and salt-petre and imported \$88,000,000 worth of metals and metal manufactures."

India with large coal deposits imports coal, with large copper deposits imports copper, with huge stores of iron ore and but a few smelters!

AGRICULTURE HANDICAPPED! RESULT---FAMINE!

England having destroyed the industries of India and driven her scores of millions of workers back to an arid soil, should, according to every sense of fair play, see that an industry, on which millions of her subjects were dependent for an existence, was fostered and improved.

The reverse is the fact!

Without irrigation agriculture in India is hopeless.

Irrigation is culpably neglected by the government.

With burdensome taxation it means debt and famine.

The government imposes such a huge land tax that the Indians do not get enough to exist upon. There is no surplus left from their crops to tide them over a famine year, and the result is that India is periodically strewn with millions of her dead.

Writing of the expenditures in the District of Bankura on railroads and canals, R. C. Dutt, English writer on Indian problems, states: "The discussion about the comparative merits of canals and railroads was carried on and as might have been expected, preference was given to railroads which facilitated British trade with India and not canals which would have benefited Indian agriculture. Two hundred and twenty-five million pounds were spent in railroads, which resulted not in a profit but in a loss of forty million pounds to the Indian taxpayer up to 1900. And so little were the interests of Indian agriculture appreciated that only twenty-five million pounds were spent on irrigation up to 1900."

The District of Bankura is chronically ravaged by famine, the population dependent on agriculture is increasing and the crop area is decreasing. But irrigation is neglected and preference is given to "railroads which facilitate British trade!"

The government is ever promising that irrigation will

be improved, but that this promise is like all promises of the past is evidenced by the figures of the Indian Budget for 1919-20, published last April. The British Army and railroads ("to facilitate British trade") consume 75.38 per cent of the estimated revenue; 24.62 per cent is left to improve education, irrigation, agriculture, industries and the sciences!

The land tax of India is the direct source of the appalling poverty and consequent famine. It constitutes about 36 per cent of the gross taxation of India. In 1858 on the transference of the administration of India from the East India Company to the Crown the land tax was fixed at half the crop value. In 1909 the government admitted that it had increased 60 per cent in fifty years. The value of the rupee had decreased one-third. The actual increase is therefore 40 per cent. In some districts the tax has amounted to virtual destruction of the entire crop.

THIRTY-TWO MILLION INDIANS HAVE RECENTLY DIED FROM FAMINE AND PLAGUE!

These deaths are directly attributable to the culpable neglect of irrigation by the British Government and the confiscatory land taxation levied upon the hundreds of millions of starving Indians.

"THE BURNING GHATS AND BURIAL GROUNDS OF INDIA ARE LITERALLY SWAMPED WITH CORPSES," said a recent official report.

There is one health officer to every 170,000 people.

There is one hospital to every 70,000 people.

There is one physician to every 3,000 people.

What a terrible indictment of India's alien government!

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

At the end of the century 1800-1900 William Digby, British statistician, estimates the adverse balance of trade against India at \$25,000,000,000!

About 1905 the Swadeshi movement appeared. Its oath ran: "With God as my witness I solemnly declare that from today I shall confine myself, for my personal requirements, to the use of cloth manufactured in India from Indian cotton, silk or wool, that I shall altogether abstain from using foreign cloth and that I shall destroy all foreign cloth in my possession."

The British Government—"the Government of India"—set out to crush the movement at its very inception. The Bengalee of June 27th, 1905, states: "Mr. Lyal, the District Magistrate of Bhagalpur, sent for Sir Mohan Thakur and severely took him to task for accepting the chairmanship of a swadeshi meeting. Babu Surja Prasad, who had accepted the honorary secretaryship, was subpoenaed and warned not to join the movement under any circumstances. Babu Giridhari Sahai, a magistrate and merchant, was not only rebuked and warned against the

consequences, but the despotic magistrate would not let him off until he had extracted from Babu Giridhari a sort of pledge not to allow his son Basant Lal to have anything to do with the swadeshi. Mr. Lyal, not content with this intimidation, preached officially against the swadeshi."

"The Government of India" has not confined its intimidation to magisterial third-degreeing. The police system (the most corrupt in the world, as will be seen later) has terrorized merchants who sought to rehabilitate Indian industries. They have made false charges against merchants refusing to handle British goods and every prominent advocate within the swadeshi movement has felt the heavy hand of the magistrate and the police agent. Printers, students, merchants, lecturers and editors were terrorized and imprisoned for this new crime of advocating the use of Indian manufactured goods.

Reading down the list of punishments imposed for advocating the swadeshi movement during 1906, we run across these items:

April 26—Mohommula of Rajbarighat fined 50 rupees by Subdivisional Magistrate Holmwood for not selling Liverpool salt.

May 2—Madras, 20 students expelled from university for joining a swadeshi meeting. J. Ram Chandra and Hari Sarustham Ram discharged from the educational service for their sympathy with the cause.

April 25—Madras, Harisarothan Rio and 200 students dismissed from Art College for joining a swadeshi meeting.

October 8—Noakhali, a boy of 14, was flogged (20 stripes) by Magistrate Dunlop for shouting Bande-Mataram (Hail, Motherland), the swadeshi rallying cry.

In the face of this official terrorism the renascence of Indian industry has been very slow. The increase of production in the cotton industry is illustrated by the following figures relative to the number of cotton mills and machinery:

Year	Mills	Spindles	Looms
1904.....	191	5,118,121	45,337
1914.....	272	6,898,744	108,009

No statistics are available regarding the other industries.

This is the end of an all too brief review of the governmental murder of the industries of India.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM A BLIGHT

Education makes for free men. So it is no surprise to find Dr. Wm. T. Harris, former United States Commissioner of Education, characterizing England's educational policy in India as "a blight on civilization." He said by declaration of a prominent director of the old (people) of India: "We have just lost America from our folly in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India."

The "Government of India" has faithfully pursued this policy of the early days. The Indian people have been plunged into the most abysmal ignorance. What a change from the olden days. "There was a time when India was rich—immensely rich," says "England's Debt to India," "rich in everything which makes a country great, noble and glorious. Her sons and daughters were distinguished in every walk of life. She produced scholars, thinkers, divines, poets and scientists, whose achievements in their respective spheres were unique in their own times. Some of them remain unique even today. Among her children were sculptors, architects and painters whose work compels admiration and exacts the praise of the most exacting art critics of the modern world. Her law-makers, jurists and sociologists have left behind them codes and ideas of justice inferior to none produced under similar conditions. Under their own codes, the people of India were happy and prosperous."

The educational situation of India today may be judged by the following statistics:

Expenditure on Education per Head.

United States	\$4.00
Switzerland	3.20
Australia	2.82
England and Wales.....	3.20
Canada	2.45
Former German Empire.....	2.53

France	1.07
Japan53
INDIA02 ¹ ₂

Percentage of Literates and Illiterates.

Country	Literates per cent	Illiterates per cent
United States	92.0	8.0
British Isles	97.6	2.4
France	92.5	7.5
Japan	90.0	10.0
Philippines	44.4	55.6
INDIA	8.0	92.0

England keeps Indians in ignorance, then piously asserts that she will give them a share in the government of their country when they are properly educated!

Macaulay, the famous English essayist, perhaps furnishes the best answer to this empty declaration. In his Essay on Milton he says: "Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water till he had learnt to swim. If men are to wait till they have become good and wise in slavery, they may indeed wait forever."

Finally we will again draw on England for an explanation of her educational system in India—"the blight on civilization," as Dr. Harris termed it. After describing the unrest in Bombay following the big strike in April of this year, The London Times comments: "Education City will only accentuate the trouble, for educated men and women will not suffer the conditions now imposed on the Bombay working classes."

Sure! Education and serfdom cannot thrive together in the same land!

INDIA'S "CONTRIBUTION" TO THE WAR AND THE REWARD

When England declared war against Germany, India proved very handy. An Indian army of 200,000 men, the only trained reserve available in the British Empire, was rushed to the front. In the words of Lord Harding, the Viceroy of India, "they filled a gap that could not otherwise be filled." And there are few survivors. "It may be stated without exaggeration," he further declared, "that *India was bled absolutely white during the first few weeks of the war.*" And when the defeat of Turkey was assured, Major General Sir Frederick Maurice wrote in the New York Times on November 6, 1918: "*It is to India that our recent victory is due.*"

India, in addition to supplying 1,100,000 men up to the end of 1916, sold Britain 70,000,000 rounds of ammunition, 60,000 rifles, 1,500,000 tons of wheat and other foodstuffs, 2,250,000 pounds of wool and blankets, 1,500 miles of railway equipment and 250 engines. Smaller quantities of hundreds of other commodities were also traded.

How were these vast supplies paid for?

"THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA" MADE A "GIFT" OF \$500,000,000 TO THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN!

The people of India or their representatives in the Legislative Council of India *were never consulted about it.* The transaction was settled between "the Government of India" and the Secretary of State for India in London and then it was announced to the Legislative Council in India as a "decision." The "Government of India" was to recoup itself by raising the duty on cotton imports four per cent ad valorem and by *additional taxation.* The added duty on cotton imposed an additional burden of \$30,000,000 a year on the taxpayers! We shall quote Lord Harding later as to the effect of the *additional taxation.*

Several liberal publications in England unsparingly condemned this gigantic theft. "*It is we who govern India and not the Indian people,*" protested the Manchester Guardian. "For Mr. Chamberlain to throw upon the people of India the responsibility for originating and devising the \$500,000,000 contribution, and the protective duties connected with it, is as unconvincing a rhetorical excuse as the House of Commons has witnessed for many a long day."

"The people of India have no voice in this or any other act of government," urged the London Nation. "If they had, they would be forced to think twice before contributing out of their *dire poverty* this huge sum to the resources of their wealthy rulers. *It is sheer dishonesty.*"

Lord Harding, explaining the budget containing this "gift", explained that it would "involve a sacrifice in a large measure of the necessities of ordered government. One result must be the *arrested progress in education, in sanitation and in public works and kindred subjects which are in other countries the touchstone of civilized life.*"

Famine and plague stalk through India at this very moment. Yes, Lord Harding, progress has been arrested in India!

What brand of democracy did India enjoy whilst she was being "*bled absolutely white*" in the cause of democracy—and self-determination?

Two hundred newspapers were suppressed during the first ten months of the war. In the first two years 3,000 educators, editors and industrialists were shot, hanged, imprisoned or deported. Cash deposits made by over five hundred printing houses to guarantee that no seditious statements were published were forfeited. The slightest criticism of officialdom was construed as seditious and a vast sum of money forfeited. Wholesale repression was the order of the day and the legislative machinery of the government was busy turning out restrictive legislation.

They found that this only increased the discontent and finally in 1917 the Rowlatt Commission, consisting of Judge Rowlatt of London, a number of Englishmen and a British appointed Indian, investigated and reported that there was a well-organized revolutionary movement in existence. The result was the enactment of two bills—the Rowlatt Bills. *They were enacted despite the unanimous opposition of the people of India.* Moderates, home rulers, extremists, Hindus, Mohammedans joined in one mighty opposition. Nine Indian members of the Legislative Council, after protesting with all their might, resigned. Mahatma Gandhi, former extremist and former home ruler, now advocated a policy of passive resistance and Sunday, April 6th, was fixed for a mighty demonstration. A most binding pledge was exacted from the participants in this passive resistance (*satyagraha*) movement.

The Rowlatt Bills were to be enforced six months after the signing of peace and according to their provisions:

1. Any Indian is subject to arrest without warrant and is subject to unlimited detention without trial.
2. The burthen of proof rests upon the accused.
3. Trial by jury is denied. Right of appeal is denied. *No order under this act shall be called into question in any court and no suit or other legal proceeding shall be against any person for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.*
4. The accused may be convicted of an offense with which he is not charged.
5. The prosecution "*shall not be bound to observe the rules of the law of evidence.*" In other words the testimony of dead, absent and non-existent "witnesses" can be used against a suspect.
6. The accused is denied the right of employing a lawyer or producing witnesses.
7. The authorities are empowered to use "any and every means" in carrying out the law and obtaining confessions. *This undoubtedly means torture.*
8. The accused is given a secret trial. The method of the procedure and the findings of the trial may not be made public.
9. The accused is kept ignorant of the names and is not confronted with his accusers.
10. Any person (*even his or her own family*) voluntarily associating with an ex-political prisoner may be arrested and imprisoned.
11. Any place or home can be searched without warrant.

The intense opposition of the Indian people temporarily centered in the passive resistance movement.

BULLETS VERSUS PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Satyagraha Day, April 6th, arrived. All India mourned. It was a day of humiliation, fasting, prayer and complete cessation of work. No fires were lit. No meals were cooked. Not a wheel moved. Not a shop was open.

The ancient feuds between the various Indian communities were suspended. They are now wiped out. Hindus and Mohammedans, Sikhs and Marwaris, made common cause. In the public square of Calcutta Hindus drank water handed to them by Mohammedans. The latter reciprocated. *In this simple manner was the caste system smashed.* No longer can the alien conqueror use one sect against the other. They are both united against him.

Two hundred thousand people assembled in Calcutta. They marched through the streets, bareheaded, wailing, beating their breasts, crying "Rowlatt Bills, hai, hai" (Down with the Rowlett Bills). When the meeting convened, B. Chakravorty, the principal speaker, demanded that Great Britain redeem the pledge given the people of India when they accepted the late Queen Victoria as their sovereign. He read her proclamation to the people of India: "*We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligation of duty which binds us to all our other subjects and those obligations, by the blessings of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfill.*" The speaker also dilated on the Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights. He forgot that past history taught that treaties were but scraps of paper when small nations like Ireland and Belgium faced mighty empires. Resolutions were passed protesting against the enforcement of the Rowlett Bills, and the assemblage dispersed peacefully, despite the fact that missiles were thrown at a contingent from the Bristol Hotel.

In Delhi, where one hundred thousand people demonstrated, the military fired on the paraders. In many of the large centers shops, owned by passive resisters, were

opened at the point of the bayonet; when meetings were convened it was found that the speakers had been deported during the previous night and in many communities active organizers were publicly flogged on the pretext that they tore down government notices.

Then came the calm before the storm. On the 11th of April all India went on strike. It was peaceful. The people were told by their leaders not to exact vengeance for the murdered of Satyagraha Day. Mahatma Gandhi repeated his exhortation: "*Bear any abuse, any insult, any violence, any suffering, even unto death, without hatred, without resistance as brave men, as martyrs determined to maintain the truth at all cost.*" The fraternization of the first great demonstration still continued. Hindus went to Mohammedan mosques and prayed in Mohammedan style. The latter prayed in Hindu temples. Transportation was paralyzed. In a few instances where trains and street cars were running the people threw themselves down on the tracks and compelled them to stop.

Aeroplanes dispersed the crowds with bombs and machine guns. In Calcutta the demonstrators were mown down with machine gun fire. At Lahore 400 students were fired upon because they refused "to move on." Martial law was proclaimed. Public whippings became the order of the day. The authorities in the Punjab ordered that the shops be opened and in the event of refusal, the owners were ordered fined, imprisoned and whipped. Passive resistance went! Revolution came. Gandhi ordered the suspension of the movement and a seventy-two hour fast in atonement for the violence, which he blamed on himself and his policy.

All India is in open revolution! The censor has clamped down the wires. Like the Sinn Feiners of Ireland, the Indians are drilling without arms and guerrilla warfare is in progress. The policies of the moderate and passive resistance parties have been blown to bits by British bombs and India is united in demanding self-determination.

REFORM BILL TOTALLY INADEQUATE

Uninformed people are indignant today that India should attempt the physical destruction of British rule at a moment when Britain is anxious to "confer a large measure of self-government" on the Indian people.

These are the same people who were deceived by the Home Rule bogey in Ireland. England never meant to give Ireland Home Rule. Her politicians spoke eloquently about it. *They put it on the statute book of Britain, but it never reached Ireland. The Irish have taken their independence by ignoring all parliamentary pitfalls.* India must depend on herself the same as Ireland does and not look to any alien conqueror for justice.

The Montagu reform scheme practically amounts to nothing.

1. The Governor-General of India and the Executive

Council of Six are appointed by the Secretary of State for India.

2. The Council of State consists of 29 *nominated* and 21 *elected* members. The government determines the qualifications for membership.

3. The Legislative Assembly consists of 100 members, two-thirds elected and one-third nominated. The government determines the qualifications of the voters electing the two-thirds.

4. The Legislative Assembly cannot pass any legislation rejected or disapproved by the Council of State, but the Council of State can pass any measure rejected or disapproved by the former.

5. The Legislative Assembly cannot change or modify the Budget, which must be accepted as framed by the executive.

6. All laws are subject to the consent of the Governor-General.

7. The power of veto will be vested in the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India.

8. Rules governing the procedure for the transaction of business will be made by the Governor-General and the Executive Council. No change can be made without the sanction of the Governor-General.

9. The Governor-General will have power to dissolve either the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly.

Where is the self-government here?

All power is centered in the appointive officials of the British Crown.

THE FINANCES OF INDIA ARE IN THE ABSOLUTE CONTROL OF BRITAIN!

The laws of India are subject to the whim of Britain.

This brings us down to the present hour.

What does the future hold for India?

That, only time will determine. The defeats of today

and yesterday are ever the lot of the aspirant to liberty. We drink bitter chalices, we who toil upward to the goal of the freeman. We are persecuted both by the tyrants of the throne and the counting house and by the unthinking of our own brothers who are deceived by the specious falsehoods of our rulers.

But we must not harken to our weary spirit or to the bitter whip of adversity.

Rather let us believe with the immortal Byron:

"They never die who fall
In a great cause. The block may soak their gore,
Their heads may rotten in the sun, their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls.
But still their spirit walks around."

Though years
Elapse and others share as dark a doom,
They but augment the deep and sweeping thought
Which overpowers all others and turns the world
At last to freedom."

TORTURE AND RAPE OF NATIVES BUT SLIGHTLY PENALIZED

From the Calcutta Bengalee, May 2nd, 1919: "At the Southern Police Court on yesterday, Mr. Swinhoe, Chief Presidency Magistrate, passed orders after hearing 'in camera' the case in which K. Morgan was charged under Sections 448, 426 and 354, I. P. C., with criminally assaulting Miss L. Elloy, an Anglo-Indian girl. The accused was fined one hundred rupees (\$30) with the alternative of a month's imprisonment."

From "Why India is in revolt against British Rule," (1916): "On December 7th, the assistant station-master at Rawalpindi outraged the modesty of a girl in the waiting room and thereupon the wronged girl, named Viranwate, committed suicide. Mr. Moore was simply dismissed from the service. On February 17th at Barrackpur Cantonment Station, a girl of 18, named Kamala,

was waylaid by William James Walker and assaulted. He was fined two hundred rupees. On March 28th, a girl of 20, named Girabala, was outraged by six soldiers at Jhalakati and all of them went free with loss of rank only."

From the Amrita Bazar of March 11th, 1919: "The Allahabad High Court today dismissed the appeal of Lieutenant C. N. Maclorron (McLaren?). He was convicted of torturing two native servants and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. The prosecution proved that the defendant took two native servants, suspected of theft, to a golf links and after binding and gagging them, heated a poker in a charcoal stove and then, when it was red-hot, branded his victims on the bare soles of their feet and on their ears."

"CORRUPT AND INEFFICIENT" POLICE TO ENFORCE ROWLATT BILLS

In a few short months from now the Rowlatt Bills will be in force in India. The police system of India will enforce them. Do you know anything of the police system of India? If you don't, read these criticisms passed on that institution by a special commission appointed by Lord Curzon, when he was Viceroy of India:

"The Commission regrets to report that they have the strongest evidence of the corruption and inefficiency of the great mass of investigating officers of the higher grades. The forms of corruption are very numerous. It manifests itself in every stage of the work of the police station. ***

"What wonder is it that the people are said to dread the police and to do all they can to avoid any connection with a police investigation? Deliberate association with criminals in their gains, and deliberately false charges against innocent persons on the ground of private spite

or village faction, deliberate torture of suspected persons and other most flagrant abuses constantly occur. ***

"The moral pressure is often of the most serious character and though leaving no marks of physical violence, it amounts to very effective torture. ***

"The practice of working for confessions is still exceedingly common. On the one hand it leads to gross abuse of power; and on the other hand, quite inexplicable instances occur of innocent people making 'confessions'!"

The thought of the endowment of this body of conscienceless men with the plenary powers conferred by the Rowlatt Bills makes one's blood boil.

We could publish instances of gruesome torture inflicted on natives by these officials and proven before this commission, but we prefer quoting the British Government.

IRISH CONVENTION PROTESTS AGAINST DEPORTATIONS

The California State Convention of the Sons of Irish freedom on July 6th, passed the following resolution unanimously:

"Whereas, The United States of America has, since it gained its independence from Great Britain in 1776, extended the principle of political asylum to countless European patriots, who fled from the wrath of tyrannical governments, and this policy has been pursued without question till this date, and

"Whereas, The people of India, like the people of Ireland, have been compelled by intolerable conditions, both economic and political, to challenge the right of Great Britain in preventing India by armed force from asserting her right to national self-government, and

"Whereas, Many of these Hindus, forced to seek refuge in this country, are now facing deportation proceed-

ings, which, if carried out, will result in their instant execution by a British firing squad, India being now governed by martial law; therefore

"Be it resolved, That we, the delegates accredited to this convention by the Irish Societies of the State of California, do hereby emphatically protest against the carrying out of these deportations and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the organizations represented here for their adoption, to the Senators and Congressmen for the State of California and to the San Francisco daily press."

Office Employes' Association No. 13188, Street Railway Employes' No. 518 and numerous other San Francisco labor unions also passed resolutions, differently worded, condemning the proposed deportations.

BRITISH LABOR CONDEMNS INDIAN OUTRAGES

(From LONDON DAILY HERALD, April 24, 1919.)

"We, the undersigned, appeal to our fellow countrymen and women to give thought and attention to the condition of affairs in India. That country, which contains 315 millions of human beings, is at present ruled by a handful of officials whose gross incompetence and ignorance have brought these peaceful, law-abiding people to the verge of open, undisguised revolution.

"Indians ask the same rights, the same duties, the same recognition as Siberia, Poland, and other small European peoples. The bureaucrats of India reply with a Coercion Act which robs Indians of all freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of public meeting.

Indians are unarmed, yet they are bombed from aeroplanes and shot down with machine guns.

"We cannot believe our countrymen and women understand these things, neither do we think they realize that these autocratic methods place in jeopardy the lives of thousands of British men, women and children.

"We therefore ask you to join us in our protest against the bombing and shooting of unarmed men and women, and in our demand for a public inquiry into these outrages, the complete withdrawal of the Coercion Bills, and the immediate introduction of self-government, giving to the millions of Indians the same rights as now enjoyed by Canada, Australia and Africa.

"ROBERT WILLIAMS,

ROBERT SMILLIE,

GEORGE LANSBURY."

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR JOINS PROTEST

Just as this pamphlet goes to press, we are informed that Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, will interview President Woodrow Wilson, as soon as possible, and present Mr. Wilson with a brief, prepared by the Friends of Freedom for India, protesting against the deportations. This gratifying action is the result of a thorough investigation of the merits of the fight against the deportations, made by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at the request of the recent Atlantic City convention.

We take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to Robert Morss Lovett, President of the Friends of Freedom for India; Frank P. Walsh and Dudley Field Malone, the Vice-Presidents; Miss Agnes Smedley, Secretary, and Louis P. Lochner, Treasurer, for the invaluable work they accomplished in putting the case against the deportations before the public in so successful a manner. We invite Eastern friends to co-operate with them at 7 East Fifteenth St., New York.

We regret the limitations imposed on us in getting our case to the public. Our finances are limited. Our influence in this country is so small as to be almost zero. Yet we believe that the American public will weigh the facts and discount the subsidized campaign conducted against us by Britain. Our lives are in danger. And in this connection we will state we are as eager to protect Gobind Behari Lal from deportation as any of ourselves. He has been marked out for the supreme sacri-

fice. The same principle applies to him and his case.

Friends and sympathizers can obtain free copies of this pamphlet at our office, 5 Wood St., San Francisco, Calif.

Published by the
HINDUSTAN GADAR PARTY.



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India in Revolt

FAMINE AND MILITARISTIC TERRORISM FORCE REVOLUTION

By Ed. Gammons

Your Mention of Martial Law Really Makes My Flesh Creep. Martial Law Is Only a Fine Name for the Suspension of All Law. It May Be Necessary for Anything, I Know, Some Day or Other, but Today It Would Be Neither More nor Less Than a Gigantic Advertisement of National Failure." Letter from Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, to Lord Minto, then Viceroy of India, dated February 3, 1910. (By permission of the Macmillan Co. from "Morley's Recollections." Copyright 1917 by the Macmillan Co.)

"Throughout the Broad Miles of India, Men Will Harbor a Just Resentment Against the Infringement of Acknowledged Principle of Right, the Defiance of Established Canons of Justice and the Contemptuous Disregard of Public Opinion, Which Vainly Protested Against the Deprivation by the Authorities of the Right of Competent and Unfettered Defense for Accused Persons. Those Who Have Been Convicted Have Been Subjected to Sentences, Which Are Brutal Exhibitions of Superior Force, Unredeemed by One Tinge of Judicial Balance." Eardley Norton, British legal authority, in the Calcutta Bengalee, July 30, 1919.

There seems to be practically no doubt of the existence of a revolution in India. A provisional government has been established in Cabul, the capital of Afghanistan, according to Reuter's News Agency, with Professor Barkatullah, formerly of the Tokio Imperial University, as the leading member. The governments of both Afghanistan and Russia, the dispatch added, expressed their desire to help. On August 25th in London, Sir Harrington Verney Lovett, a former Indian official, warned the Parliamentary Committee in charge of the Montagu Reform Bill that "the Indian extremists are increasing rapidly and a strong lead from England is necessary to protect from ruin both British and Indian interests."

The causes of the revolution are: (1) the long and

continued misgovernment of India; (2) the enactment of the Rowlatt Bills and the drastic punishment of the protesting Indians, and (3) Mahomedan dissatisfaction arising out of the dismemberment of the Empire of Turkey and the provisions of the peace treaty. A few people, including Mrs. Annie Besant, trot out the well-worn bogey "Bolshevik gold," but those in touch with the Indian situation find the cause of the enormous discontent rather in the burial grounds of India "literally swamped with corpses" as the British official report stated it, in the wholesale public whippings and terrifying sentences of the courts-martial and in the widespread terrorism practiced in every province of India by the British satrapy.

ROWLATT BILLS PRECIPITATE REVOLUTION

The infamous Rowlatt Bills, depriving an accused of the right of a trial by jury, of producing witnesses, of hiring legal defense, and legalizing torture, created a whirlwind of revolt. The Rowlatt Commission, which framed these bills, stated that the discontent throughout India necessitated these ultra-restrictive measures. The real cause, careful observers state, was their fear that "There will, especially in the Punjab, be a large number of disbanded soldiers, among whom it may be possible to stir up discontent." These Indian soldiers, like the soldiers of many other nations, were told that the winning of the war meant "world-wide democracy" and the government very wisely thought that the sight of thirty-two millions of graves of Indians, who starved to death in ten months whilst "India's exportation of cereals was maintained at an even higher level than in 1917-18 when she shipped abroad 5,400,000 tons," according to the London Times, was a mighty poor demonstration of the working out of a benevolent democracy! The epidemic of starvation suicides which recently occurred in India cannot be labeled discontent. And the wholesale exportation of grain at the same time cannot

fail to excite thought—at least among the starving.

The starving hundreds of millions of Indians are not and were not armed to the extent that they could take the field against Britain. According to the official figures of the British Government in 1917 there was one firearm to every ten square miles, to one man in every 1800 persons and to every four villages or towns. The importation of arms is impossible. With British guns watching the passes in the north, naval guns covering the seaports, a "British sphere of influence" on one side (unfortunate Persia) and partitioned China on the other other, there is no access to any friend.

India is hemmed in. The only possible revolution is a national strike. That is about what is occurring. Hindu and Mahomedan are united and are staying united despite every trick and manoeuvre of the common enemy. For British provocateurs desecrate Hindu and Mahomedan temples of worship in efforts to embroil these once warring factions.

We will now examine the workings of the courts-martial and the identity of their victims.

MARTIAL LAW BRUTALITIES

The substitution of martial law for the common jurisprudence was an act of panic. The subsequent sentences and unprovoked massacres proved this. It was mass terrorism. It seemed as if the British Government considered that the Indian people had suffered the limit, that the disappearance of every hope of the amelioration of the country's condition had driven home the fact that the continuance of British rule meant national extinction, and that only a display of ruthless force, with firing squads, aerial bombing and machine gun massacre, could avert a general revolution. That policy is in full sway, but it has only intensified the discontent and, as Lord Morley predicted nearly ten years ago, the drumhead court-martial is "neither more nor less than a gigantic advertisement of national failure."

In the Punjab the administration of martial law embraces everything. In Lahore everything comes within its purview. All the students of the local college must report four times a day to Lieut.-Colonel Frank Johnson. Three local leaders were arrested and threatened with deportation for the offense of preparing a telegram of protest to be sent to the Secretary of State for India in England. The local military satraps even go into the business of price-fixing. This innova-

tion has a two-fold effect. It allays economic discontent, occasioned by the exceedingly high prices, and it is fatal to the business of nationalist merchants, who participated in the satyagraha (passive resistance) protest against the enactment of the Rowlatt Bills, thereby incurring the disapprobation of local officialdom. Young boys playing tip-cat on the streets drew sentences of seven years. They were considered drilling in order "to wage war against his Majesty the Emperor of India" (George the Fifth of England). In Lyallpur the natives were commanded to descend from their elephants and all other modes of conveyances and salaam to "gazetted European or civil or military officers of His Majesty's services." This extraordinary order was issued by Lieut.-Colonel C. S. Hodgson. One or more Indians were transported for life for the offense of burning the effigy of a government detective. Enraged natives beat an English woman school-teacher in Amritsur. Seven were hanged for it and one sentenced to life imprisonment. Men were whipped into insensibility in the streets of Lahore for the most trivial offenses. Accused persons were denied the right of choosing their counsel, even the nominated counsel were forbidden to take notes of the evidence and newspaper men were rigidly excluded.

MACHINE GUNS MOW DOWN PROTESTANTS

The Amritsur massacre last April enraged all India. The British communique read: "This meeting was dispersed by a small force of Indian troops. The casualties were heavy." The casualties were indeed heavy. After the machine guns finished, 1600, out of the 6000 unarmed people attending the meeting, lay on the ground dead and wounded. On May 28th, Secretary of State Montagu reported in the House of Commons that disturbances in the Punjab resulted in the deaths of eight Europeans and four hundred Indians. These two British reports, one vague probably because of the heavy slaughter, and the other definite, are convincing proof that the Indians are not responsible for this saturnalia of blood and terror. It is difficult to get data on the number of all those killed by the British. Rada Krishna, an editor in the Punjab, was recently sentenced to four years' imprisonment for

publishing native reports of the shooting down of demonstrators in Delhi by the British on Satyagraha Day, April 6th. The native press is so completely under the thumb of the government that it is practically impossible to get any news from it. Since the establishment of martial law in the Punjab, 73 have been sentenced to death, 147 have received sentences of from ten years to life imprisonment, 204 have been sentenced to terms varying from six months to fourteen years, 20 papers have been suppressed and the public floggings have been innumerable. The details of the Amritsur massacre have been gleaned by lifting the corner of the curtain. What lies beyond is hidden by the censor. Imperialism after the war is the same as it was before the war, grasping, greedy, relentless and ruthless. It needs closed doors and censors to hide its cruelties and real character from a revolting world.

VICTIMS FROM EVERY GRADE OF SOCIETY

Religious and social reformers, captains of industry, bank managers, proprietors and editors of newspapers, college presidents and professors, barristers at law—all of those are represented in the victims of the latest attack on India. In Gujranwala, the Punjab, last April twenty of the most prominent citizens, including six barristers, were marched in irons through the principal streets on their way to jail. Instead of minimizing the discontent, this public degradation of the best citizens of Gujranwala but incensed the populace and the result was wholesale arrests.

The most prominent victim of the imperialistic terrorists in the Punjab was Lala Harkishan Lal, the leader of the constitutionalist party in that province for upwards of twenty years, and familiarly referred to as the Indian Napoleon of Finance. He was active for many years in organizing native banks in opposition to British financial interests and became a marked man in consequence. He has been transported for life to the Andaman Island penal colony for "waging war against

His Majesty the Emperor of India," and all his property declared forfeited. His offense was keeping shops closed in protest against the enactment of the Rowlatt Bills and feeding the poor who depended for provisions on the shops.

Shankar Lal, secretary of the Delhi Home Rule League, an active newspaper editor and prominent leader of the Swadeshi industrial movement, has been arrested without warrant. Shankar Lal started many Swadeshi Co-Operative Stores, despite the warnings of government officials, and will doubtless pay the price.

Manohar Lal, during his term, carried off the highest honors in Cambridge University in economics. He is (or was) professor of Political Economy in the University of Calcutta. He was seized without warrant and thrown into a cell, six feet by nine. His fate is unknown.

Kali Nath Roy, editor of the *Lahore Tribune*, was sentenced to three years for telling the truth about the Rowlatt Bills and the way England machine-gunned

Indian protestants. A vigorous agitation caused the reduction of the sentence to three months.

Shahbaz Akhgar, editor of *The Punjabi*, is ordered "to abstain from sending or receiving personally or through a third party, by post or by telegraph, or by hand or by any other means, direct or indirect, any written communication, or other matter of like nature, to or from any person, whether within India or without, until such communication shall have been seen by the Deputy Commissioner of this district."

Such are the terrible criminals of this least criminal country in the world and such is the freedom of the press under the British flag in this year of the new "democracy."

If Prussianism means the murder of the unarmed, the coldly-calculated starvation to death of inoffensive millions, the utter negation of democracy—then this military despotism has but moved from beneath the Black Eagles of Prussia to the royal standard of Great Britain.

India, unarmed physically, but with high resolve and unflinching soul, will not submit. The blood of the starving peasantry cries out to the world that might is not, and never will be, right, and that a new generation, undeceived by the despoiling diplomacy of today, will set up new ideals and new standards of universal probity and peace.

God speed that day!

LORD MORLEY ON BRITISH TERRORISM IN INDIA

Through the courtesy of the Macmillan Publishing Company of New York, we are enabled to reproduce from Lord Morley's Recollections, copyright 1917 by the Macmillan Company, a few passages illustrative of British rule in India. Lord Morley was Secretary of State for India, 1905-1910, and keenly recognized his responsibilities. Cynical at times, he often revolted against the military terrorism practiced against an enslaved defenseless people.

The first paragraph is Lord Morley's estimate of the personnel of the Indian nationalist movement in 1905. The remaining paragraphs are culled from letters to Lord Minto, Viceroy of India during Lord Morley's term as Secretary of State:

"The danger arose from a mutiny, not of sepoys about greased cartridges, but of educated men armed with modern ideas supplied from the noblest arsenals and proudest trophies of English literature and English oratory." Vol. 2, Page 154.

"Shall I confess that I read one paragraph in your letter with a touch of mystification? It is where you say that you are in India, are face to face with risks that you 'cannot express to people at home without being looked on as an alarmist.' But what people at home? Not wise people; and as for foolish people, who cares?" Vol. 2, Page 199. Date, 1-18-07.

"Then — is said to have sentenced some political offenders (so called) to be flogged. That, I am advised, is not authorised by the law, either as it stood, or as it will stand under flogging provisions as amended. . . . Here also I have called for the papers, and we shall see. — said to me this morning, 'You see the great executive officers never like or trust lawyers.' 'I'll tell you why,' I said, 'it is because they don't like or trust law: they, in their hearts, believe before all else the virtues of will and arbitrary power.'" Vol. 2, Page 257. Date, 5-7-08.

"I must confess to you that I am watching with the deepest concern, and dismay the thundering sentences that are now being passed for sedition, etc. I read today that stone-throwers in Bombay are getting twelve months! *This is really outrageous.* The sentences on the two Tinnevelly-Tuticorin men are wholly indefensible—one gets transportation for life, the other for ten years. . . . Such sentences! They cannot stand. . . . We must keep order, but excess of severity is not the path to order. On the contrary, it is the path to the bomb." Vol. 2, Pages 269-70. Date, 7-2-08.

"I wish you would in your next letter tell me the end of the story of the young Corporal, who in a fit of excitement, shot the first Native he met. What happened to the Corporal? Was he put on his trial? Was he hanged? I cannot but honor Curzon for his famous affair with the Ninth Lancers, so far as I have correctly heard the story. If we are not strong enough to prevent murder, then our pharisaic glorification of the stern justice of the British Raj is nonsense. . . . On the other hand it is idle for us to pretend to the natives that we wish to understand their sentiment. . . . and yet silently acquiesce in all these violent sentences. You will say to me 'These legal proceedings are at bottom acts of war against rebels and locking a rebel up for life is more affable and polite than blowing him from a gun: you must not measure such sentences by the ordinary standards of a law-court; they are the natural and proper penalties for Mutiny and the Judge on the bench is really the Provost-Marshal in disguise.' Well, be it so. But if you push me into a position of this sort—and I don't deny that it is a perfectly tenable position, if you like—then I'll drop reforms. I won't talk any more about the New Spirit of the Times and I'll tell Asquith that I'm not the man for the work." Vol. 2, Pages 272-3. Date, 8-19-08.

TAGORE'S RENUNCIATION OF HIS KNIGHTHOOD

"The enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab for quelling some local disturbances has, with a rude shock, revealed to our minds the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India. The disproportionate severity of the punishments inflicted upon the unfortunate people and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced, are without parallel in the history of civilized governments, barring some conspicuous exceptions, recent and remote. Considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population, disarmed and resourceless, by a power which has the most terribly efficient organization for the destruction of human lives, we must strongly assert that it can claim no moral expediency, far less moral justification. The accounts of insults

and sufferings, undergone by our brothers in the Punjab, have trickled through the gagged silence, reaching every corner of India, and the universal agony of indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers,—possibly congratulating themselves for imparting, what they imagine as, salutary lessons. The time has come when badges of honor make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation, and I for my part wish to stand shorn of all special distinctions by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so-called insignificance, are liable to suffer a degradation not fit for human beings." Extract from letter of Rabindranath Tagore to Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy of India, resigning his title of knighthood.

BRITISH ADMISSIONS OF INDIAN MISGOVERNMENT

INDUSTRIAL STAGNATION

Question. What is the policy of the British Government regarding the industrial growth of India and why has India's textile trade become almost extinct?

Answer. "British policy in India is British trade." William Pitt in 1784.

"The mills of Paisley and Manchester were created by the sacrifice of Indian manufacture. Had India been independent she could have retaliated. This act of self-defense was not permitted her. She was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced on her without paying any duty. 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." Mills' "History of British India."

EDUCATION

Question. Had India a civilization before British rule was established there?

Answer. "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." Edward Blake.

Question. Why are the Indian people now 92 per cent illiterate, and why did the British Government spend but \$18,115,000 on Indian education in 1917, whilst the fund for English education was increased by \$19,145,000?

Answer. "We have just lost America from our folly in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India." Director of East India Company.

"The Hindu has such a prodigious memory and is so clever at examinations that the Englishman cannot stand up against him." Wm. Archer (Pro-British) in his "India and the Future."

"Education, which will probably be free and compulsory in Bombay City, will only accentuate the trouble, for educated men and women will not suffer the conditions now imposed on the Bombay working classes." London Times.

INCREASING POVERTY

Question. Why is India "steadily growing poorer?"

Answer. "The increasing poverty of India is due to many causes, primarily the decay of handicrafts and the substitution of foreign for home manufacture. A further cause is the drain from the country. The home charges increase from year to year. The annual drafts from India to Great Britain, at a moderate computation, amount to thirty million pounds. (Note. Roughly \$150,000,000.) It can never be to the advantage of the people of India to remit annually this enormous sum to a foreign country." Sir Henry Cotton in "New India." Pages 113-115. 1916.

Question. What is meant by home charges?

Answer. "In home charges for the India Office (in London); for recruiting (in Great Britain for soldiers to serve in India); for civil and military pensions (to men now living in England, who were formerly in the Indian service); for pay and allowances on furlough (to men on visits to England); for private remittances and consignments (from India to England); from interest on Indian debt

(paid to parties in England); and for interest on railway and other works (paid to shareholders in England), there is annually drawn from India and spent in the United Kingdom a sum calculated at from twenty-five millions to thirty millions of pounds." The late Alfred Webb, member of the British House of Commons.

INDIAN FAMINES

Question. India produces large quantities of food stuffs. Why then do her people starve? What is the state of affairs there now?

Answer. "Indian famines are famines of money, not of food." Lord George Hamilton.

"India is more liable to devastation by famine than other countries because India is steadily growing poorer. There are 70,000,000 of continually hungry people in India." Sir William Digby, C. I. E.

"Famine is a providential remedy for over-population." British Official to Wm. J. Bryan.

"The government land-tax assessment does not leave enough food to the cultivator to support himself and his family throughout the year." Sir William Hunter.

"Appalling conditions prevail throughout India. 32,000,000 deaths (May, 1918—March, 1919) have occurred already. 150,000,000 are on the verge of starvation. Plague and famine are rampant. Death stalks throughout the land. Existing conditions are unparalleled elsewhere in the history of the world. They are indescribable and ghastly. The cities are peopled by emaciated humanity. Traffic has ceased, mails are undelivered and business is at a standstill." Toronto Times and Toronto Globe. April 24th and 26th, 1919. (Note. The Canadian Government immediately suppressed these reports. They were deemed to constitute "tactless publicity.")

INDIA PAYS FOR ITS SUBJUGATION

Question. What is the Indian army used for, why do army estimates increase so much, and who pays for the army's maintenance?

Answer. "Perhaps the most striking testimony to the virtue of benevolent despotism is seen in the employment of native races to fight our battles for us. . . . By a master stroke of genius we utilise them to still further extend and also to defend the Empire. It is very largely in this way that our Indian Empire has been built up." J. G. Goddard, member of the British House of Commons.

"The Indian divisions arrived in France in time to fill a gap that could not otherwise be filled and there consecrated with their blood the unity of India with the British Empire. There are a few survivors of those two splendid divisions." Lord Harding in House of Lords. July, 1917.

"India was bled absolutely white during the first few weeks of the war." Lord Harding in the House of Lords.

"Justice demands that England should pay a portion of the cost of the great Indian army maintained in India for Imperial rather than Indian purposes. This has not yet been done and famine-stricken India is being bled for the maintenance of England's world-wide Empire." The late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, former Prime Minister of England. (Note. This criticism of the dead Prime Minister is as applicable today as the day he uttered it.)



GOPAL SINGH,
Secty. Gadar Party.

EAMONN DE VALERA,
President of Ireland.

ED GAMMONS,
Western Secty. F. F. I.

GADAR PARTY HONORS PRESIDENT DE VALERA

One of the most interesting functions participated in by Eamonn De Valera, President of the Irish Republic, during his visit to San Francisco, was the presentation to him by Gopal Singh and Jagat Singh, representing the Hindustan Gadar Party, of a handsomely engraved sword and a large silk flag of the Irish Republic. The sword was of silver with the following engraving: "Presented to Eamonn De Valera, President of the Irish Republic, by the Hindustan Gadar Party of America. San Francisco, U. S. A., July 21, 1919." The flag was made of pure silk, six feet wide and nine feet long.

Ed Gammons, Secretary of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Friends of Freedom for India, read the following address:

To Eamonn De Valera,
President of the Irish Republic.

Greeting! On behalf of the Hindustan Gadar Party, we bid you a hearty welcome. We have a common cause and a common enemy. Both of our nations have indisputable claims to nationhood.

The Indian question almost parallels the Irish one. England destroyed the industries of both our countries, because they conflicted with her own. She has watched our people perish by preventable famine. She has sought by the suppression of our languages and customs to make "happy English children" of the youth of India and Ireland. She has violated every covenant made with our peoples. She has kept us in subjection by bayonet, martial law and the perpetuation of internal differences. Her underground dungeons and unprovoked assassinations are common to both countries. We were stripped of our foodstuffs during the late war, so that democracy of Britain had added considerably more than a million miles to her already bloated empire. These are but a few of the counts in our common accusation.

If the ingenuous Cromwell and the historian Lecky shall quote Britishers on the spoliation of India ining of the operations of the East India Company in Bengal, Lord Clive stated: "I shall only say that such a scene of anarchy, confusion, corruption and extortion was never seen or heard of in any country but Bengal; nor such and so many fortunes acquired in so unjust or rapacious manner." In recent times, Lord Morley, himself an Indian official, was incensed at the brutality of Indian officialdom. "Your mention of martial law makes my flesh creep," he once wrote Lord Minto, then Viceroy of India. "Martial law is in reality the absence of all law." The misgovernment of India began the day the first British official landed there and shall doubtless continue till the last one departs.

It is extremely regrettable that an influential section of the American press finds time to slight both our causes. Pick up these publications and whilst we find boastings of the gigantic bank clearings and unlimited prosperity of modern America, we turn to the news columns to find that thirty millions of Britain's subjects in India have perished from hunger and plague and that the crimes charged against the late Prussian Empire are being daily duplicated in Ireland. Is it so very difficult to imagine that if George Washington and the men of Valley Forge had not expelled Britain, nearly one hundred and fifty years ago, the gigantic bank clearings of today would be but an evanescent dream, famine would follow the disappearance of our foodstuffs and that the Prussianlike atrocities practiced in Ireland would be a daily characteristic of British domination in America?

The Irish people of America have joined the labor movements of the world in protesting against the barbarities recently practiced against our people by Britain, and, but a few weeks ago, the California Convention of the Friends of Irish Freedom unanimously adopted a resolution of protest against the proposed deportation of several of our countrymen into the hands of a British firing squad in India.

We are very appreciative of this support and we are more than gratified at your consenting to accept this small testimonial of our sympathy with the Irish people in their struggle for freedom. We congratulate them on electing as their chief executive—not a man skilled in the diplomatic sophistry of yesterday and unfortunately of today also—but one who has proved his mettle on the field of battle, one who means what he says and says what he means.

Please convey to the Dail Eireann and the Irish People on your return our cordial greetings and our sincere hope that their splendid fight for freedom will be indorsed by the whole world.

THE HINDUSTAN GADAR
PARTY OF AMERICA.
San Francisco, Cal. GOPAL SINGH.
July 21, 1919. JAGAT SINGH.

President De Valera replied:

"I thank you for your splendid presentation and I gladly accept it. I take it that the sword represents the sacred idea of the struggle of both our countries for their freedom and the sword is really a sacred weapon when used in such a righteous cause."

"India is at a big disadvantage in her fight because of the monopolization of the avenues of public information by British interests. India's story is in that way sup-

pressed to a large extent. The Irish are luckier. Our men and women are scattered all over the world and everywhere they tell the story of Ireland's oppression and exploitation.

"You have one big advantage though. That is your numbers. With your hundreds of millions organized you could quickly gain your independence. That is your great problem—organization! Of course England will seek to perpetuate internal differences, magnify them if at all possible and then say that she must stay in India to maintain order. That's an old game of hers. But you must forget internal differences and customs in order to present a united front to the enemy. Everything should be sacrificed in the interest of unity."

"The Irish People recognize the justice of your fight and are heartily with you. Your cause is just. The democratic forces of the world stand behind you."

For almost half an hour President De Valera discussed every phase of the Indian situation with the deputation. He surprised his visitors by his thorough knowledge of Indian problems. When told that the recent massacres of unarmed Indians, who were protesting against the enactment of the infamous Rowlatt Bills, had solidly united Mohammedan and Hindu against the British Government, he expressed keen satisfaction. "That's good news," he said. "I'm very glad to hear it."

The deputation then withdrew after a cordial good-bye.

BRITISH PROMISES AND BRITISH PERFORMANCES

The agitation for the emasculation of the Montagu reform scheme now in progress, is not a surprise to India. British promises to India are not made to be kept. They are dictated by political expediency and afterwards conveniently forgotten.

Prior to the crowning of King George the Fifth as Emperor of India, on December 12, 1911, there was considerable unrest. This was partially allayed by a "momentous dispatch," sent to the Marquis of Crewe, Secretary of State for India, by Lord Harding, the Governor-General of India.

"It is certain that in the course of time," said Lord Harding, "the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of their country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a larger measurement of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting its functions to matters of Imperial concern."

BRITISH PROMISES AND BRITISH PERFORMANCES

After the "King-Emperor" had returned to Buckingham Palace and whilst Indian "moderates" were still enthusing over the pledged word of the "mother country," the Marquis Crewe glibly repudiated Lord Harding's pledge in an uncompromising speech in the House of Lords on June 24th, 1912.

"There is a certain section in India," he said, "which looks forward to a measure of self-government approaching to that which has been granted to the Dominions. *I see no future for India along these lines. The experiment of a measure of self-government, practically free from parliamentary control, to a race which is not our own, even though that race enjoys the advantages of the best services of men belonging to our race, is one which cannot be tried.* It is my duty as Secretary of State to repudiate the idea that Lord Harding's dispatch implies anything of the kind as the hope or goal of the policy of the Government."

On July 29th, in another speech in the House of Lords, the Marquis of Crewe emphasized his stand. "The maintenance and perpetual continuance of British rule is the best way of securing the happiness of the Indian people," he stated.

What an excellent example of what Nietzsche terms *master morality!*

CHRISTIAN ENGLAND'S DEBUT IN PAGAN INDIA

"Very soon after the battle of Plassey (1757) the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London. Probably since the world began, no investment has yielded the profit from the Indian plunder. The amount of treasure wrung from the conquered people and transferred from India to English banks between Plassey and Waterloo (fifty-seven years) has been variously estimated at from \$2,500,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000.

The methods of embezzlement and plunder, by which every Briton in India enriched himself during the earlier history of the East India Company gradually passed away, but the drain did not pass away. The difference between the earlier day and the present is that India's tribute to England is obtained by 'indirect methods' under forms of law." Adam Brooks in *Laws of Civilization and Decay*.

SLAVERY COSTS MORE THAN INDEPENDENCE

In 1918-19 India paid almost four times as much for her army employed "to still further extend and defend the Empire" than Japan, an independent nation, did on her army employed to advance the interests of Japan.

Indian Army.....	\$219,750,000.
Japanese Army.....	57,306,500.

SHIPBUILDING ABOLISHED

India, being an old maritime nation, built her own ships. In 1857 she turned out 34,286 ships with a tonnage of 1,219,958 tons. In 1863 England, having then completely gobbled up India, abolished the shipbuilding industry. In 1912 India's entire merchant fleet consisted of 130 ships of 80 tons each. Comment is unnecessary.

"THE STRANGLING OF A COMPETITOR"

Cotton Imported to Great Britain.	
1814	1,266,608 pieces.
1835	306,086 pieces.
British Cotton Exported to India.	
1814	818,208 yards.
1835	51,777,277 yards.

"As the Lord liveth, England does not seek a yard of territory. We are in this war from motives of purest chivalry, to defend the weak." David Lloyd George, 11-10-1914. England received over 1,400,000 miles of additional territory as a result of the "democratic" peace conference.

THE TRAITOR WITHIN THE GATES

If anything has served to keep India illiterate, servile and enslaved it is the educated Indian, who, alive to the soul-killing oppression of an alien government, has crawled, fawningly, to the feet of England's sovereigns and received reward for his treachery to the national ideal. This type of Indian is termed a "moderate." Here is a pen picture of one, Lord Sinha, now sitting in the British House of Lords, drawn from a speech he delivered to the Indian National Congress, held at Bombay in December, 1915:

"My first duty is to lay at the feet of our august and beloved Sovereign (King George the Fifth of England), our unswerving fealty, our unshaken allegiance and our enthusiastic homage. And we desire to express our gratitude to Almighty God for shielding our beloved Emperor. May he live to lead his people and promote their happiness and prosperity. India, her princes and her people have vied with each other in rallying around the Imperial standard, when the enemies of the Empire counted on disaffection and internal troubles. The spectacle affords a striking proof of the wisdom of those statesmen who have in recent years guided the destiny of the British Empire in India. . . . The path is long and devious and we shall have to tread weary steps before we get to the promised land (self-government). I yield to none in my desire to get self-government, but there is a wide gulf between desire and attainment.

. . . The Government has not only ignored, but has put positive obstacles in the way of the people acquiring or retaining a spirit of national self-help.

. . . The Indians (taken into the regular army because there were not enough English troops) though

they may now obtain the highest badge of valor, viz., the Victoria Cross, not one of them can receive a commission in His Majesty's Army—irrespective of birth or bravery, education or efficiency. . . . While the humblest European and even the negro has the right to carry arms, the law of the land denies the privilege of possessing or carrying arms to the most law-abiding and respectable Indian. Not only will the galling sense of racial inferiority and the overt imputation of universal disloyalty be removed by such a measure (abolishment of the Arms act) but people will also get rid of onerous disabilities in the way of defending themselves against the attacks of wild animals, as well as lawless adversaries. . . . After nearly two centuries of British rule India has been brought today to the same emasculated condition as the Britons were in the beginning of the fifth century. . . . We are seeking to regain our lost self-respect. . . . Are the 250,000,000 of Indian cultivators to go on paying 30, 40 and 50% for their finances for hundreds of years to come? . . . Rich in all the resources of nature India continues to be the poorest country in the world. . . . I will venture to say that the solution of the problem (commercial development) can no longer be safely postponed. It will test, as no other question has done, the altruism of English statesmanship, for in promoting and protecting Indian industries, it may become necessary to sacrifice the interests even of English manufacturers. . . . Under the benign dispensation of an inscrutable Providence, we shall emerge into a new era of peace and goodwill, and our beloved Motherland will occupy an honored place in the Empire with which her fortunes are indissolubly linked."

BRITONS ON THE ROWLATT BILLS

"The Rowlatt Bills have cemented the people of India." Secretary of State for India Montagu.

"The Rowlatt Bills rob Indians of all freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of public meeting." Robert Smillie, famous British labor leader.

"The Rowlatt Bills are subversive of the principles of liberty and justice and destructive of the elementary

rights of the individual." Colonel Wedgewood, member of the British House of Commons.

"The intention of the Rowlatt Bills is the strengthening of the satraps of India so that they will be able to put their hands upon anyone likely to be dangerous." Neil McLean, also member of the House of Commons.

LIQUOR FORCED ON INDIA

"Previous to the era of British dominion, the inhabitants of India were among the most abstemious of peoples."

"W. S. Caine stated in the House of Commons in 1888, 'The government is driving the Indian liquor trade as hard as it can. If the government continues its present policy of doubling its revenue every ten years, in thirty years India will be one of the most drunken and de-

graded countries on the face of the earth.'

"In the vicinity of Bombay a movement was started among the country people against the use and sale of liquor, whereupon eight of the leaders were imprisoned."

"Archbishop Jeffries (31 years in India) stated; 'For one converted Christian as the proof of Christian labor, England has made a thousand drunkards.'" From the American Encyclopaedia on Temperance.

English soldiers in India were recently compelled to act as strike-breakers when Indian postoffice employees in Calcutta went on strike.

Of the 400 Hindus who sought to enter Canada in 1914, 60 were shot after their deportation to India.

"To remain in Egypt in violation of our solemn pledge would make the English character contemptible in the eyes of the whole world." Late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, British Prime Minister. You, of course, know how this pledge was kept!

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DEATH STILL FACES DEPORTEES

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:

We are still in danger of death at the hands of the British Government. The protests of Organized Labor, the protests of American Liberals of every shade of opinion, the protests even of some of your representatives in the National Congress—all of these are, as yet, unavailing against the urge of the British Government that we be deported back to India, there to face the firing squad or the public hangman. It is not by any means an acceptable task to perform, but we must point out that Great Britain has a considerable influence in matters of this description and that to overcome that influence a weightier one must be brought into action at once. That influence is at your disposal. It is your will. You constitute the court of final appeal. You will be heard. **YOU MUST BE HEARD!**

India has been spurred into revolt. It is not a purposeless revolt, nor yet an armed one. *It is the defiance of an unarmed nation*, whose industries have been destroyed, whose educational facilities have been wiped out and illiteracy fostered so that our people might be pointed out as unfit for self-government, whose people have been decimated by preventable famine and plague. Can you visualize *thirty-two millions of our dead* in less than one year, *not mown down by machine guns* or the other martial implements of our oppressors, but *dying of sheer starvation and plague* when the highest exportation of foodstuffs in the history of our country took place? That is what occurred in India.

How long would an administration last in America which shot down 1600 out of 6000 unarmed Americans, who meet to protest against the acts of that administration? How long would Americans allow an administration to last, which abolished trial by jury, deprived one accused of the right of counsel, legalized torture and conducted this farcical "trial" *in camera*? How long would Americans obey a British edict to descend from street-car and automobile and grovel in the dust before every British officer who came along? How long would America watch her women and children die eating herbs and grass, whilst her grain was shipped by the million tons to Great Britain? *This is but a brief description of the condition of India today!*

Great Britain desires to quell our voice in America. She hates to hear the truth told about her terroristic government of India. She would hurl us into our graves in her vain rage to crush hope and truth. Can that be done in free America? The spirits of the immortal Lincoln and of the great Jefferson seem to say: "These libertarians of old India are safe on our shores. America's traditions enshroud them. No foreign power can compel or entice the violation of the hospitality of this free nation".

TARAKNATH DAS,
GOPAL SINGH,
BHAGWAN SINGH,

D. K. SARKAR,
SANTOKH SINGH,
S. N. GHOSE.

LABOR'S ROLL OF HONOR

An entire list of the labor bodies of America, which protested against our deportation, would fill many pages of this pamphlet. The most prominent, however, are:

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.
Central Federated Union of New York.
Chicago Federation of Labor.
Seattle Central Labor Council.
San Joaquin, Cal., Labor Council.
Brownsville, Pa., Trades Council.
Tacoma Central Labor Council.
Boilermakers No. 233, Oakland.
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.
Boilermakers' Union No. 6, San Francisco.
Contra Costa, Cal., Labor Council.
San Francisco Central Labor Council.
Detroit Federation of Labor.
Alameda, Cal., Central Labor Council.
Alameda Building Trades Council.
Street Railway Employees No. 518, San Francisco.
Soldiers and Sailors' Union, Seattle.

Machinists' Lodge No. 68, San Francisco.
Molders' Union No. 164, San Francisco.
Sailors' Union of the Pacific, San Francisco.
Pasadena, Cal., Board of Labor.

Micrometer Lodge Machinists, New York.
Millmen's Union No. 262, San Jose, Cal.
Erie, Pa., Central Labor Union.
Millmen's Union No. 42, San Francisco.
Bridge and Structural Ironworkers, Pittsburg, Pa.
Office Employes No. 13,188, San Francisco.

The action of the California Convention of the Friends of Irish Freedom in unanimously adopting a resolution protesting against our deportations, was copied by numerous branches of the widespread Irish organization, headed by the Commodore John Barry and the New York Local Councils. The Irish Progressive League of New York, the Catholic Women's League of Pittsburg, Pa., and many other Irish and Catholic organizations have done likewise. We gratefully acknowledge their prompt and sympathetic action.

Anyone wishing to assist the defense of the above six members of this organization may forward funds either to us or to the Friends of Freedom for India, Room 601, 7 East 15th street, New York City, *the only organizations in charge of these cases*. Copies of this pamphlet and the preceding one, "The Tragedy of India", can be obtained absolutely free by communicating with us. **PRESS MAY FREELY REPRODUCE CONTENTS.** Hindustan Gadar Party, 5 Wood street, San Francisco, Cal.