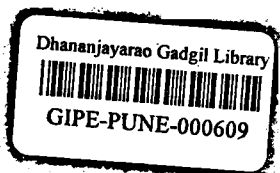


RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT



BY
BIPIN CHANDRA PAL

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Responsable Court.

B.C. Pal.

Responsible Government.

INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

(Delivered in the Rif-i-am, Lucknow on the 25th Oct. 1916, with Nawab Zulkadir Jung as president.)

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES & GENTLEMEN,—

I thank you very much, Sir, for the very kind way in which you have introduced me to this meeting. It is nearly a quarter of a century since I last came to your historic city. In the fearful days of 1907 to 1909 you narrowly escaped a visitation from me. I came as far as Allahabad, was asked to come to Lucknow, but my engagements in Calcutta saved you then. On the present occasion, I came really on a strictly private visit; and when I left Calcutta, practically on a holiday tour, I did not expect that I would be honoured with so many invitations from different sections of the Lucknow public to address them upon different topics—least of all did I expect that you would ask me to address you upon a political subject. I thank you for the invitation, and I thank you, Sir, particularly for consenting to take the chair at this meeting. It, if I may say so, places the hall mark of respectable politics upon me. (laughter.)

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THE LATE MR. GANGAPRASAD VARMA.

Thinking of Lucknow of 25,—strictly speaking 23 years ago, I am reminded of one, whom you must miss almost from day to day in all your public activities. I refer to my dear friend, my old friend Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma. I knew him as Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma and so I still like to call him Mr. Ganga Prasad instead of what he became later on Rai Bahadur Ganga Prasad Varma. I have missed him very much almost every day that I have been here; one thing or another has called to my mind the recollections of the last visit when I had the honour of being his guest, and we spent together, I think nearly a fortnight discussing various public questions—political, social, and religious. But in the will of Providence he has been taken away from you, but his work lives behind him and in the opening out of your congested city, in the many parks and, if I mistake not, so far as my information goes, in the mohallas, the spirit, the enthusiasm, the civic idealism and the self-sacrifice of Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma still live in your minds. I hope and trust the young generation will try to emulate his public spirit, his self-sacrifice, and follow the way that he has laid down for the service of their city.

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JINGO-IMPERIALISM.

Now, coming to the subject before us to-night—India and the Empire. The word empire was not a favoured word with radical politicians in England, not to mention the Independent labourites and socialists, who all fought shy of the word empire. In the 19th century, even during the closing years of it, we had an idea of empire presented to us which really could not appeal to broad-minded politicians, much less could it appeal to the lovers of universal humanity. The Imperialist ideal of the closing years of the 19th century—the imperialist ideal not only of the Tory politicians, but even of some of the Liberals in England, and even across the waters, in America,—the imperialism of the closing years of the 19th century, when they had the Spanish American war, and the annexation of the Phillipines, in America; and when they had the Boer war in great Britain, and when there was growing up a new party even among British Liberals, who called themselves Liberal Imperialists, a party then of six, which dwindled to a party of two and three later on, and in those days the ideal of imperialism that seemed to have inspired these politicians on both sides of the Atlantic, did not commend itself to large-minded statesmen and

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liberal politicians. It is therefore that when I spoke of the empire even to English audience during my last visit to England in 1910 and 'll they did not appreciate—I will not say what I said—but they did not appreciate the word empire. I remember I was present on the platform at a meeting in London—it was a conference on Dependent Nationalities and Subject Races. This Conference was presided over by well-known professors of Oxford and Cambridge. Prof. Hobson of the London University was also in the chair on one occasion and I remember when I spoke of imperialism and the empire, even he did not quite like the word—there were others who did like it. Prof. H. tried to offer an apology for imperialism in course of his speech,—he said that the idea at the back of honest imperialists, of liberal imperialists, of conscientious imperialists was that this empire-idea was an excellent vehicle, a very effective instrument, for the uplifting of depressed races and nationalities, and that was the justification for the European empire over Asiatic and African territories. We know the imperialism of the ex-president Theodore Roosevelt, who wanted to civilize the whole of humanity in Africa and in Asia and in other places—almost by the application of physical force! In one of his speeches in London he called upon the various

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white races of the world to avoid the spirit of mutual competition and rivalry and join hands together for carrying the torch of civilization to barbarous lands—and he did not spare us either—he did say that India had a civilization, and Egypt, Sir, too had a civilization, but somehow or other the civilization of India and Egypt had gone crooked, and it was the God-appointed function of British and other imperialists to put this crooked civilization straight.—And “civilization and the big stick,” as we called it then, was the great gospel of imperialism of the late president of the American Republic.

THE NEW EMPIRE IDEA.

But those days are past—we stand face to face to-day with a problem of imperialism which politicians and statesmen either in the modern world or in the ancient world had never been called upon to solve. We have got a new view of society, a new philosophy of social life, a new consciousness of sociology and when we approach this question in the light of the highest principles of this social philosophy, we find that as tribes clans and communities are formed by the combination of individuals, and nations are formed by the combination of clans and tribes and communities, even so

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the real empire is formed by the combination of different nations. Imperialism is really a social synthesis, as I have said in one of my books. The individual, the family, the tribe or the clan or the commune, and the nation and all these are social categories, and so is also the empire. The individual is absolutely helpless even to realize his own individual ends unless he does it under the protection of and through the help of, and by identifying himself with, the family of which he is a part, a limb and an organ. The family is an organism, the individual is an organ of that organism. Though as an individual, he himself is an organism, yet he belongs to the larger organism of the family of which he is a part, a limb, an organ. Similarly the family though itself an organism has its own specific ends—has its own specific organs—has its own specific needs, and its specific means and instruments for the satisfaction of these ends, the family also though an organism, stands united with, and is subordinate to, the clan, or the tribe or the community, and in the fulfilment of the collective life of the tribe or the community, the family fulfils and realises its own individual family life also. And from the tribe, the commune—we come to the nation, which is composed of many clans, many tribes, many communities and each of

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these different communities, these different clans, all these are organic elements in the common and complete life of the nation to which they belong. Now this is the view that we take of these different categories of our social life, and as I said, all these are social synthesis,—the family is a social synthesis, from the family the clan, the commune, is a higher social synthesis, from the commune the nation is a still higher synthesis and from the nation the empire is and must be a higher, indeed, the highest synthesis.

THE MEANING OF SOCIAL SYNTHESIS.

Now what do I mean by a social synthesis? A synthesis is the reconciliation of conflicting and separatist influences and interests. In the family we find a reconciliation of individualistic interests, individual inclinations, tastes and desires, of the different members of the family. The family gets the different members together by mediating between them so that these conflicts are reconciled, the interests of one individual of the family are reconciled in the totality of the family life, with the interests of the other members of the family. Thus, the desires, the tastes, the inclinations of the different members of the family group are reconciled with one another,—some sort of a compromise is worked up between these,—in the

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total life of the family and through this reconciliation and compromise the family endures as a social organism or as an organic whole. Similarly the different families composing a tribe or clan—they too have their family interests, family inclinations, and they try to serve these interests irrespective of the consideration of the interests of other families living about them ; and it is the function of the clan, the commune, or the tribe to mediate between the conflicting interests of the different families inside the clan or tribe, and by so mediating between these conflicting interests the tribe or the community tries to keep the families together, and thus to make the tribe an enduring social unit and to strengthen it, and this strength of the collective life of the tribe strengthens the families of which it is composed. Similarly the nation is composed of many communities. Even those nations which are not exactly composite nations, that are united in language, that are united in religion, that have no separate racial or tribal traditions among them, even these have conflicting interests.—There are no communal interests, at any rate not now, in Great Britain for instance—I am not taking of Ireland now—there are no communal interests in Great Britain. Ever since the Catholic Emancipation Act, religious differences

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in the field of politics have practically disappeared in England.—Yet there are different classes—there is the capitalist, there is the labourer—there are the aristocrats—the aristocracy of land, there is the aristocracy of wealth and trade and commerce,—side by side with it there is the aristocracy of intellect and the aristocracy of character, and all these different classes, are oftentimes, though not always, but more often than not, in conflict with one another—the capitalist with the labourer and the labourer with the capitalist—the aristocracy with the democracy and the democracy with the aristocracy. One part of the country is in conflict with the other parts and yet all these conflicts are reconciled—there is a compromise worked up between these different conflicting political and economic interests within the empire—by whom? by the common organ of the United Kingdom which is the British Parliament. We saw it during the conflict between the House of Commons and the House of Lords over the Veto Bill—it is a matter of recent history ; down with the “dooks” that was the cry of the man in the streets then. “Dooks”—that is how the ordinary street Arab in London speaks of the dukes—you pronounce it duke but they call it “dooks”—“down with the dooks”. I heard it in many places, in the restaurants

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in the barber-shops,⁹ wherever people gathered who were inflamed with the passion that arose out of the conflict between the House of Commons and the House of Lords. People not acquainted with the inwardness of British Politics were afraid that out of that conflict might grow even a civil war. Some people actually told me "Now, what do you think Mr. Pal—we say that there will be a civil war soon over this matter of the Veto Bill." I said—no fear, there will be no civil war, they will make a compromise. Barking dogs never bite. There will be a compromise. And what is this due to? To the fact that the organ of social life, the organ of political life, the common power, the common instrument of the state, belongs neither to the Lords nor to the Commons, but to the whole nation of which these are mere limbs and organs.

THE SECRET OF THIS SYNTHESIS.

Now here we have got the real secret of the synthesis. The family synthesis endures so long as the common life and power of the family is not identified with any particular individual belonging to the family. The common life of the family, the common power of the family, the common authority of the family, is exercised by the head of the family.

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He is the keeper of the privy purse of the family. And so long as the head of the family does not identify himself with any particular individual belonging to the family, the family synthesis exists—the family life endures, the unity of the family life is not broken up, and the family authority remains unimpaired. The moment the head of the family identifies himself, either economically or in any other way, with any particular member of the family group, whenever the head of the family identifies himself with his own wife, in his relations with his family life, when he applies the common property of the family to personal ends,—when he gives a present—a pearl necklace—to his wife and leaves only a silver bangle for the wife of his brother—when the head of the family does that—the synthesis is broken up—the reconciliation is destroyed, the authority becomes vicious—because that which ought to represent the whole and to seek the interest of the whole is identified with a part and the part becomes the whole, and when the part usurps the function of the whole, the whole ceases to be whole and the partialities commence to fight with one another. That is what happens in the family. From the family go to the tribe. The tribal synthesis also endures only so long as the head of the tribe, be he king.

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nawab or a sirdar or what name you call him by, as long as the head in whom is centered the total authority of the whole life of the tribe—who is the instrument of the totality of the tribal life and authority,—as long as he does not identify himself with any particular family inside the tribe—so long the tribal synthesis endures. But as soon as the head of the tribe identifies himself with any particular family or class inside the tribe, the tribal synthesis is broken up—and though even when the tribal synthesis is broken up, the tribal authority may be kept, but kept not by moral force, nor through spiritual inspiration, nor by the consent of those over whom it is exercised, but maintained by sheer brute force. This is what happens in the case of the tribes. Similarly it happens in the nation—the nation in the view of sociology, is a social synthesis. As the family is a synthesis of individual personal interests, as the tribe is a synthesis of family interests, even so the nation is a synthesis of communal interests.

COMPOSITE CHARACTER OF INDIAN NATIONALITY.

And I want you, my dear friends—I want you gentlemen, composed both of Hindus and Mohammedans, who are gathered here, to bear this in mind

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that that which you call the Indian nation, that to the service of which you desire to dedicate yourself, as Indian nationalists, this nation is not a collection of undifferentiated communal units ; it is a combination which involves a duality and possibly a multiplicity of communities—ours is a composite nation.—there are Hindus in our nation, there are Mahomedans, there are Christians, there are Buddhists, there are men who have been in this country from before the birth of history, there are people who came in comparatively more recent times.—It was Lord Curzon who preached the gospel of a “new patriotism” in India and he said this new gospel ought to include within itself not only Hindus and Mahomedans and the aboriginal tribes—not only Buddhists and Christians, but also the Anglo-Indian and the European. I fully admit it.—Provided the Anglo-Indian and the European live with us, die with us, die for us—not only make their pile here and go out of this country to spend it somewhere else, but who spend the money that they made here among the people. They must be one of us—we welcome them with open arms—they are one of us,—History tells us, at any rate nineteenth century history and culture did so—that the Europeans belonged to the same stock the same race as the Indians,—namely

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the Aryan race. There are now some people trying to contradict that view. But whether that be true or false, we now belong to the same country, and consequently I do not deny the right of the European residents in India to be counted as part of the Indian Nation. Permanent resident—Europeans in India permanent Anglo Indians in India, they also belong to our nation. As there is a community of Mahomedans, there is a community of Hindus, there is a community of Indian Christians, to there is a community of non-Indians also just now, of European and others,—and that community is as much a part of the Indian nation as either Hindu or Moslem. Now let us not make that mistake—there is no quarrel with any community so far as the nationalist standpoint is concerned. As a nationalist I am neither Hindu nor Mahomedan, nor Christian—however much I hold my Hinduism dear, I consecrate it in my own heart. But my nationality is a thing which broadens my vision, enlarges my relationship, includes in my life, both civic and political, other races and other religious denominations. And therefore, as I say, that it is true that the Mahomedans are a part of the Indian nation, so I have not the least hesitation to say that the European residents in India, the permanent European residents in India, those who have

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thrown their lot with us, those who have come to spend not only a few years—those who are not merely birds of passage, but have come to stay with us, live with us, labour with us, uplift our common Motherland, to the glory of the Empire and to the glory of God—they are one of us.

NATIONAL SYNTHESSES.

And this national synthesis also endures so long as the power, the authority and the instrument which exercises this power and authority of the nation, is not identified with any particular unit, any particular section, any particular class or particular tribal or raciality composing this nation. That is the national synthesis. But when the authority of the nation is identified, unfortunately, with any particular class inside the nation, the moral hold over the people is weakened, and as it happens in the case of the tribe so it happens in the case of the nation also that when any particular tribe or community inside the Nation usurps the authority of the Nation and uses it for its own particularistic ends, the national synthesis is broken up, though the national authority may still be exercised through sheer brute force.

Now if you have been able to follow me so far, *i.e.*, if you recognise it that the family, the

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tribe, the nation—all these are social synthesis, and that the value of the synthesis lies in the fact that it offers a ground of reconciliation and compromise between the conflicting interests inside the different groups forming the family, the tribe or the nation, then you will easily understand what I mean by an empire. This empire is a higher synthesis than the nation. The empire-idea is a higher social generalisation than the nation-idea. As family is a larger social synthesis and offers a higher field for the realization of our individual life than that life itself. As an individual I cannot live this life without the help of other individuals about me. The individual life cannot be fruitful—the individual cannot realize his own individual life except in and through the life of the family to which he belongs. And it is by his moral and spiritual identification with the collective life of the family—that he realizes his own life. As it is the duty of the head of the family, representing the collective authority of the family, to see that the family authority is not in any way identified with any particular individual member of the family, so it is the duty of each individual member of the family so to act, so to think, that it will be possible for them to identify themselves with the collective life of their family—find their glory in the glory of the family, find

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their happiness in the happiness of the family, find their intellectual uplift in the general rise in the intellectual level of the collective life of the family. It is the duty of the head of the family not to identify himself in any way, with any particularity inside the family, so it is equally the duty of the individuals also—so to train themselves that they will increasingly identify themselves with the collective life of the family and thereby, in and through that life, realize their own life better than they would outside it. More than that—it would not have been possible for them to realize it without the vehicle and instrument of the family-life. Similarly it happens in the case of the tribe also. As it is the undoubted moral obligation of those who are vested with the collective authority of the tribe and control the instrument of the state-life of the people, as it is their moral duty to see that that authority is not identified with any particular family in the tribe, so it is the duty of every family so to conduct themselves, so to seek their family interests, that that interest will be best served by serving the interests of the tribe.

THE EMPIRE SYNTHESIS.

The family also should identify itself with the larger life of the tribe, the tribe similarly should

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identify itself with the larger life of the nation, and the nation must try to identify itself with the larger life of the empire, because as individuals constitute families and the family is an organism—the relation between the family and the individual is an organic relation—as families constitute the tribe and the tribal relation is also an organic relation, even so nations compose the empire and the imperial relation is also an organic relation.

THE MEANING OF ORGANIC RELATION.

What do I mean by an organic relation? I have to come down a little to explain this to my younger friends. What do I mean by it? Briefly I will tell you this—that an organic relation is that relation which if broken up destroys the higher possibility of the fulfilment of the life of the organism and the organs both—that is an organic relation. The relation existing between my eye and my whole body is of that character. If I lose my eye, my whole body suffers, and if the body is weakened my eye suffers—my eye cannot realize its own specific end, without the health and strength and vitality of the body, and the body also cannot realize its own ends completely without the strength and vitality of the eye. The relation between my eye and my whole body is such that the

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one cannot realize its own end without realising the end of the other—that the one cannot injure the other without injuring itself. Even so the relation between the individual and the family, particularly, in the earlier stages of evolution is such that the individual cannot serve his own individual ends without serving the ends of the family, and the family cannot injure the individual without injuring itself—nor can the individual injure the family without injuring himself in his own turn. That is the nature of the organic relation. The tribe cannot fulfil its own end by crippling the activities, by taking away the liberties, by crushing the life of the different families composing a tribe. If the life is taken out of the different families, the sum total of the life of the tribe is also lost if the strength is taken away from the individual families composing the tribe, the strength of the tribe also suffers, if the wealth of the families composing the tribe is taken away from them, the tribe also becomes poor, and all these happens, because the relation is organic. Similarly in the national relation, —in the relation between different tribes, composing a nation in the different tribes—there is this relation ; the collective life of the nation suffers through any injury that may be inflicted upon any particular tribe belonging to the nation. If any injury is done to the

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Moslem population of India it does not hurt them alone, it hurts the sum total of the national life of India, and as such it hurts you, my Hindu friends. And similarly if anything injures the life of the Hindus, it does not only hurt the Hindus, it does not only weaken the Hindus, it weakens the strength, the vitality of the Moslem populations also. It is the same with regard to the Christians. Therefore, I as a nationalist would never tolerate any encroachment upon the right, the communal right either of the Hindu or Mahomedan, because in the preservation of these communal rights is preserved the sum total of the national life of our composite Indian nationality.

Now this is what you have to understand—not only about the Mahomedans but even about the Europeans—I would not like that anybody should take away one jot or tittle of the present powers and privileges which the European or Anglo-Indian community enjoy. I want them to be in the enjoyment of these powers and privileges even if I have not these. But what I want is this—that I should also get these powers and privileges for my own community, so that the strength and unity, the organic relation between them and me, may be cemented, to the uplift of our nation and the good of the Empire to which we both belong. That is what you ought to understand—that

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is the very soul and essence of the organic relation. You cannot injure any organ belonging to an organism without injuring the organism, and you cannot injure the organism without injuring the organs—that is the soul and essence, as I said, of the organic relation. And the same thing holds good with regard to the Empire. The Empire relation is also an organic relation. If it be not an organic relation it can never endure. No relation in society can endure, unless it be an organic relation. Chance relation, chance combination of interests, like those of a ship's company, while crossing the ocean from here to England, or from England to America, is not enduring. There is a close community of interests there—if the ship sinks we all sink, and if anything happens to the ship we are affected by it—so there is a community of interests, close, vital community of interests. But yet when we land the relation is dissolved. It is not an organic relation. The organic relation is enduring, and an individual wherever he may live for the time being whether in India or in the Andamans, whether he lives in Lucknow or in London, whether he lives in Hyderabad or in any other part of the country, wherever he lives, he is organically related to India. Anything that hurts India hurts him. So also anything that does good to India does good to him also. We

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saw it very recently only last year, we saw it—even during this war. When this war first broke out and our soldiers went to the front to fight the battle of the Empire, the position of every Indian residing in England was at once changed. The new angle of vision of Mr. Roberts was seen in the new attitude of the English mob towards these Indians. When some of these Indians joined the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps, and they rendered loyal service to the Empire to which they belong, some of them were raised to the position of officers in the Corps, and it was a sight for gods and Indians to see—when these officers passed along the streets of London, every sentry (because there were many sentries then, there are still, at every corner in every important house) and all these sentries standing to attention with fixed bayonet, as one of our brown officers passed along the street! Now that was a sight for gods and Indians to see! That was due to the fact that this war had created certain views, had created certain conditions, had worked certain things, which uplifted every Indian, because of our participation in this titanic struggle for the maintenance of the integrity of the British Empire. In England it had this effect, in America it had this effect, in every part of the world it has had this effect. If you are uplifted here it is a

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reflex action upon every Indian who may live in any part of the world. It happens always—the glory of England, the glory of Great Britain, her world-wide Empire, her world-wide prowess, all these reflect a glory, impart an importance to every Englishman in every part of the world. He may not have bread inside nor a piece of coat outside him, but still he belongs to this Empire,—“It is my empire,” and the conceit creates a position for him in every part of the world, which is not interfered with generally by his personal discomforts or his personal poverty. That is the character of the organic relation.

Now this organic relation, as I said, extends from the nation to the empire. As nations are composed of different tribes, so an empire is composed of different nations. And the same rule holds good here. As the tribal authority, the collective authority of the tribe, cannot be justly identified with any particular family inside the tribe, and if it is, the real moral force of tribal unity is practically destroyed. As the head of the family cannot identify himself with any particular individual belonging to the family group, and when he does identify himself with any particular individual belonging to the family group through lack of vision or through lack of high idealism, through a lack of the proper idea of his own position in the

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collective life of the family ; when this is done, the authority loses its moral hold upon the different members of the family,—even so the nation also, when the authority of the nation is identified with any particular tribe belonging to the national group, loses its moral significance and value. It happens also in the case of Empire also. If the Empire is identified with any particularity inside the imperial group it loses its moral title to rule. Take the present British Empire (let us come to actualities) is composed in the first instance of the United Kingdom and Ireland. Then there are the overseas dominions—Canada, Australia New Zealand, South Africa,—then there are the crown colonies, Ceylon and others, then there is this great dependency called India—these are the different members of the present British Empire. Apply your ideal to this British Empire, what should it be? It should be an Empire which must work as a synthesis between these different communities forming the empire—Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, India,—Great Britain herself and Ireland—all these are parts, and the whole is implied in the parts, and the parts are implicit in the whole. Yet the parts without losing their partiality cannot usurp the function of the whole, cannot properly do so ; and the Empire to endure must be built upon such a basis that it shall

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not be identified with any particularity inside the imperial group. The British Empire properly speaking is not the Empire of our Anglo-Indian publicists and politicians, though they like to call it so. The rule of the Empire is not what the Anglo-Indians blatantly call—"our rule!" It is no more their rule than it is our rule, because we are parts and parcels, we are organic elements of this great Empire. And as we claim this relationship—and we are not going to claim it as poor relations; no!—so long as we claim, recognize, demand, the obligations of this relation,—that is the vital thing—mark that please—so long as we admit this it is our moral obligation to serve this Empire, to live for it, to die for it, if need be, to consecrate individual life, to consecrate our family life, to consecrate our brains and our muscle, to consecrate our all, for the fulfilment and realization of the ideal of this Empire—so long as we admit this obligation—so long as we recognize this relation, so long as we are prepared to live and die for the realization of this relation, so long no Jack, Harry or Tom has any right to call it "our rule!" No, my dear friends, the conceit must be taken out of them a bit. It is our rule as much as yours. We do not say it is not your rule—it is your rule, and our rule. You and we—it is an organic relation. Even England cannot

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say "our rule" not over Canada, nor over Australia, much less over the Boers of South Africa, they cannot call it "our rule". It is our own rule, the King Emperor is our own King Emperor, he is not merely the King Emperor of Great Britain or the British, or the white people, he is the King Emperor of Brown, Black and White—of all races and colours that are to be found within the limits of his great Empire, he is our liege-Lord, we owe alligience to him and not to every one who has chromatic kinship with him. This is what we must understand. For this Empire we consecrate ourselves,—for the ideal of this Empire—and therefore it is *our* Empire as much as it is of the New Zealander, or the Canadian, or the Boer, or of the Anglo-Indian. It is our Empire. I want you to cherish this idea of imperialism. First comes the idea, then comes the real, concrete thing. The concrete always follows the abstract. In the beginning was the word, the idea. You must first possess the idea, and if you possess the idea and try to realize it, try to build it up in your relations and in your life, the thing will be revealed. I want you to possess this idea—this imeprialist idea.

You may say "you are talking of imperialism now, you did not talk like this in 1905 and 6." My reply is this. Even though I did not talk like this, if I

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did not say these things in 1905-6, that fact does not take away from the validity, the significance, the justice or the truth of this ideal—if it be just, if it be valid, if it be true otherwise. I do not care for consistency—Consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, little philosophers and poor statesmen. In politics there is no such thing as absolutism. Our ideas do not come Juno-like from the heavens, they grow within us, grow through our contact and conflict with outer forces. What the actualities are about us at any time, our ideal must correspond to these actualities at that particular time. There is no absolutism—neither in religion so far as I understand religion, neither in ethics, so far as I understand ethics, neither in politics. There is no absolutism. The cry of nationalism was a needed cry in 1905-6. Not that we altogether lost sight of the far-off ideal of greater union in the interest of universal humanity, between India and the other parts of the Empire—we did not lose sight of that altogether, but the times were such, the psychological necessity above all, was such, that it was absolutely necessary for us then to lay the emphasis on the nearer, more intimate, more understandable ideal of nationalism and not on imperialism. You must first understand your position in the family and your relation as an individual with your family

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before you can fully be fitted to understand and realize your relation with your tribe. Faithful in few things, I will make thee ruler over many things, applies also here. You must understand first of all your relation with your family. A man who recognizes no family obligations and talks always about universal brotherhood, I have no respect for that man. I think he understands as little of brotherhood as of any other hood. You must get a firm hold on the actualities of life. This is why we laid the emphasis in 1905-6 on nationalism and not on imperialism, or internationalism. It is necessary then to quicker national consciousness in the country. Thank God, that work has been done. There is a quickening of national self-consciousness in the country—there is a quickening of national self-consciousness in every community of the country—there is a widening of vision the birth of new desires, the quickening of new aspirations. There is the vision of a new future before every individual almost, and every community in the country at the present time, and that is due to this movement of nationalism. Those were days when we had to concentrate ourselves; you know the way of vedantic discipline—you have first to start with denial—all that we see is nought, all that we hear is nought, all that we touch is nought; so on and on so.

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You deny. Having denied everything you enter into that state which is called Samadhi where the soul stands directly face to face with itself, and then what do you see? You see all is Self. All that I had dismissed as not Brahman is Brahman. That is the way of discipline from the outside to the inside, from the world to your nation—even before that from your nation to your tribe. I therefore fully and frankly acknowledge here, sir, under your presidency, the excellent work that had been done by that far-sighted statesman Sir Syed Ahmad. We did not quite appreciate his keeping himself aloof from the Congress movement in 1887 and 1888. I was a young man then, but I belonged to the Congress and we opposed and criticised him then. But the historic evolution of the last 25 years and the results of the work—of the great work, that he had laid the foundations of at Aligarh—of the educational Conference—that result is seen in a new awakening in our Mohammedan countrymen, in the new inspiration that they have to-day. Therefore I say you have for a time, in the earlier stage of your discipline, you have to separate yourself from others, separate yourself from your environments, you have to come within yourself, the Mohammedan had to go within himself, the Hindu also has to go within himself. If the Hindu had not.

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done that he could not have discovered all the priceless treasures of his own culture—he would not have been able to get the position he holds in Indian nationalism to-day. So I fully recognize what that far-sighted statesman did in regard to one community—in trying to keep itself away from the other and more advanced communities with a view to educate and enthuse a new life into that community, to put inspiration in it, to make it realize its own position, to make it realize its own possibilities to make it realize its own past and its own future. Even so the Indian nationalist had to work in the years 1905-6 and '7 and '8 and '9, to bring the Indian people to a realization of their own nationaldom, to bring them to a realization of their individuality as a nation—they had to go within themselves, and having found themselves, it is time that they should come out in the open and recognize their kinship with the other parts of the Empire, and through this Empire with the other parts of that Universal Humanity of which this Empire itself is a vehicle and an instrument.

We did not altogether lose sight of the imperial ideal. Personally I say I did say—even in one of my Madras speeches, which is responsible for a lot of mischief,—(laughter)—now even in those speeches I did say "I am an imperialist, an imperialist of

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imperialists, but it must be, sir, a right sort of empire." And what is that? It is the ideal which I have tried to present before you, it is that which is a social synthesis—the right empire is that which has an organic relation—not a mere economic or political relation, but an organic relation, almost a biological relation within itself. The weakness of India is the weakness of the Empire, the strength of India is the strength of the Empire. The freedom of India improves the quality and expands the quantity of the freedom of the Empire, for which every Britisher in the United Kingdom, and a good many Irishmen and women also, hundred thousands of colonials on this side and the other side of the Atlantic and Pacific—that freedom for which they are sacrificing their dearest and their nearest—the bounds of that freedom will expand, the quality of that freedom ethically and spiritually, will increase and deepen with the freedom of India. This is what we ought to understand—and practically the problem of this Empire is an absolutely unsolvable problem, sir, unless the problem of India is solved—let there be no mistake about it—far-seeing statesmanship, whether in India or in England—you gentlemen your leaders must understand this here in Lucknow, and in every other city in India—every leader, every nationalist must understand this—if he

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has got the gift of the vision of statesmanship he must understand it—and every statesmen in England, every statesman in the colonies must understand it—that the future of the Empire depends entirely upon an absolute, a timely, a suitable, a satisfactory solution of the Indian problem. (cheers.) There must be a reconstruction of the Empire at the close of the war. We do not know when this war will end—we pray to God it may end as soon as possible, it is hurting everybody concerned. We want that it should cease as soon as possible, and we want it—and I say it without the least reservation, mental or otherwise—we want it to end in the way in which every Britisher wants it to end—we want it to end in the complete victory of Great Britain over the Central Powers—for a variety of reasons. We want it for selfish reasons, and the selfish end is here, namely, that the strength of the Empire is our strength—the organic view again. We want it also for other reasons—because the way that Germany has behaved in this war—so far as we know, and have been told, is execrable, absolutely execrable—she has outraged humanity. That other peoples and parts of the world may have done so also, is no justification for Germany to do so to-day—I will not hear of that—others may have done evil, that is no justification for you and me to commit evil—the thing

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is evil, detestable, dreadful—an outrage against the Laws of man and God, and as such we want the defeat of the power which could outrage humanity and divinity in the way that Germany has been outraging humanity in the course of this war. Therefore, we desire it that this war should end in the only way in which every Britisher desires it to end. We do not know when it will end—it may be in six months time though that is not very likely, it may be in a year's time ; it may take two years more, but whenever it may end the close of this war will require the highest qualities of statesmanship in Great Britain and in the colonies to solve the problems which this war has brought to the surface.

These problems first came into the open in the beginning of the present century, at the close of the Boer war. At the close of the Boer war you will remember, the late Joe Chamberlain paid a visit to South Africa and in one of his speeches he said "gentlemen the days of small kingdoms are gone." That was a prophetic statement, and in that statement was laid the foundation of the coming federation of the British Empire. They fought the Boers, they conquered the Boers, but they saw clearly, every British statesman saw it clearly, that to keep the Boers would be a far more difficult task than conquering them.

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Conquest is easy, keeping is difficult. And British statesmen saw that the only way to keep the Boers would be not to keep them in a state of perpetual or even temporary subjection, but to make them equal co-partners in the great Empire over which Great Britain presided. That was what they did. They granted autonomy, absolute autonomy, complete self-government to the Boers. I was present in London when the constitution of the new South African Union was formed, and Botha and Stein and Fisher and Smut and the other leaders of the Boer Union came to London with their constitution to present it to the Houses of Parliament to get their sanction, because the constitution had to receive the sanction of the British Crown and the British Parliament. Through the courtesy of my late lamented friend Mr. W. T. Stead, of the *Review of Reviews*, I had the privilege of being present at a Sunday afternoon drawing room in Mr. Stead's house where Botha and Stein and Smut and the other Boer leaders who had come for the purpose of presenting the Constitution to the House of Parliament, were invited and were present. And I will tell you a beautiful incident that happened. Now there are certain clauses in this Constitution which militate against the ideal of British democracy, and British freedom. These Boers wanted to create a

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colour-bar so far as the franchise was concerned, inside the South African Union, and British liberal thought deadly opposed the creation of this colour-bar. This colour-bar did not exist in Cape Colony, but the Boers wanted to introduce this colour-bar in the new Constitution. Liberal opinion—it was a liberal ministry that was in power then—was opposed to this principle. But they could not support this opinion, they were powerless, and I will tell you what happened in Mr. Stead's drawing room. Mr. Stead took up a piece of paper—first of all he said,—“Now President Stein and Mr. Botha what do you think? It is a strange thing that you should come and meet me here—I who had been persecuted, hunted down through the country, for having supported your cause, but that war has left you in a much better position than you were before”—and we all laughed. He said, “We conquered you, but it is not as a vanquished party that you come to us to-day. You come to conquer us, to dictate terms to us,” and he took up a piece of paper in his characteristic way, and held Stein by almost his throat “now you are doing this, you have brought this paper to us and you ask us to open our mouth and that you shall put it down our throats.” That was true. The Boers though conquered came to England in 1909, I believe, or 1910, when this new constitution was being

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framed, to dictate their terms to the British Crown and British Cabinet and the Imperial Liberal Government had to accept a thing which was absolutely against all their traditions and principles and ideals, because the Boers were absolutely masters of the situation in their own country. So you see in regard to this matter, that imperial federation had its birth, really with the close of the Boer war. The Boer war revealed two things. It revealed in the first place, the wonderful possibilities of the colonies to help the mother country in time of need, and if these possibilities are to be properly utilized by the mother country, a closer union must be worked up between the mother country and the colonies. That was the beginning of the imperial federation idea in British politics, that was the beginning of the present century. Then came the Russo-Japanese war—it was a tremendous revelation to Europe—Europe never thought that an Asiatic power could cope with a European power. Japan "licked" Russia, the emergence of Japan into the comity of world powers created new problems. Before this, Australia had neither a decent army nor a navy to speak of—they had nothing but a militia to do police duty, but no national army, and there was no need either of a navy or army for Australia as long as Japan had not emerged out of her obscurity into a

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great sea power. And as soon as Japan emerged as a great sea power in the Pacific, the question of defence became urgent in Australia and in New Zealand; and therefore they tried to organize their army and their navy. Australia wanted to have a navy of her own and Great Britain said yes, we must organize the defences of the Empire, we must have an imperial army and an imperial navy. Some of these British politicians wanted that these colonies should pay the cost of building a certain number of dreadnoughts which would be utilized for the defence of the colonies. Australia said "No. If we are to pay for the building of the dreadnoughts we should like to have a control of the dreadnoughts also. That was what practically happened. Australia started with her own navy—of course on the understanding (an understanding which she will doubtless faithfully discharge) namely that in times of need of the Empire her navy will be placed unreservedly at the disposal of the Empire. An Australian navy, the organization of national measures of defence—instruments of Imperial self-defence, gradually led the way to the demand for an Imperial Council a Council of the empire, which shall decide everything affecting the common interests of the Empire. The last Imperial

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Council of the colonies, Conference as it is called, was held in London when I was there.

I believe it was in 1911. And New Zealand brought a resolution calling for the institution of a Council of the Empire wherein Great Britain would be represented as well as Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the other parts of the Empire. That resolution was supported by the majority of the colonial premiers present at the Conference. Mr. Asquith, who was in the chair, opposed it, and when I read the whole proceedings I felt that the real motive that led Mr. Asquith to oppose this resolution was India. Because India is a thing which cannot be made over to the colonies, it cannot also be kept by Great Britain to herself and yet allow the colonies their legitimate and rightful place in the Council of the Empire. This is the dilemma—what will you do with India. Mr. Asquith saw that as long as the Indian problem had not been solved so long the colonies could be organized into a real imperial federation, because to do so would be to allow the colonies, as Mr. Asquith distinctly said, to swamp Great Britain and the British Parliament. The word "swamp" is practically used, without any direct reference to India—I do not say that Mr. Asquith mentioned India, he did not—but he said "now gentlemen, what will

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happen, if you have a Council of the Empire we shall be in a hopeless minority." That is what he said. But being in a hopeless minority would not matter a pin to him, if he had not the thought of this great dependency in the back of his mind—because it is the which matters. We are closely related to Great Britain, and not to the Colonies. We have no obligations to the Colonies, the Colonies have no obligations to us. There is practically no relation between India and the Colonies—no constitutional obligations, no mutual obligations, nor even any moral obligations for the matter of that, so far, between us and the colonies. But we have all these obligations with Great Britain, she is in actual possession of India, she is in actual occupation of the Indian state she represents the collective power and authority of the Indian nation just now, and as long as she does so she has got a special and peculiarly intimate and vital relation with India, which she does not share with the other parts of the Empire, and there are two courses open to her—to admit the colonies into the common sovereignty of India—that is one course open she may admit the colonies into the common sovereignty of India—you continue to be a Dependency Egypt continues to be a protectorate Great Britain calls up her overseas children and her adopted children, for—

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Canada and South Africa are not exactly children—Great Britain calls all these her overseas brood, and she says now let us unite to manage the affairs of India. It was possible, it was conceivable. It was thinkable forty years ago, it was thinkable thirty years ago. It was conceivable twenty years ago, it is absolutely unthinkable, it is utterly impossible, it is utterly inconceivable in the year of grace 1916. We shall take a lot from Great Britain—we have had a lot from her—old relations are not easily broken—our relations with her are over a century old in some places, nearly two centuries old in some places—we have not grown into this habit of obeying the parvenue colonial, and India, young India, is in no spirit to cultivate this new habit. Therefore it is impossible for Great Britain to build up a Federation of the Empire, to consolidate her Empire, to form a Council of the empire, making India and for the matter of that, sir, Egypt also subject to this White-Empire. Just as there is a nationalistic movement in India, so there is a nationalist movement, sir, in Egypt, and both these movements ought to be a warning to those imperialist statesmen of the type of Rhodes and Milner, who want to build up a federation of the British empire composed only of Great Britain and her *white* children. It will not do—I do not believe it, sir, that

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any responsible British statesman ever dreams of doing it.

I do not believe that even Mr. Asquith will ever dream of trying the experiment. Lord Hardinge, the greatest statesman that India has had for many and many a year past, saw the impossibility of building up an imperial federation leaving India out, and this was the meaning, this the motive, this the inspiration, this the significance, this the inwardness of the memorable Despatch of August 25th, 1911, in which he declared provincial autonomy to be the immediate objective of British administrative reconstruction, leading to an imperial federation in India itself. Lord Hardinge indeed could not say that the Imperial Government would have to be elective, would be autonomous, he could not say it then—officials have to take a good deal of care in penning these despatches—they cannot say out everything that is in their minds, they ought not to do so. Now Lord Hardinge did not say it, yet, at the same time he did say it—he knew you had a little knowledge of English, he knew you had a little knowledge of modern history and modern politics, he knew above all that you were endowed with that great quality of imagination which is so discounted by Sir Valentine Chirol. You are an imaginative people, and knowing all these things, he defends his Delhi

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scheme by referring to Washington, by referring to Toronto, to Sidney. What does it mean? Why should Delhi be Washington? What is the significance? Washington in American politics is the seat of the federal government in the American nation—Washington is in the district of Columbia—it is a state by itself, just as New York, New Jersey are states by themselves—even so the district of Columbia is a state almost by itself, subject to the direct control of the federal executive and the district of Delhi, sir, is a district by itself, subject to the direct executive control of the Governor-General and his Council. It is on all fours with Washington, and the same is true of Toronto and Sidney, and Lord Hardinge knew that he was dealing with a people who had a head-piece on their shoulders, who would not be slow to see what he means, and if he did not mean it he would not have used these terms, he was not under any necessity to say so. He might simply have said "see now when I am in Bengal I am troubled with the interference of the Lt. Governor there, when I am in Simla I am interfered with by the Lt. Governor of the Punjab, so poor man, I want to have a little space of my own where I shall be supreme master." He might have said that—he might have said "the Government of India

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wants a house of its own, a house and capital of its own, and we want it to be in Delhi, so that it will be in touch with the Princes and Principalities of medieval and ancient India—the Government of India want to be in Delhi because of the historic associations of Delhi.” My dear friends, it seems to me that Lord Hardinge is a man of great imagination,—and no man can be a statesman unless he has the gift of imagination—he is a “statesman who sees coming events long before they come, long before they appear on the horizon and seeing that they are coming he tries to prevent the evil possibilities in them so far as it is possible to do so, and to increase the possibilities of good in them by so shaping his present conduct, and policy that it may increase the possibilities of good and minimize the possibilities of evil in that which is coming. This is statesmanship. A statesman is not a petty politician, a statesman does not say “I leave the future on the knees of the gods”; that is improvident statesmanship. An improvident householder cannot manage the affairs of his own house, much less can an improvident statesman manage the complex affairs of a large empire like that of the British Empire at the present time. No, sir, Lord Hardinge was a man of vision, he saw the future, he saw what was coming, and he was

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making the ground ready for that which was coming. That is the meaning of his Despatch of 1911, and when he talks of Delhi, what is the meaning of Delhi? Delhi is Mahomedan—before it was Mahomedan, sir, it was Hindu. Delhi represents the spirit of the Indian nation, for Delhi is neither Mahomedan nor Hindu—it is Indian. Every brick, every bit of stone in Delhi speaks out the glories of Hindu imperialism; every brick, every bit of stone in Delhi speaks out the glories of its Moslem imperialism—it was at Delhi that the Hindu and Moslem joined hands together to rule the whole of India, it was from Delhi that an Imperial army was led by a Hindu general for the conquest of recalcitrant provinces. It was at Delhi that the finances of an empire were governed by another Hindu.—So whether archeologically, whether historically, whether administratively, from every point of view; Delhi is not merely Hindu, it is not merely Mahomedan, it is both Hindu and Mahomedan, and the decision of Lord Hardinge to take the capital of the British Indian Empire, to Delhi from Calcutta, was significant. Because that proclaimed to you and me the determination of the Government of India, that proclaimed to you and me the ideal of British statesmanship, that the Government of India shall hence-

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forth be neither Hindu nor Mahomedan nor British, but absolutely Indian. (*Cheers*). That is the meaning of the Delhi transfer, and when he spoke of Toronto, Washington and Sidney, Lord Hardinge dreamed of the United States of India. Provincial autonomy is impossible with central autonomy—absolutely impossible. Lord Hardinge was a man with a head-piece on his shoulders—he could not dream of impossibilities, much less would he proclaim the impossible. He saw that provincial autonomy to-day will bring in imperial autonomy to-morrow, will in the next day make possible the building up of a real imperial federation in the British Empire—that is what Lord Hardinge was driving at, that is what you ought also to aim at. British statesmanship, as I said, will be bound to try to reconstruct the Empire upon a federal basis at the close of this war; and you ought to take advantage of this opportunity to press forward your claims to the Council of the Empire at this time. These are post-war problems it is said, but in evolution the different stages of the evolutionary process are not marked out by the hand of the clock. It must be a progressive something. If you do not work now, if you do not agitate now, if you do not put forth your demands now, if you do not say now, in unmistakable voice to-day, that we may

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for an indefinite period consent to be ruled by England, but we shall not be ruled by the colonies for a single moment.—You have to say it now we do not object to be ruled as we have been ruled—it may be a slow process, a slow evolution—let it take its time! Even fifty years is nothing in the life time of a nation. We do not mind that—let it take 50 years if necessary, to build up a real relation, to build up a real organic relation, between India and Great Britain—we do not want to hasten the pace. But there must be no mistake about this, that though we may suffer to be governed even by the British Beauocracy in India for 50 years more, we shall not be governed by the Colonials from South Africa—even if old people might suffer to be so governed—the rising generations will not. That is what is absolutely necessary. And I am confident, sir, that British statesmanship will not make such a mistake,—I am confident of it, but you must help British statesmanship. There is a certain party even in England and in the Colonies—there is a new party growing in the Colonies and in Great Britain also—Rhodes-Milner party—who are trying to form an Imperial Federation of the white races, and trying to place this Imperial Federation of the white peoples of the world, over the brown peoples of India and Egypt and the other non-white peoples of

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the world—there is a party, and you must, therefore, be up and doing—try to organize, try to agitate, try to make yourself heard on this point. You must make it clear that your nationalism is not in conflict with that imperialism of which I have spoken—that the first thing you ought to understand—not as a matter of diplomacy—I hate that diplomacy which is not absolutely frank—I am not a diplomat, I am not a politician either—you ought to understand it that the Empire-idea is larger than the nation idea, and I will presently tell you why it is in your case. You must first of all understand it and having understood it, you ought to say it in no unequivocal voice that you are for the uplift of the British Empire, you are for the perpetuation of the British connection, but at the same time there should be no tampering with your desire to be a free nation among the free nations of this Empire—that is what you must understand. Now, British statesmanship, as I said, will not fail—it never failed in the past they say, and I hope it will not fail in the present—it will solve this problem in the only way it ought to be solved, but you must understand what hangs upon a right solution of it. There may be some people who may dream of an independent India. Now let me take it for granted that we have an independent India. Now then,

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what happens in coming centuries? Political forces are concentrating in three directions—first of all the white races are gradually coming closer together. The close of this present war, so far as white or European peoples are concerned, seems to me will be the beginning of a pan-European federation. The alliance between Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia is not a mere military alliance now—it is already a financial alliance. Military relations will dissolve with the end of the war, but financial obligations, as every one knows, take a long time to dissolve. There are financial obligations—then there are proposals, and proposals which I feel confident will be carried out into action—proposals to form a trade union between the entente powers, just with a view to put down the trade of Germany—that is the motive now.—People commence to work with a personal motive but in God's world ultimately they work for universal ends, and the beginning of this entente alliance, the beginning of a pan-European federation of England, France, Russia, Italy, Roumania and Servia, will lay the foundations of the future United States of Europe. Germany will also have to come into it, in her own interests—Austria or whatever remains of it will also come in—Turkey will have to come in if she is

permitted to remain—that also is sure—there will be a pan-European organization—possibly Turkey will be kept out, and may be confined to Asia Minor ; that seems possible, and then all the powers of Europe will gradually form a combination of the white-races. There will be, is going to be, a combination of the yellow races also—let us not mistake that—Japan will come out strongest of this war because Japan is fighting——on paper ! It is on treaties that she is fighting the Central powers—practically she is not fighting anybody, she is keeping her navy, she is keeping her army, intact and at the end of the war, so far as naval and military considerations are concerned, Japan will be the greatest power in the world. America also will be one of the strongest powers—it is not for nothing that President Woodrow Wilson is flirting with Germany on the one hand and with the Allies on the other—America is making her pile out of this war, and America and Japan will be found at the close of the war to be the greatest powers ; the China, rejuvenescent China—it will not take long for Japan to appropriate China, to federate with China, she will do it ; that was the objective of the last Japanese war—we had it from Japanese statesmen. Consequently there will be the federation of the white races and there is likely to be,

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almost as surely, a federation of the yellow races, also and, sir, there is likely to be a federation—the seed has been sown—of the Islamic peoples also. There are no Islamic states except Turkey and Persia to speak of to-day, and yet the Islamic people with their message of democracy, with their gospel of equality, with their unflinching devotion to their faith, with their discipline of brotherhood, aye, sir, with what people call fanaticism, I believe that the Moslem lands will not take long to combine unless legitimate outlets are found for the satisfaction of their legitimate aspirations in other directions—Therefore you see these are the forces coming to a head ; and the salvation of the Empire, the salvation of India, the salvation of humanity, depends upon first, the preservation of the British connection with India, second, the building up of a powerful federation in which India shall be a partner and an equal partner with other partners in the British empire, and thirdly, conceding to India all the rights that will make India a power and not a weakness of the Empire to which she belongs. Then again, in the interest of humanity, as a co-partner in the British Empire, or in the coming Indo-British empire, India will have a hand in European politics. As an Asiatic she will have her sympathies with all the Asiatic powers—Japan has

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traditions, religious traditions, that have raised India to the level of her guru—China has also those traditions, and if India is once raised to the level of modern humanity, if Indian can once look humanity horizontally in the face, if India is once a free nation among the free nations of the world, with England and her colonies, she will be able to dictate and dominate the course of the historic evolution of humanity, and dominate it towards those higher purposes for which India has been fitted and trained by all her past sufferings and her past achievements. We have never gone in for grabbing other people's land or robbing other people's gold. We have never gone in except in the very early days when we followed the ordinary method of colonization for the extinction of the people among whom we colonized—we must have done it at some time, but those are very ancient times—for countless centuries past we have subjected ourselves to a discipline which has grounded self-abnegation into our character—we want nothing for ourselves, we are a race of idealists, sir, we are a race of people who have been trained for countless centuries to merge the individual into the universal—our saints and sages have always tried to do so, every devotee and every saint in India whether Hindu or Mahomedan has always tried to merge the individual

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in the universal—the Mahomedan fakir is great in his poverty, in his renunciation, the Hindu devotee is great in his renunciation—we are born of a race of people whose one highest pattern of life has been renunciation, renunciation, renunciation. And as such we have a message to tell to the warring nations of the world—we have a message to tell to the fighting nations of the world, we have a message to tell to the grabbing nations of the world, and once we are joined with Great Britain and her colonies as a self-governing co-partner of the empire, as a free nation among the free nations, once we are able to look humanity horizontally in the face, we shall be able to exert our moral, our spiritual influences for the uplift of humanity, for the expansion of human freedom, for the bringing about the cessation of war. Nothing less will do it—keep yourself out of it and you are doomed as a nation.—Be in it, not as a subject race but as an equal among equals, and you will be able to discharge your God-appointed mission in modern history and among modern humanity. We are a miniature race—history is moving towards universalism, humanity is moving towards universalism, and we are a miniature world, sir,—all the great world cultures are represented in India, all the great races are represented in India—we have Christians here, we have Buddhists here, we

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have Hindus here, we have Hindu culture, we have Christian culture, Moslem culture—all the great world cultures are in India, all the great races of the world also—European, Mongolian and others are to be found here—we are a composite people, a federal unit. Hinduism—sir, excuse me for a communal reference—Hinduism is a federal religion, Hindu society is a federation of many castes and many creeds. Hindu polity, when we had it, was a federal polity, the Hindu army, when we had an army was also a federal army, and the Empire of the Muguls, coming to India, became a federal empire.—Independent principalities, independent kingships, independent provinces, ruling their own province in their own way and owing allegiance to the central authority and combining with the central authority for common purposes—it was a crude form, but there was the seed, the early training, the first alphabet, of this federation in the Moghul Empire ; as there was in a more perfected form in the old Hindu Empires. Therefore we have a claim to take a lead—our legitimate place in the life of modern humanity and history, and we desire to take it, not alone—that is denied to us, that will not be profitable to us, that will not be profitable to humanity; we want to take our lead in modern history side by side with

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Great Britain and her colonies and I believe that the dream of Lord Hardinge—of every statesman in India and in England, will be realized by the time this war is over. And lastly that it is not merely a dream, that it is not the wild rhapsodies of the extremist politicians is proved by the memorable memorandum that was submitted by the elected representatives of the council of His Excellency the Viceroy. I ask you to read that with care, there is not a word I have said to-night which has not its support in that memorandum. There is not a word I have said to-night which goes against either the spirit or the wording of that memorandum—I want federation of the empire—I want equal rights within the empire—as a first instalment towards that federation I want that the Arms Act should be repealed—if it cannot be repealed, at least there should be no distinction between the Indian and the foreigner in the administration of this act. Volunteering must be thrown open to the Indians, the army must be thrown open unrestrictedly as it is done to Englishmen—in the same way it must be to us—commissioned ranks in the army should be thrown open to qualified Indians, and the legislative councils must be elective—representative of the people, and the executive council should at least have half of the members, Indians, and the

INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

other half, under present conditions may be brought out from England, but not one of these executive councillors shall be a member of the heaven-born service, in no country in the world are permanent officials allowed to influence policy or control the administration—permanent officials must be kept in their own places—they are for carrying out policy laid down by their superiors—In no country do permanent officials have anything to do with administration—men from the outside are brought into the Cabinet—very rarely do we find a permanent official taken into the Cabinet—yet it is the rule here—it is the permanent official who gets to the top of the ladder—that must not be. It is not good for the officials. It is not good for the country. It is not good for the Empire. Therefore I submit in my own humble way with all the strength that I can command, and I hope you support it also, that the memorable memorandum submitted to the Viceroy by 19 members of His Legislative Council ought to be our Petition of Right to the British Crown and the British Parliament. At the close of the war we demand that these reforms shall be carried out and then, God helping, you and I together, we do not say—we shall defy the world—defiance is not in our scriptures nor in our nature—but we shall be able to guide, control, lead,

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uplift, broaden, humanise,—humanity itself. (Loud
and prolonged Cheers.)

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(Speech delivered on November 22nd, 1917.)

THE FATE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IS IN OUR HANDS.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, this is practically the third of a series of talks that I have been giving in Calcutta on the proposed reforms. On the first day we met in our Home Rule League office but the accommodation was not sufficient for those who kindly came to hear me that evening. That day I took as my subject, "The call of the Empire," and I tried, so far as it lay in my power, to prove that these reforms or this reform has been called for not by our demands for political freedom but it has been called for by the imperious needs of the empire to which we belong. Those of you who were present at that meeting may remember, if I remember rightly that I said: "That you and I, the people of India, hold in the hollow of our hands the future fate of the British Empire." That is the corner-stone of all my talks on this subject.

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THE WAR MAY LAST ANOTHER THREE YEARS.

On the last occasion, on Sunday last, I dwelt at considerable length on the present situation in Europe and the portents in Asia. I tried to point out the absolute uncertainty regarding the period during which the present war will possibly continue. I tried to draw your attention to the fact that such a long struggle with a powerful and unscrupulous and resourceful enemy could not possibly be continued for over 3 years without taxing the resources of the belligerents on either side, both in men and materials to their utmost capacity. I referred to the statement made by Sir Patrick Geddes on the necessity of a fresh combing out of the different professions and trades in England outside those that were engaged in manufacturing materials for war purposes, trades employed in manufacturing luxuries for the British people. He said that the time has come when we must apply the comb once more to the manhood of our nation. It meant this: that first volunteering was tried and a large number of men were enlisted for the army but volunteering failed in the end—failed in this sense that it did not bring men in sufficient numbers and in sufficiently rapid succession necessary to meet

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the increasing requirements of the battle front. Then compulsion had to be introduced—compulsion that had been resisted by British people for generations past—compulsion that had been branded by British politicians as a sign of political servitude at most. It brought in more men, but at first certain people had to be excluded because if everybody were brought in and sent to the front the ordinary business of the country, the ordinary arts and crafts of the nation could not possibly be carried on. Then there was another combing, the arts and crafts that were not absolutely necessary for the mere subsistence of the nation and that were not absolutely necessary for helping this war to a successful issue, were forced to release the men capable of joining the army from their service. And this shows the extreme necessity of finding further men to fight this war.

THE PRESENT WAR MAY NOT BE THE LAST.

I also invited your attention to the very ominous statement published in the papers that this war might end sometime in 1920. Lord Kitchener had predicted three years as the life-time of this war—those three years are past. We are now in the midst of the 4th year of the war and now we are told that another three-

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years are not unlikely to pass before this struggle comes to an end. It may be a 7 years' war or more. If it comes to an earlier end, well and good—we shall be thankful for it. But if it does not come to an earlier end, we have to provide men for carrying on this war and no power can conduct a war like this for more than three years without feeling some depletion of its fighting capacity and in view of this fact, the time has come, when British Statesmanship, those who are responsible for the preservation of the Empire, must look abroad for further supply of men and material for the successful management of this ruinous war. Where are you to get the men? Where are you to get the materials? America has joined the war and she will be able to supply something, but I am afraid even America will not be able to supply all the men that may be necessary, should this war continue for another three years nor can anybody with a head-piece on his shoulders believe that this war will be the last war of modern civilization.

THE FUTURE THEATRE OF WAR.

Signs are not already wanting of fresh complications in world politics that may at any time set up another conflagration out of the remnants of the

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embers of this war that may be left behind. And the next war, as I have often said, the centre of gravity of the next war, the principal theatre of the next war, may not be, indeed I think, will not be Europe but Asia. We do not know whether it will be western Asia or Eastern Asia, but it is very likely that the theatre of the next war will be somewhere in Asia. All these things have to be considered by British statesmanship in laying down the policy in regard to the Government of India and all these things led to the declaration of this new policy.

CIRCUMSTANCES FORCED THE DECLARATION.

That is my thesis : that is the foundation of every statement that I have made upon this subject viz. that this declaration of policy has been forced by circumstances, by the condition of world-politics at the present time. I was told the other evening that the British character has got a peculiarity—it never yields to force. I dare say it does not. At any rate it never confesses that it yields to force. It is not physical force that I am referring to—this is the force of circumstances, and he must be a fool and charlatan absolutely, having no business to deal with politics or statecraft who denies that statesmanship has not to

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bend its knee to the force of circumstances. When I say that this declaration of policy has been forced upon British statesmanship, I do not mean to say that the force that has been applied is physical force—I do not mean to say or suggest that it is the force of any discontent, any revolution, any trouble, any physical rising in India. No, far from it. I still believe that the British Government in India, even as at present constituted, is sufficiently strong to hold its own in this country, is sufficiently strong to put down any revolutionary movement, any sudden armed revolt even, should that suicidal step be attempted anywhere. I do not mean to say that the British Government is weak, but this I do say that the time has come when the British Government must demand not your physical acquiescence but your active help and co-operation in the pursuit of this war and in the preservation of the Empire ; and can they get your active help and co-operation in the present state of things? The slave is bound to pay his salam but it is a free man, who, inspired by his sense of ownness with the Government under which he lives, lays down his life and consecrates his all to the service of that Government.

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THE GOVERNMENT IS IN NEED OF A CITIZEN ARMY.

If the British Government in India desire to draw upon our physical strength and our mental capacities in the work of the empire, it will be absolutely necessary for those who are responsible for this government to so conduct, so regulate and shape and guide their policy that we may feel an increasing measure of ownness in the Government which, for the time being, is held by them in their hands—this is absolutely necessary. Mercenary men go and fight for what is called their salt ;.....but they are all mercenaries and the day of mercenaries has gone. You want now citizen soldiers—and the Government of India—even they, even Sir Reginald Craddock and the Civil Servants in India, feel the necessity of a citizen army in this country—this has been proved by the new policy of the Indian section of the Indian Defence Force. Ever since the birth of the National Congress, we have been crying, year after year, for free unrestricted admission of the people of India into the Indian Army. When the war broke out over three years ago, we demanded free admission into the volunteer army so that we might do our bit, as they call it now. But the time was not yet. Then we said : we are prepared to help this war in any capacity :

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admit us into the Ambulance Corps—we shall be glad to serve as stretcher bearers and dooly bearers. The Government of India perhaps thought that the timid Bengalee whom Lord Macaulay had given a great certificate, might talk of war, might talk courage but would not find it possible to gather sufficient courage to face a fighting army ; and that all this talk will end in gas : so they said : we are prepared to accept provided you give us 2000 men. They were ready. When they found that Bengal was in earnest, they said that there were administrative and financial difficulties in the way which could not be overcome. That was in 1914. In 1915, I think the Bengal Ambulance Corps had to be organised. In 1916, the nucleus of the Bengalee regiment was laid—first it was a double company and then it increased and increased. Now they have got about 2000 enrolled and they want more. They say 'let them all come in.'

GOVERNMENT FORCED BY CIRCUMSTANCES TO PLACE TRUST IN US.

) Now what has worked this miracle? What does it imply. It implies that the Government is forced to place trust in you i.e. it is forced by circumstances to place trust in you. The previous policy was a policy of distrust—arms were taken away from you by Lord

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Lytton because he thought or fancied that there might be trouble brewing in the North Western Frontier. In his time we had the Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act—those were the days of distrust. The Vernacular Press Act was repealed by Mr. Gladstone because he declared it was like sitting on the safety-valve ; but it was not thought fit to remove all possibilities of mischief by the people if they are so minded—that was the meaning of the Arms Act. But the new military policy—the Indian Defence Force calling upon our young men of college and schools,—90 per cent. of whom are political suspects,—to join the I. D. F. offering inducements to them, appealing to their patriotism—that is a new policy of trust and confidence in the people and it is due, you and I must understand it, not to generosity—generosity has no place in politics and state-craft nor to liberalism—it is not in obedience to the demands of abstract justice that this has been done—abstractions have no place in the concrete realities of politics and statecraft. It is the imperious demand of the actualities of the present situation in India and outside that has led to this change of attitude though I cannot say as yet whether it has led to a change of spirit and heart in the rulers of the empire in regard to India.

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THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE
SECRETARY OF STATE.

This is the first thing. Now about the reforms. I will read out to you once more the exact terms of the announcement made in the House of Commons by Mr. Montagu on the 20th August last. I want you to read it, to note it, to mark it and to inwardly digest it. It is this :—

“The Policy of His Majesty’s Government with which the Government of India are in complete accord is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government as an integral part of the British Empire.”

TWO PARTS OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT—
FIRST PART: INCREASING ASSO-
CIATION OF INDIANS.

That is the principal part of this announcement. It divides itself, as you will see, in two parts. In the first part it says that the policy of the Government is the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration. Now there is nothing new in this policy—it is the old policy. For the last 50 years and

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more the Government in this country have been increasingly appointing Indians to different posts in the administration. We have had High Court Judges.

They came in first, because that was the safest position—judges cannot do much mischief ; they have to judge according to law and facts and High Court judges work in most cases in pair and in pairing, the Chief Justice, the executive head of the High Court, has always the option of putting in a team which will be a safe one. We have had Deputy Magistrates ; they were also practically judicial officers in the earlier stages. I remember when the late Bankim Chandra Chatterjea was appointed to the Bengal Secretariat—great was our joy. We thought here was a new opening for the recognition of our rights and liberties—the appointment of a Bengalee to the Secretariat. Somehow or other, Bankim Chandra could not be there—either the Secretariat did not suit him or he did not suit the Secretariat, and he had to go back to the bench as a Deputy Magistrate. Then we have had Statutory Civilians, ten or twelve years ago ; there were a few districts in Bengal manned completely by Bengalee officials. That was increased association. Then came the Swadeshi agitation when we began to cry for the moon : we said we will not be satisfied with appointments in the government but the right to make

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appointments to the government. We do not mind who is appointed—we want the best men to be appointed to the different posts in the administration but we want to choose the best men ourselves. It was too much for the Government to listen to them but we had something—Mr. S. P. Sinha—not as yet Sir—was translated to the Executive Council of the Viceroy. It was regarded—not by us Extremists—but by those who always looked up to these appointments as the highest reward of public service as a great advantage.

MERE ASSOCIATION WILL NOT DO— WE WANT REAL POWER.

We said: No. What does a few places in the Executive Council actually mean so far as the rights and liberties of the people are concerned? Sir S. P. Sinha may be a Bengalee by birth but he belongs to a special body—a corporation, which is not accountable to the wishes of the people and not controlled by the needs of the country, as these needs are recognised and understood by the people. Instead of one member we may have two, instead of these members being nominated by the Government as they are now, we may have these members elected by the elected members of the Legislative Council, but the moment the members go to the Council, they are changed men.

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We cannot dismiss him, we cannot call him to account for what he may or may not do. We can only elect him and what will be the result? He will always work with an eye to the main chance—he will so conduct himself in his relation to the other members of the Executive Council that he may get their voices or the voices of the majority of them. He will so conduct himself in regard to the elected members of the Legislative Council that he will be all things to all men—once he is secure in his pay and his position, he will have before his mind the prospect of a translation across the seas to the Secretary of State's Council plus a knighthood. What will be that to us? He will be one of them.

INDIAN MEMBERS IN THE EXECUTIVE COUNCILS HAVE POWER—NEITHER TO DO GOOD NOR TO PREVENT WRONG.

Sir S. P. Sinha was there but could he prevent the passage of the iniquitous Press Laws in 1910? Sir Sankar Nair, than whom there is not a sturdier man in all our public life, who knows how to hold his own even before Governors and Viceroys, is there. But what has he done? He has only been able to smooth down the rough places in the administration. Could

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Sir Sankar Nair prevent the circulation of the notorious circular of the Government of India in March last which set in motion the reactionary policy, the repressive policy in regard to the internment of Mrs. Besant? Could Sir Sankar Nair prevent the indignities heaped upon Mr. Tilak by the Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Commissioner of the Delhi province? The Executive Councillor is at the mercy of the permanent Secretary—a member of the Civil Service—and has not free and full access to the papers that may be in the archives of the Secretariat. And how could an Executive Councillor help us in the extension of our rights and help us in the protection of our liberty under existing conditions? So, larger association with the government, larger association in the administration will not meet the requirements of the present situation. This has been tried and found wanting. These things only demoralise the public life of the country; they never uplift us; they never broaden our views: they never inspire us with genuine patriotism. So increased association with the Government will not do.

SECOND PART OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT— RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

It is not a part of the new policy but this declaration has a watch-word which is a new word in the

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political literature of this country and that word is "Responsible Government." Lord Hardinge had spoken of provincial autonomy indicating that when the provinces have become autonomous, the central government will be a federal government. I say 'indicating'—because he plainly did not say so. But the references to Toronto, to Washington, and to Sydney in the memorable despatch of the 25th of August, 1911, references to those cities of the federal government by which Lord Hardinge sought to justify the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi—those references, to those who know the history of the development of these federal constitutions in America and the Colonies, to them, these references did open up the vision of the future United States of India with its federal or central government situated in Delhi.

Previously, when we cried for National Autonomy, the Police scented sedition in it. Our moderate friends had to utter this word—if they uttered it at all—with bated breath. Autonomy? No, no—self-government was their cry. We use the big word instead of the Anglo-Saxon word self-government. In our own language, we use a Sanskrit word instead of a homely Bengali word, if we wish to invest the word with a certain peculiarity and if it be a word

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indicating something delicate which cannot be uttered before decent people, you are saved from the charge of indecency. So when we said autonomy, we were saved from the accusation of sedition through this Greek covering. But notwithstanding all that, the Police took note of every step that we advanced and noted every time that we said autonomy. But this autonomy found a place in the Government records. It was recognised by Lord Hardinge as the legitimate expression of the ambition or aspiration of the people of India. But even autonomy was not sufficiently explicit. Self-government and provincial autonomy might mean the autonomy or the self-rule of the Provincial Governments. In fact, this has been the interpretation put upon the word by many Anglo-Indian Civilians. That is : let Bengal be autonomous—which means let Bengal i.e. the Government of Bengal be freed from the interference of the Government of India. Let the Government of India be autonomous : i.e. let the men on the spot in Simla and Delhi be freed from the interference of the Secretary of State and the British Cabinet and the British Parliament. Provincial autonomy has been interpreted as the autonomy of the bureaucracy governing the different provinces.

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RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—WHAT IT MEANS.

But now we have got the word Responsible Government and there is absolutely no possibility of mistaking the meaning of it. Responsible Government means a government which is responsible to the people. You cannot say that the present Government is not a responsible government. In one sense, it is a responsible government : but the responsibility of the present Bengal Government, for instance, is not to the people of Bengal but to the Government of India and the responsibility of the Government of India is not to the people of India or to any section of the people of India but to the Secretary of State for India and the responsibility of the Secretary of State for India is to the Cabinet of which he has hitherto been a member and the Parliament to which that Cabinet is subject. The responsibility is to higher powers but not to the people of India. But when it is said that the introduction of responsible government in India is the goal of British policy, we can take it that the object of this new policy is to make the Provincial Governments and the Government of India responsible to the people of the provinces and the people of India. That is the meaning of Responsible Govern-

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ment, and every scheme of reform that may be presented to us must be judged by this canon : does it make for popular responsibility?—does it transfer the responsibility of those who govern the country at the present time from the higher authorities, to whom they are subject now, to the people, whom they govern? In any scheme of responsible government for India, if you want to make the Government of India responsible government, you shall have to so construct it, you shall have to arrange its functions that the Government of India, as represented by the Executive Government headed by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India,—that Government shall be responsible, not, as now, to the Secretary of State but to the people of India and the members of this Government shall be appointed or elected by the people of India through their chosen representatives—and shall be accountable to the people and removable by the vote or voice of the people of India, which shall find its expression through the vote of the Legislative Assembly. That is what is meant by responsible Government. In regard to the provincial governments—say in regard to Bengal—if the Government of Bengal is to be made a responsible government, the whole thing must be changed. The Governor of Bengal and the Members of the Executive Council are

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not responsible to the Legislative Council : they are not appointed by the Legislative Council : they are not removable by the Legislative Council. And if you have responsible Government in Bengal, the immediate result of it will be that the members of the Executive Council shall be appointed by the representatives of the people of Bengal, shall be accountable to the representatives of the people of Bengal for their acts and policy and shall be removable by the people of Bengal if they do anything against the interest of the people. That is what is meant by responsible government. That is the policy, but the statement made by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons has certain other provisions also : it is also laid down that this must be gradually introduced. I accept it, Sir. You cannot introduce Responsible Government in India all at once. Why? Not because the people of India are not fitted to discharge the functions and undertake the obligations of responsible Government—I do not believe in that cry of unfitness—I believe that my people are at this very moment fit to control and supervise, to manage their own affairs through their accredited representatives, as the people of Great Britain or the Dominions or any other country are fit. If it is said that you are uneducated—that the

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percentage of literacy is very low in this country—
Yes, we cannot deny it.

ARE OUR VILLAGE CULTIVATORS FIT TO VOTE?

But I refuse to accept the proposition that literacy is a 'sine qua non' of intelligent understanding of one's own affairs. Go to our village; ask the village cultivator. Does he understand his business or not? You are a graduate turned out by the University there, but you understand your business much less than the cultivator understands his own business and the criterion of political capacity is not understanding the problems of the world—not the knowledge of the parts of the globe—the criterion is not even a knowledge of all the parts of one's own country—the criterion is not even an understanding of the larger political issues that may be before the Government and the Parliament of any country. I have been during two or three election campaigns in England and I know how these are carried on. I know the amount and character of intelligence that is brought to bear on the burning questions of the day. I was there in 1910 when the great question of the Reform of the House of Lords was before the British Electorate. I went about among the village people—I went into a barber's shop and

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what did I find? Some people
 "Down with the Dukes"—that
 them: "Why should you be asking
 Dukes"? "Oh, they ought to be asked
 practically all the answer that I received
 the Dukes i.e. the peers,—the House
 be deprived of their right,—though
 understand the issues. What harm
 Lords committed in rejecting Lloyd George's
 Bills, they did not understand. They had
 what the relation, actual or ideal, ought
 between a Lower or Upper Chamber. I challenge
 Britisher, Mr. Lionel Curtis including, to tell me
 his countrymen, to whom he always refers to as
 countrymen—I challenge him to tell me that the
 British Electorate in the village—in the slums of Lon-
 don, in the East end of London, understood anything
 about the great issues that convulsed the country in
 1910. Could they take an intelligent view of the
 problem of politics involved in this constitutional
 question? Nothing of the kind. You may say they
 may not understand it but they know their own
 interest. I deny that also. Every one who has been
 in England during a electioneering campaign knows
 that even now—not to speak of the olden days when
 public houses and free libations of beer offered by

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often-times more than their election
in not referring to those days. I am
the years, 1909, 1910 and 1911. What did
the people were not interested even. The
who had the command of the largest num-
otor cars had the largest number of votes—a
de oftentime secures a vote there. That is the
intelligence, that is the kind of interest, that is
nd of wide knowledge of public affairs which is
ght to bear upon the function of election by the
ish electorate. I was reading the other day in the
pers of the terrible confusion among the enlightened
d educated and literate electorates of Great Britain
over the filling in of sugar tickets! You may talk of
the intelligence of your electors to people who have
not been to England. I challenge any one to prove
that our villagers, the average Indian cultivator, is less
intelligent—though he may be illiterate.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT BY GRADATION—WHERE SHALL WE BEGIN AND HOW?

We must get it gradually. Yes, I admit that.
But what is to be the standard of this gradation?
Where shall we begin and how? You may say:

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"well I begin at the lowest rung of the ladder." And what is the last rung of the political ladder?—Village sanitation, village public works, repairing of old bridges, keeping up of old roads. But my friend, you forget that ever since Lord Ripon's scheme of self-government was first promulgated in this country, we have been asked to train ourselves in this village government, through our local boards and our district boards. We have been educating ourselves from the year 1881 to 1917, for the last 37 years and what is the result? We are now told we are not sufficiently educated. So another 40 years will go if we start at the lowest rung of the ladder and try to learn self-government by repairing old bridges and building new roads and preserving archeological treasures in our old and ruined villages. That will not do. I am for building from below and not from the top, but I do not believe that you can begin responsible government anywhere lower than the provincial units. That is our demand. If you are earnest, if you are serious, if you are sincere you must begin with the provincial administration and not lower than that.

THE MISCHIEVOUS SCHEME OF MR. LIONEL CURTIS.

Mr. Curtis's scheme has been signed by a number of our eminent statesmen and politicians. This

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Yescheme says that for the present you cannot have full autonomy or responsible government in regard to the Government of India—I freely and frankly admit that. Why? Because of this reason: The Government of India stands between the people of India and the people and government of Great Britain and the other parts of the empire. Unless we desire to cut ourselves adrift from the empire, unless we desire absolute sovereign independence, we cannot demand now, all at once, a transfer of complete responsibility to the people in regard to the Government of India. But we do not desire isolation. We do not desire to break up the British connection in our own interest, in the interest of the empire and in the interest of the world itself and world civilization. But we do desire to put a termination to the present British subjection of India. I would leave, Sir, the Government of India more or less in its present condition i.e. responsible to the Secretary of State for India. For how long? As long as the Council of the Empire has not been formed—when the empire is reconstituted upon a federal basis, as it will have to be in the near future, and India is admitted into the council of the empire as an equal among equals and is represented there by our own accredited representatives, then we may claim responsibility for the government of India, because then our

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relations with the empire will be maintained not through the Government of India, as now, but through the council of the empire, as it will be in the future. Then we shall demand complete responsibility. But we do demand full responsibility for the provincial governments. But Mr. Curtis says: that will not do. Why? Because, in the first place, the Civil Service will not accept it: Secondly, the Anglo-Indians will not accept it. And thirdly, if the Anglo-Indians do not accept it, my people at home will hear nothing about it. Your scheme has a reasonable chance of being carefully attended to only if you can secure the support of the great Anglo-Indian community to your scheme. But have the Anglo-Indians such tremendous influence over British public life? Mr. Curtis talks of his intimate knowledge of his people. We also know something of his people and of the position of the retired Anglo-Indians in English public life. Except the Viceroy, who are not Anglo-Indians, I do not remember that a single Anglo-Indian had any place in the responsible government in Great Britain. How many Anglo-Indians are there in the House of Commons? During my first visit to England in 1899, in Manchester, in Carlisle and such other cities I found that the Anglo-Indian was an outcast in society, except in London.

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THERE CAN BE NO TALK OF COMPROMISE
UNTIL WE HAVE THE SCHEME
OF THE OTHER SIDE.

I know that if you will put your demands fully, completely and unhesitatingly, you will compel the attention of the British electorate and the British House of Commons. Then we are told even by our men: do not ask too much. Now, what is to be the measure of moderation I want to know. How much shall I want? "Ask for as much as you are likely to get i.e. make a compromise." There are many lawyers among those who have signed this document of Mr. Curtis and I want to put one plain question to them: when they draw up a plaint, do they put their demands in view of the possible objection to them by the other side? If I am to lower my demands, I must know what the Government wants to do. 'We want a Government scheme. We want the scheme of Lord Chelmsford and the scheme of Lord Hardinge which he placed on record before he left India,—we want the scheme even of Sir Hugh Bray and Sir Archy Birkmyre. They have not given us any scheme. They have not said that this is what would suit their wishes, When we have got that, when we see how far they are going to advance, then it will be time for us to consider

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how far their demand is reasonable and, in the light of that demand how far we can come down with a view to meet their demands half-way. They have no scheme. Yet, in the secrecy of our chambers we are trembling lest we should ask too much. That is not statecraft—that is not politics—that is not common-sense.

THE DUAL SYSTEM :—RESPONSIBLE AND IRRESPONSIBLE.

Mr. Curtis says that at present you are to have a dual type of Government. Take the case of Bengal. There will be two governments of Bengal—one the government of Bengal as at present constituted.—Side by side, there will be another government of Bengal to be newly constituted and they will be a responsible government—responsibility and irresponsibility—like shine and shadow—will go together in the reconstitution of the empire. The irresponsible government is to have full control over the finances and the responsible government i.e. the government elected by the members of the Legislative Council and accountable for their actions and policies to them—they are to have a certain sum of money given to them to carry on the functions that may be transferred to them viz. archaeology, village sanitation, primary education and

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local assessments and taxes. And the whole finance, land revenue, salt and excise and all other sources of income are to be in the hands of the irresponsible government and you are to get a certain sum of money for the management of your house. A beautiful arrangement!!! A household arrangement—a man and wife arrangement! Is it not like that? Heeren Babu earns money and every month he comes and places a certain sum of money in the hands of Mrs. Dutt. And Mrs. Dutt is responsible with regard to the payment of the servants, of the coachman, feeding of the horses, feeding the children, sometimes keeping up at night and seeing that the master of the house gets his food in due time, as otherwise there will be retrenchment. Poor Mrs. Dutt has to do all this—that is the sum total of her responsibility. Now, Mr. Dutt has got a pet servant, a coachman—and for five or seven days—not more than that—if that coachman's requirements are not adequately met by Mrs. Dutt, then Heeren Babu may meet those requirements out of his own funds and deduct the money so spent from his wife's allowance. There is another thing. After seven years there will be a commissioner or a body of commissioners—Mati Babu and others—to see whether Mrs. Dutt has discharged her responsibilities properly or not. And if at the end of seven years,

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Mati Babu and others declare that Mrs. Dutt has discharged her responsibilities properly, then Heeren Babu may say, "You may have a little more money and a little more responsibility and a little more work." That is exactly what Mr. Curtis's scheme comes to. He says that will be a dual government, that is, one responsible and other irresponsible, and the responsible government will work for seven years. If the responsible government want more money and if the irresponsible government do not grant it, then the responsible government will be free to raise the money that it wants by fresh taxes. A beautiful arrangement again! People will cry out for increased expenditure on education and—if the responsible government is in charge of medical relief,—people will say: why, you are responsible for our drainage, for our water supply, for our public health, we want you to meet those responsibilities. If the responsible government have no money placed at their disposal then they will say: 'all right, we will do it, if you will only pay taxes.' You know taxation always makes a Government unpopular, whether it be responsible or irresponsible. This will be the easiest way of making the responsible government unpopular.

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THOSE WHO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS SCHEME ARE POLITICALLY IMBECILE.

The whole scheme, whether consciously or unconsciously is so framed that it is bound to lead to complete failure. The whole thing is based upon mischief. Not only this—it is laid down in Mr. Curtis's scheme, with regard to public works and roads, new or old, that if the responsible government fails to keep up or build new roads and public works in the neighbourhood of properties belonging to an European investor, then the irresponsible government will undertake this work and make the responsible government pay for it. If in Darjeeling, a tea-planter wants a big road to run through his property and if the responsible government says: we have no money for your road, our people, for their health, for their water supply, for their drainage, want money and we cannot spend our money to make things easy for you, exploiters of the country, then the irresponsible government will come down upon us and they will do the work and charge the cost to us. I am surprised to see that such level-headed men, some of whose names appear in Mr. Curtis's scheme, should have been tempted to put their signature to the scheme. It shows that they have done it in a moment of weak-

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ness and without fully weighing the pros and cons of the scheme. I know it personally that men who have signed this scheme do not subscribe to all the items in it. You will be glad to hear that Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore refused to have anything to do with this scheme. He was also asked to sign a letter recommending this scheme to the consideration of the public. But he is a man of leisure. You cannot pester anything out of him. If you pester him too much he has got his Bolepur to run to. There are others who are busy men and if you go on and on: Will you do it? Will you do it?—they will put their signatures to anything that you bring. I have known of generous men who put their signatures to I. O. U's. Now, this is the way that these signatures have been got. I know it personally that men who have signed this scheme do not subscribe to all the items in it. They themselves have helped the drafting of schemes saner than this that demand full provincial autonomy. Therefore, I ask you not to be led astray by those signatures, but to weigh every word yourselves. This is the most mischievous document—this Curtis Testament. And those who will put their signatures to it will brand themselves with political thoughtlessness, with political imbecility. Therefore, I say the scheme of reform that I want must make provision for

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full, complete responsibility so far as provincial governments are concerned, and if we are to come down from that demand we can only consider whether we shall do so or not when we have the Government scheme before us. It is then only that the question of compromise may arise.

OUR DEMANDS.

(Speech delivered on December 12th, 1917.)

We have been considering the question of Home Rule, in more or less detail, for the last fortnight or three weeks. I myself have addressed Calcutta audiences on more than 3 or 4 occasions and it would be tiresome to me and unprofitable to you if I were to go once more over the grounds that have already been traversed upon.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

I desire to point out in the first place that Home Rule was coming much nearer to us than we had expected at this time last year. The situation in India during Christmas 1916, when we met in Lucknow, was very different from the situation that faces us to-day. The problem before the politicians of India—the Nationalist politicians of India last winter was how to devise some means by which we should be able to exercise some control, however small it might be, over the government. The government at present, taking the Legislature and the Executive together, is com-

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posed on the one side of the British Bureaucracy otherwise known as the Indian Civil Service, and on the other side the representatives of the people. On the side of the bureaucracy are more or less the nominees taken from the people to the Legislative Council by the Bureaucracy. On the side of the people are not even all the elected members—a good many of our elected members have found their places in the Legislative Councils not in virtue of their intellectual or moral right to offer counsel on behalf of the people to the Government but in virtue of their position and wealth, in virtue of their money-bags and their acres. And you cannot always expect that these gentlemen—estimable gentlemen they all are—we cannot deny the fact that a good many of these elected representatives, returned or chosen by special electorates—a good many of them are not representatives of the culture, the intelligence and the patriotism of the country. We cannot deny it—that a good many of these gentlemen side with the bureaucracy.

THE OBJECT OF THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME.

Standing against this triple alliance we have a few really representative men and they occupy the position of what is known as the Opposition in Parliamentary

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Government. And the object of our political endeavours last winter and for years previous to that was to strengthen the hands of this opposition—to transfer some amount of control from this triple alliance to this opposition—to make it possible for this Opposition—if they cannot help in constructive work, which they are not called upon to do—at least they could be useful as obstructionists to the administration of the Government. That had been the objective of our reforms and the Congress-League scheme was framed with this idea. The Congress-League scheme demands that four-fifths of the members of the Legislative Councils, both in the Government of India and in the Provincial Governments, should be elected by the people, through some direct method of election, as obtains now in the case of the Mahomedan electorates.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF ELECTION.

The present Legislative Councillors are composed, so far as people's representatives are concerned, of three classes. First, the representatives of the Zemindary electorate, second, the representatives of the Mahomedan electorate, third, the representatives of the Municipalities and District Boards. Direct election is exercised by the Zemindars and the Mahomedans. The election of the Municipa-

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lities and the District Boards is not direct election i.e., the municipal tax-payers and the rate-payers of the district boards have not the right of voting at the election of the representatives of the Municipalities and District Boards in the Legislative Councils. This vote is given not by the rate-payers but by the members of the different municipalities and district boards. The result is this: the real municipal rate-payers know nothing; are not called upon to do anything in the matter of these elections and in consequence we get a number of people in the Legislative Councils who represent the Municipalities, which means their friends and their relations, i.e., with whom they are tied in a variety of obligations. And the worst evil of it is this: that from 1909 to 1917 we have had these members elected by the municipalities and the district-boards, but no progress has been made, during these 8 or 9 years by the people in political education owing to the very imperfect and mischievous way in which these elections are carried on. Therefore the Congress-League scheme demanded in the first place 4/5ths of the members of the Legislative Councils, both Imperial and Provincial, to be elected by the people—not indirectly as now, but directly as in the case of the Mahomedans and the Zemindari electorates.

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CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME IS SURE TO LEAD TO A DEADLOCK.

The second part of it was that in Provincial as well as in Imperial Governments, the Executive Councils should have one half of the members elected by the elected members of the Legislative Councils. Now, sir, it goes without saying that this is not a practical arrangement—for efficient executive work this arrangement is absolutely impractical. It will create a deadlock, for, the elected members in the Executive Council will either be faithful to their electorates or they will be faithful to their Government. If they are faithful to the electorate, they may not find it possible to always support the policy of the other members of the Council—and if you have an executive council composed of 4 men, two of whom pull in one way and the other two another way, the administration or the executive work cannot go on. We understood it and yet why did we propose it? For this simple reason. We wanted to make the administration impossible. My moderate friends will shake their heads at this expression but the effect of this reform, if it was accepted by the Government—but we knew no sane administration would accept it—the result of it would have been to make the

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administration impossible. What then happens? These two members will have to resign. If they resign and the elected members of the Legislative Council send them back again? Again they find that they cannot accept the policy of the other side. They again resign. They are again sent back and they again resign. This state of things cannot go on. No administration is possible under these conditions. Yet, if our wise men proposed it, they did so evidently with the idea that we wanted some control, some power to obstruct the administration.

THE NEW DECLARATION—WHAT LED TO IT?

But things have changed since then. The new declaration of policy says that we are to get "responsible government". This word, responsible government, was not before us in 1915. They have been placed before us authoritatively by the Secretary of State last August and since then the situation has changed. I told you the reason of this new declaration of policy. I will just in a couple of words refer to these reasons. Lord Islington said in the House of Lords that the Government of India had repeatedly, constantly telegraphed that the situation in India was very grave—it was becoming graver and it was considered necessary that a declaration of

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policy should be made. So it is the gravity of the Indian situation which compelled the Government to make this declaration. Where comes in the gravity of the situation? It is a question which I ask you to consider for a moment. Is our agitation the cause of this gravity? Have we, Home Rulers, Mrs. Besant in Madras, Balgangadhar Tilak in Bombay and others in the different provinces, the Home Rulers—have they created this grave situation? Mrs. Besant is a new recruit to extremism or nationalism, Tilak is an old stager. We have been kicking up all this row for 10, 15 or 20 years past. We have been carrying on this agitation—we have been doing all this mischief from 1885, particularly from 1905, but the situation was never so grave. I do not believe that it is impossible for the Government of India at the present time to crush the Home Rule agitation in the hollow of their hands. They have already done it partly, they tried it last summer. Why did they fail? Because India is not isolated just now from the rest of the world. India has been thrown into the mid-current of world-politics and world-problems and to-day India holds in her hands, consciously or unconsciously, the threads of the future historic evolution in Asia and in Europe. This is the new situation and the gravity of the present situation arose

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out of these two facts : there are evil portents on the West. And there is a tremendous simmering of the national mind inside India. Twenty years ago when there was not this national self-consciousness in India, no amount of external or international complications would have created this grave situation. The external complications synchronising with a tremendous agitation in India for Home Rule—these two things have combined to create the gravity of the situation of which Lord Islington spoke in the House of Lords and the new declaration of Policy is made with a view to pacify—to solve the great problem which these circumstances have produced—and the question is how will it be solved? Responsible government, progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire—this has been declared to be the goal of British policy. The Anglo-Indian official says : yes, yes, you will get responsible government, but step by step. Yes, we know the English language sufficiently well to understand this. We know that we are not going to get everything all at once.

DI-ARCHY.

Responsible Government in India would mean that the central government viz., the Imperial Govern-

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ment of India must be responsible to the people of India as well as the Provincial governments. That is the meaning of Responsible Government;—complete full responsible government in India would mean that the Government at Delhi or at Simla should be responsible to the representatives of the people of India in the Indian or Viceregal Legislative Council. That would mean complete responsible government. We do not want that now. We do not want it now because you say progressive realization. But progressive realization means that you must start responsible government somewhere—the beginning must be made. Responsible Government—where will you begin it? I told you on the last occasion that responsibility in the administration of village unions, in the administration of district boards and municipalities do not make for responsible government. Responsible Government means the administration must be responsible to the people. I agree with Mr. Lionel Curtis there. They say: some part:—The Government of Bengal, for instance, has got a number of things to do. You take some of these things and make the government responsible to the people in regard to these things. That is Di-archy. That will not do. Why? We have discussed it threadbare, *ad nauseum*. In the first place, you will have two governments in Bengal—

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the bureaucratic government having full control of the finance, of Police, Justice and Prison and the Popular Government having control, let me take it, of education and village sanitation and local self-government.

Now take for instance, education. Can you carry on the kind of education that the country needs?—can you carry on the ideal of national education as it is understood by the better mind of your own country unless you are freed from Police surveillance. I want to start schools in every village. I want to train every villager not only in the 3 R's but also in the elements of civic responsibility and political rights because, after all, unless the people are trained in civic responsibilities and educated in the matter of their political rights and duties, responsible government cannot be properly established among them. Consequently, if I have charge of education, I will try to conduct the educational policy as it is conducted in every self-governing country. In Great Britain how do they conduct primary education? They do not stifle the virgin sentiment of patriotism in their youngmen. They do not penalise the desire for the supremacy of Great Britain among the nations of the world—they do not desire to kill or stifle the desire of the expression of freedom in the people. "Rule Britannia! Rule the

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waves! Britons will never be slaves"—that is taught to every school-boy, and, if I were to teach to my school children in the village schools, in the secondary schools and in the colleges:—

स्वाधीनता हीनताय के बाँचिते पाय रे ?

के बाँचिते पाय रे ?

शासकप्रहाराय के परिदे पाय रे ?

के परिदे पाय रे ?

If I were to teach these things to my boys: who wants to live, when freedom is gone? Who wants to put on the shackle of the slave on his ankle? If I were to teach our boys this, I would at once be served with a notice: Whereas Babu Bipin Chandra Pal has acted, is acted, is acting, or is likely to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety, therefore under section such and such of the Defence of India Act he is hereby prohibited from going among his people and teaching the boys, and should he disobey this order, he is likely to be imprisoned for six months. Now that will be my fate.

POWER NEVER COMMITS SUICIDE.

No, sir, this arrangement can't do. It is impossible. The civil servants—they are all men. I do not believe that they are less worthy than we—I do not believe that they are more ignoble than I am. As

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and peaceful constitutional methods". I myself wrote it in so many words in my *Hindu Review* in dealing with the question of political criminalism, and I refer to it now because that article in the *Hindu Review* attracted considerable notice in this country. It was referred to by publicists like the *Indian Daily News* and *Englishman* and I knew it from my office that there was a great call upon that particular issue of the *Hindu Review* from the various secretariats in this country. So it cannot be said that they did not take any notice of that article. They read it and took notice of it and they knew that we had been asking for it, they knew that we had been making a point of this in fighting this criminal propaganda,—this being the only way in which it could be successfully fought;—and yet they made no sign and uttered not a single word. Then last year the Congress and the Moslem League passed a resolution regarding self-government, and the first prayer of that resolution was that a declaration like this should be made in the name of His Majesty. That was in December 1916 nine months ago. Did it take the responsible ministers of the Crown in England, did it take the responsible officers of the Crown in India nine long months to consider whether a declaration of policy might or might not be made? I do not believe it.

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that the Government in England, the statesmen in England even in these critical times, seem to be making promises while they are determined to break them. I do not want my people to think like this. In the interest of our future, in the interest of the British Empire and in the interest of world-peace, I desire reconciliation. I desire a compromise. I desire friendly alliance. I do not desire conflict and enmity between my people and the Government. Therefore I say: this will not do.

HOW THEY HAVE TAUGHT US SELF-GOVERNMENT.

They say you need education—you are not educated in self-government. Pray, you have been educating us for the last 158 years and more. At one time you did—or we thought that you did—educate us to be free, when our schools were free, when our text-books were free from the surveillance of the C. I. D. But you curtailed all that. Was that giving us training in civic freedom? Training in Self-Government? You started that training in 1878 with the Arms Act. Was that the beginning, the A. B. C. of training in Self-Government in this country? You wanted to take away from us the right and the capacity to defend ourselves against alien enemies. That was

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your policy in 1878, and you have pursued that policy, the buréaucracy has pursued that policy more or less openly since then. We want to teach our villagers, we want to organise them for various civic works.— Our national volunteers were organised during the Swadeshi movement for this very purpose but you penalised these organisations. You killed them and now you say: 'You are to be trained'. No, sir, the training in self-government can only come through the exercise of the rights of self-government. You talk of electorates. It is for the first time, sir, that we hear that creation takes time. God said: let there be light, and there was light. It is instantaneous. And your creation of the Moslem electorates—did it take time? You said: 'Let there be a Moslem electorate' and there grew up the Moslem electorate all over India. Your zemindari electorate was an instantaneous production. You took only a few months to make your register. Take six months. Widen the franchise—lay down the qualifications and you get a good register in every district and every sub-district in less than 6 months. The creation of electorates, the great Mr. Curtis thinks is a huge affair. But the government of India created the Moslem electorate in no time.

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WE WANT FREE FIELD AND FAIR PLAY.

Why don't you do that now? No more education from those whose interest it is not to educate—no more help from those whose interest it is not to help us. We want only free field and fair play. Give us fair play and we shall educate ourselves. We shall organise ourselves and we shall gradually rise to the call of duty that responsible government will place in our hands. Some measure of responsible government must be given. Must admits of no policy and will not brook delay. It must be given immediately and the least measure of responsible government should be complete, full, absolute responsibility, so far as the provinces are concerned. So far as the Government of India is concerned, we do not want to touch it now. But so far as the provinces are concerned we want it immediately, as the first step towards responsible government. We want full, complete, unmitigated provincial autonomy and responsible government, so far as matters pertaining to provincial administration are concerned. This must be our minimum demand.

THE NEW POLICY.

(Speech delivered on November 18th, 1917.)

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—You are all aware that a very important announcement was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Montagu on the 20th of August last. That statement though made by Mr. Montagu was authorised evidently by His Majesty's Government, by the present War Cabinet. The announcement of policy made by Mr. Montagu on the 20th August is not his own policy but the policy of the present Ministers of the Government of the Empire, and that pronouncement contained these significant words. I will refresh your memory by quoting the whole of that pronouncement. (Reads.) "The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration". Now, so far as this part of the first sentence is concerned, I need hardly tell you that it is no new declaration of policy. Lord Morley made a similar declaration from his place in the House of Lords when introducing the last India Council Bill.

THE NEW POLICY.

You will remember that: The increased association of Indians in every branch of the administration of the country is not a new policy. It is only a repetition of the old policy. The sentence goes on: (reads) "and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the Empire". These words "responsible government" are new words in the history of British Policy in regard to India. The last declaration of policy that we had, was in the Proclamation of 1858, made in the name of Her Majesty Queen Victoria which declared practically for good government, or efficient government. It no doubt said that there should be no distinction made between the Indian and the European subjects of Her Majesty in any matter. No native of India within the British possessions should be deprived of any right or privileges in virtue of his race, his creed or nationality. These were the old words. Though this policy has not been fully carried out during the last sixty years and equal rights are not enjoyed by the people of India even to this day with the European subjects of His Majesty, though the Arms Act makes invidious distinction with regard to the possession of arms between the people of India and the people of other countries residing in India, whether they be sub-

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jects of Great Britain or the subjects of any other power, though this racial bar has not yet been removed, yet it must be said that the declaration of policy made in 1858 had for its objective good government. "In your happiness shall be our reward, in your contentment shall be the strength of our rule"—these are the words of that memorable Proclamation, but there was no question of responsible government, there was no statement, there was no suggestion, no hope held out that at any time, whether near or distant, India would be vested with responsible government. These words "responsible government" occur now as I have said for the first time in any state document in regard to the government of this country.

WHAT IS RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT?

Now what are we to understand by "responsible government"? Responsible Government means government which is responsible for its acts and policy to the people, in other words, responsible government is a government which is accountable for its legislative and executive acts to the people or any section of the people whom it governs. That is responsible government. At present we have no responsible government in India. Take the highest authority in India, the Government of India as we call

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it, which is presided over by the Viceroy and Governor-General; it owes no manner of responsibility to the people of India—to no part or section of the people of India. The Government of India is represented by the Viceroy and Governor-General and his Executive Council, as well as his Legislative Council. That Government is responsible not to you and to me but it is responsible to the Secretary of State across the seas. The Secretary of State in his turn is responsible to the Cabinet and the Cabinet is responsible to the British Parliament, and the British Parliament is responsible to the British electors. So far as India is concerned, the Government of India is not responsible, as I have said to any part of the people of India. The Government of India is not responsible to those whom it governs (cries of "shame"!). That is the present condition. But here, we are told for the first time, that it is the goal of British policy in India to make the government of India a responsible Government (applause). In other words the Government of India will have to be so reconstructed—it may be in 10 years, it may be in 20 years, it may be in 50 years,—but it will have to be so reconstructed, that this Government shall not be responsible, as it is now, to the Secretary of State but to the people of India as represented in the

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Legislative Council of India, a Legislative Council to be elected by the people of India. And you will at once see that for the first time in the history of British administration in this country we have a clear, distinct, and unequivocal declaration of policy that it is the aim of Government to give us a Government responsible to the people of India. This is a great advance. We have never had such a declaration of policy during the last 150 years or more that we have been under the government of England. We have always had diverse proclamations; we have always had vague promises; we have always had the offer of equal treatment with the other citizens of the Empire; we have always had the hope of getting justice from the rulers of the country—justice, generosity, relief—medical relief and famine relief; all sorts of good things that the Government can do for the people. All these things have been offered to us. They offered to educate us but they never said that it was the end and aim of their policy to give India responsible government.

Why do they make this declaration of policy to-day? This is a very important question: why do you make this declaration of policy in 1917? Why in the midst of a prolonged life-and-death struggle with a most unscrupulous and exceedingly resourceful

enemy, why when you are engaged in finding ways and means to fight this enemy successfully, why then in the midst of this dreadful world war, do you come forward to make this declaration and raise hopes and hold out a new ideal before the people of India? It may be said that we have been asking for it; but did we ask for it this year only? Have we not been asking for responsible government in India for the last 30 years? We have not been asking for it with greater persistence during the last four or five years. I remember that when we were trying to solve the intricate problem of political criminalism in this country, when we were discussing ways and means to control this so-called anarchical propaganda in Bengal and elsewhere, we distinctly asked the Government to make a declaration of policy similar to what has been made to-day. We said that these young men, patriotic men devoted to their country, misguided though they were, blinded by political frenzy, were moved by the ideal of freedom which moved revolutionaries and patriots in every part of the world, and we said "you cannot fight idealism of this kind by means of repressive measures. If you want to fight this idealism you must come forward and give some ground of hope to these reckless idealists that their ideal has a chance of being realised by lawful

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a class, they are as honourable as can be found in any part of the world among any set of men, but, as a friend of mine said the other day—'power never commits suicide'. And the power that is known as the Indian Civil Service cannot be expected to commit suicide by making room for the progress of your country in responsible government. They will try to obstruct you at every point and then there will be deadlock. If you have two governments—one popular and the other bureaucratic, there will be deadlock. The Popular government will want money, the bureaucratic government will say: we can't give you. The popular government will want freedom to organise the resources of the people; the bureaucratic government will set the dogs of the Police on their heels. There would be deadlock and more than that. And if I were an enemy of British Rule, or British connection rather—I would have voted for this. Why? It will keep up the conflict between bureaucracy and the people; the conflict that is conducted in the columns of the newspapers and on public platforms will be transferred to the administrative machinery and in this conflict the sympathy of the people will be against the bureaucracy. Feelings will rise, and worst of all, people will lose their confidence in the good faith of this proclamation and they will say

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The fact of the matter is this that the situation in India and the situation outside India, the situation in the theatre of war, the situation in Europe and the situation in Asia has been rapidly changing like quick changes in theatres. These quick changes have forced the problem of responsible government in India upon the attention of the responsible Ministers of the Government of the Empire. This offer of responsible Government is not made in response to our prayers. Let us rest assured of this simple fact. We prayed, we begged, and we memorialised, but it is not for this reason that this declaration has been made. It has been made for reasons of State. I want you to lay these words to your heart; this declaration has been made for reasons of State. It has been made not to satisfy your ambition but to safeguard the interests of the British Empire (Applause). This declaration has been made with a view to provide for future possibilities, both in Asia and in Europe, affecting the most vital interests or the Empire to which we belong. This is the real meaning of this declaration; and why do I say it?

I say it for this reason. This war has gone on now for more than three years. We do not know as yet how many more years it will take to come to a finish. One day we think that it is coming to an end

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or so the telegrams indicate. The next day we find that like a mirage the vision of peace has receded far beyond the horizon. That is what we find. One day we think that in the Western front the arms of the Allies are making such rapid and such effective progress that Germany will not be able to hold out for any length of time and will have to come to terms. The next day we see that there has been a debacle in Russia and on the third day we find the Germans rushing on the Italian frontier. Now these are very important matters for consideration. We do not know when the war will end ; we do not know whether it will end this winter ; we do not know whether it will end in the winter of 1918 ; we do not know whether it will end in the winter of 1919. People in England, publicists who ought to know have been talking of 1920 as the possible date for the termination of the war. If it lasts for three more dreadful years, what will it mean to England ; what will it mean to Great Britain ; what will it mean to the Allies and last but not least, what will it mean to you and to me even in this country, if this terrible war is continued for another three years?

Japan is lying low ; Japan has joined the Allies ; Japan is an enemy of Germany—of the Central Powers ; Japan is not spending her resources or using

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her purse or her power to any appreciable extent in support of the Allied cause. Not that our Eastern Ally was not prepared to do so ; not that she has not the capacity to do so ; but being so far away from the theatre of war, she had no call upon her men, her navy and her Army to take a more active part than she has already taken in this dreadful war. Japan has got all her resources intact. This is a matter which must be considered and very carefully considered, considered in the secrecy of the Cabinet Council. This is a thing which has to be considered by statesmen, not by petty politicians.

Do you understand what the present debacle in Russia may mean? What is Japan's foreign policy? What is she waiting for? Japan has been out on a mission of civilisation. She has been civilising Korea, which had given her, her own original civilisation. She has been civilising Korea, giving her municipal administration and taking charge of the health of the Korean people, organising sanitary measures, preserving peace and protecting her against outside invasion. She has been civilising Korea and she is out for civilising all the neighbouring countries (laughter). She is out for civilising Manchuria and gradually for also civilising Siberia (laughter). She is also out for civilising all the unappropriated places on

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the North Eastern frontier of Asia. She is out for that and Russia's calamity will be Japan's opportunity.

Now I don't like to be panicky but there is one significant fact in this morning's telegrams. One of them says that telegraphic communication has been cut off between Japan and Central Russia. This is significant. And there is trouble also in the outskirts of Russia.

Next you have to consider that Japan is out for forming an alliance with China. That also is the policy of Japan. You will notice that Japan has declared the Monroe doctrine with regard to China. I read it in the papers a few days ago, but apparently it has not been noticed by our wide-awake Anglo-Indian publicists. Japan has declared the Monroe doctrine in China and you know what the Monroe doctrine is. The Monroe doctrine is a doctrine declared by President Monroe in the United States of America in the twenties of the last century and this declaration meant that the U.S.A. would not meddle in European politics and further that the U.S.A. would not tolerate the interference of Europeans with American politics. The watch-word was "Hands off America"—North and South. That was the red signal hoisted by America; they will not have the European Chancelleries intriguing with the internal

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politics of America. Japan has declared the same doctrine with regard to China. In simple language she has declared to the world that she will not tolerate any interference on the part of outsiders with Chinese affairs. This is also significant. Side by side with this, Japan has been very accommodating to China. She has been lending millions and millions of yen to the Chinese Government for the development of the resources of China. That also is very significant. That shows the trend of affairs.

As Japan is out for civilising Korea and the neighbouring places, she is out also for forming a Pan-Mongolian federation which will be a protection for the Mongolian races against inroads from Europe or from any part of Asia. This is the meaning of the declaration of the Monroe doctrine by Japan, of this lending out of millions and millions of yen by Japan to China. Japan, we know is our friend, the friend of our Government, the friend of our Empire, but we all know the value of political friendships (laughter). Italy was an ally of Germany until the other day. She was a member of the Tripple Alliance: Italy honoured the terms of this Tripple Alliance as long as it suited her purpose. She joined the Tripple Alliance with a view to secure a position among the great powers of Europe and apparently also to free

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herself from the influence and domination of the Vatican. That was the dual object with which she joined the Tripple Alliance. Italy has secured her place among the great powers in Europe and she has secured her freedom from the domination of the Papal Throne. Having done that she found it more to her interests to turn her back on the central powers and join the Allies in this world war. So she treated the Tripple Alliance in the same way, as a scrap of paper, of no value, as Germany treated her Treaties with England and other centuries in regard to Belgium. Every one treats Treaties like scraps of paper when it suits his purpose. Italy has done it ; though yesterday she was a friend of Germany to-day she is the enemy of Germany. Who knows what position will be taken up by Japan five years, ten years, twenty years hence, when it may suit her interests not to stand with us but against us. This is a thing which you and I ought to consider.

Then again, you have to consider the effect on the Eastern theatre of war of the debacle in Russia. We all regret that the Russian revolution should take the turn that it has. We all rejoiced when the Russian people secured their freedom from the Russian Beaucracy. We all rejoiced with the Russian people upon the overthrow of Czardom. We all hoped and

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trusted that the united voice of the people of Russia and the united arms of the people of Russia would have strengthened the cause of the Allies. We know it now, we did not know before that the Beaucocracy in Russia was being influenced by German diplomacy. We know that there were secret workings in the Russian Chancellery which did not lend their support to the cause of the Allies; we know that the Czar was making arrangements for a separate peace with Germany and these things brought about the fall of the Czar. There were other diplomatic forces at work to bring about the overthrow of Czardom. We believed that the people of Russia would rise with all their might and fight the common enemy of Europe for their own civilisation. But what is the state of things in Russia now? We regret it, but we have to take note of it. But this debacle in Russia, to whatever causes it may be attributed, has created fresh complications for ourselves as citizens of the British Empire. This debacle in Russia affects us perhaps more than anyone else. It practically opens the road from Northern Persia almost to the borders of Afghanistan. If any danger comes this way we must meet it with stern opposition. The enemy will have to pass over the dead bodies of every Indian before he can cross the frontiers of India. We will have to

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do this ; we must face the difficulty. But we must face the possibility of this new situation also. When we come to consider all these things namely, first the exhaustion of every Allied power, and the depletion of their man-power, secondly, the sudden on-rush of German and Austrian hordes on Italy ; thirdly, the *debacle* in Russia, fourthly, the possibility of a pan-Mongolian federation on the Eastern Pacific; fifthly, the possibility of Moslem disturbance in the Mid-East—when we consider these things we realise the gravity of the situation that faces us, that faces the Empire to which we belong.

I take it that this declaration of policy is the direct result of the recognition of these world-conditions, these world-forces. If I were an English man, if I were a responsible British statesman, the supreme problem before me would be, can we keep India in her present position of helplessness and at the same time utilise to the fullest possible extent her immense human and material resources, first, for fighting the present war and bringing it to a successful issue, and secondly to provide against future dangers to India and the British Empire. This is the problem that faces British statesmen to-day.

This is the problem that faces you and me also to-day. Do not forget for a single moment that our

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fortunes, the future of Indian nationalism is bound up indissolubly with the future of the Empire to which you belong (applause). This is not the language of diplomacy which speaks with mental reservation. I am not making this statement for the benefit of the C. I. D. This statement is not even made for the Government of India. This statement is meant for you my countrymen (cries of "Bande Mataram"), because I ask you to consider what your future is likely to be if you are deprived of your association with Great Britain, with the British Empire, in the immediate future (applause).

I am not for the continuation of British subjection. I boldly say it. I am not for the perpetuation of the present dependent condition of my country. I am for the recognition of my country and my people as equal co-partners in the British Empire. Though I am not for subjection, though I am not for dependence, though I do not plead to you for British rule, I do plead to you with all the power at my command for the continuation of the British connection—not subjection, but connection, not dependence but partnership. This is our policy,—and why do I say it? I say it because I recognise the realities of the present situation.

I ask you to look at your sea-board and I ask you to consider the state of Japan and Japanese ambitions

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in future Asiatic developments, including India's future. You have an extensive sea-board, but you have no navy. Japan, if ever it should be to her interest, the moment she is in conflict with the British Empire, will take advantage of the unprotected condition of your sea-board and you will be at the mercy of the first Japanese squadron that will visit your hospitable shores. Now you have to consider this. Japan is not likely to come alone. It is likely that she will come with China. China is the only country in the world that has got a population equal to and greater than the population of India. China is the only country in the world which can billet 10 Chinese soldiers in every important village in India and hold you down by sheer physical brute force. Great Britain holds you not by brute force. She holds you not by superior physical power. She holds you by moral force. It may not always be ethical but it is moral force. Great Britain holds sovereign authority in India, because the people in India wish her to hold that authority. It is the acquiescence, the passive acquiescence of the people of India, which is the bul-wark of British Rule in India. It is hypnotism, it is māyā, it is not brute force. That is what you have to recognise. Brute force, physical lordship, is much more difficult to get rid of than moral subjection.

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Hypnotism may be cured by counter passes ; but no amount of counter passes will be able to get rid of the pig-tails (they have given up their pig-tails now). No hypnotism will be able to do it ; no yoga will be able to do it ; no occultism will be able to do it. They will sit tight on your breasts and suck your blood.

That is what you will have to consider ; you have an extensive sea-board, you have not a single man-of-war. You have immense tracts of territory but you have not a single unit of national militia. How will you protect yourself? If, during the present war, Japan had not been with us but against us, what would have been the position of India? What would have been the position of India if Japan had joined Germany? Would it have been possible for Great Britain to protect this extensive sea-board with her Navy employed elsewhere and in protecting her own shores and preventing the ingress and egress of vessels to enemy ports. It would be difficult ; I do not say that it would be impossible—but it would be difficult and this difficulty would spell our political ruin. It would be no inroad this time from the North-West. It would come from the East, South and North-East and that would absolutely ruin our chances of national freedom, and India would have to groan under Japanese yoke for centuries insult to come.

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We have to provide against this and it is to our interest to be with Great Britain, because if we severed the British connection at this minute, Japan would be at our throats. She would not say "she is unprepared and we cannot fight her." She would not allow us the time and opportunity to prepare ourselves and equip ourselves sufficiently. She will not sit idle till we do so. Therefore, it is necessary for us to be with Great Britain, because under the protection of the British Flag we shall be able to build up our own Navy and organise our own Army, our own militia, and organise such other measures of self-defence both by sea and by land as will enable us to be self-reliant and self-protected. Now this is why I desire to be with the Empire. That is why I am anxious that this problem of responsible Government should be solved betimes in India because the whole thing depends upon this.

I have told you that the British Government cannot utilise the full man-power of India. Our full available man power is about—6 crores. The available man power of the whole British Empire at the beginning of this war was between and 10 crores at the most. Of these $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores belonged to the white races of the Empire and 6 crores to India and—2 crores belonged to the other non-white races. Now, the

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white races of the Empire have been expending their resources, in the conflict in Europe, they are being depleted. India, as yet, has practically done nothing. The few lakhs of soldiers that we had have done good service on behalf of their King, on behalf of the Empire and on behalf of their country. It is no longer possible that this great world war can be carried on as before. You want intelligent men. It is no longer a fight with muscles. It is a fight now with brains. You want intelligent, educated men, intelligent and educated soldiers who will serve the flag—not for money but for love of their country, for the ideals of freedom, for patriotism. The call of patriotism has gone out to Australia. This call has gone even to Canada, though the people of Canada are not all of British origin. This call has also gone to South Africa, though a very small per centage of South Africa is of British origin. The same call of patriotism must go out to the people of India to enable them to make that sacrifice on behalf of the Empire for the successful termination of this war that has been made by other parts of the Empire.

But that call cannot go out to you in this country unless you are admitted into the household of the Empire. You do not belong to the Imperial family, you are not even the adopted children of the Empire ;

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you stand outside the door of the Imperial mansion, you are disturbed dependents. Pity may be for you but not equal rights and equal privileges. Therefore if Great Britain is to exploit the whole man power of India, it is essentially necessary that she should so shape her Indian policy that it will be possible for her to appeal to the people of India in the name of patriotism and make them come forward and sacrifice their lives and treasures for the successful termination of the war (applause).

The trend of the new policy, even before it was declared in Parliament, was seen in the military situation.

For years and years and years we have been praying for admission into the Army. Bengalis, Maharattas and every educated province had been crying itself hoarse to get into the army, to get into the volunteer force, to get military training. But we were not admitted, the door was closed against us.

Now what is happening to-day? The Government has been asking you to not only join the Indian Defence Force but they have been asking you to join the regular Indian Army. They first asked you to give a double company. The double company was given. They said then, "we want a battalion". The Battalion was given. Next came the cry "give us

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more. We want a regiment. The regiment has been given. "Keep some reserve". The reserve has been provided. Now they say we want more ; give us a division, 2, 3, 4, divisions from Bengal".

Now what does it mean? It means not merely a question of favour that they confer upon you, the important right to go to Mesopotamia and face all the dangers and troubles there and take the chance of never coming back. They have now called you to these privileges. Why? Because there is the call of the Empire even upon the British bureaucracy to overcome their prejudices and give the people of India their long overdue rights and privileges. This is the real reason.

The recent reactionary policy in Madras and elsewhere have interfered effectively with the progress of the movement among Indians. We did not want to stop it. We were loyal to the Government, loyal to the Empire, and wished our young men to join the force even though the beaurocracy in India may be reactionary in certain directions. We knew the dangers of the situation ; we knew the difficulties that would have to be faced ; still we asked them to ignore these dangers and face these difficulties to serve their king, the country, and their Empire. We did that, but still the response has not been very satisfactory.

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They wanted 6000 men. I am afraid they have not got as yet the full number. There was great enthusiasm when the announcement was made. Why is there not that great enthusiasm now? Because the people are no longer sure with regard to their political future. This is what is really responsible. They had been looking very confidently to the political future of India as a part of the British Empire. This is really why there is such a slow response to the call of the Empire for military services.

Then again Anglo-Indians, Eurasians,—every other man within India of a military age has been compelled to undergo military training to keep the men ready for military service inside India. That compulsion has not been imposed upon you and me. Young men belonging to the Anglo-Indian and Eurasian communities from the age of sixteen to eighteen have been enlisted in the cadet corps and are receiving military training in schools and colleges, but our young men have not been admitted to that. We have the best of Indian youths and men but we have no cadet corps either voluntary or compulsory for providing military education to Indian young men from sixteen to eighteen. Why is this? Not that the Empire has not any need for the men; it is not that the Empire is not in need of soldiers. The need of

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fighting units is very great ; the need is awful, tremendous. Did not you read among this morning's telegrams an announcement by Sir Patrick Geddes in which he says that there will be a further combing out ! It means that when military compulsion was introduced a certain number of men were exempted from military service. Then there was the first combing out. Those who were first exempted were brought in again for examination. Then there was another combing out and those who were exempted on the second occasion were brought out. Then there was the third combing out. As our women here comb out their hair so Great Britain has been combing out her male population to find out who were able to serve in a military capacity. This frequent combing out process has been going on and you understand what it means in connection with the man-power of Great Britain. Sir Patrick Geddes says we have not sufficiently combed out the trades and occupations which are meant for providing luxuries to the people and he says : "This time we shall take hold of those trades and professions which provide luxuries for the people. We will not touch men in munition factories ; we will not touch men now helping the war in other capacities—in making clothes, boots, munitions, shells, or other articles necessary for fighting the

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enemy, but we will comb out the men who are engaged in providing luxuries for the people of Great Britain."

Shortly, it means that they want men. It means that they are calling for more men, more men, more men, more men, and yet more men, and this call is going out day after day from all the fronts of the European theatre of war. The call was first from the Western front. Next it was from Salonika. The call now is also from Italy. To save the position it will be very difficult, unless America and Great Britain combine to help Italy. Italy wants her help and therefore an army has to be sent to Italy. Who knows in what other direction an army may not have to be sent. Therefore there is need of men but you cannot be asked to join the army of the Empire.

Why, because you are not under a responsible government. Ireland has not been compelled to join. Military compulsion has not been introduced into Ireland. Why? Because Ireland has not got Home Rule. Home Rulers will nurse a grievance against the British people and you cannot employ as your soldiers people who are nursing a political grievance against you. As long as these grievances have not been redressed in Ireland, so long compulsion cannot be introduced there. So long as there is the least

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suspicion of a political grievance nursed by the people of India or any section of India, so long military compulsion or for the matter of that any large employment of the people of India in the military service of the Empire would not be possible.

Therefore, for the protection of the Empire, for safe-guarding the interests of the Empire with which the future of India is indissolubly bound up, it has become essential that there should be this declaration of policy. It has not been made out of generosity or liberality; it is not inspired even by any political idealism. In the past we had declarations but not exactly of the kind which has been made to-day, but we had declarations by individual statesmen regarding India. In the beginning of the present century, during the earlier years of this century, a wave of democratic idealism passed over Europe. Moved by that democratic idealism Macaulay says "We look forward to the day when India trained by ourselves will be able to govern herself. Then our duty towards India will be done." It is not the day of democratic idealism any more. Therefore, this policy has not been prompted by political idealism. A strong India will strengthen the future of the Empire, be the strength and safety of the Empire, be the strength, and the protection of

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the interests of the Empire, because, if India is weak, the Empire becomes weak ; if India remains poor, the Empire remains poor. If India is paralysed, the Empire itself will be paralysed. India has always meant the British Empire, and to-day India means British Empire in a sense in which India never meant British Empire before. This is the meaning of this policy.

Responsible Government, is the ideal. Now, how are we to move towards this ideal? How are we to proceed? We have got that declaration of policy and we have got something else also. It is not merely a declaration of policy. The Government proposed to take immediately certain steps in the direction of bringing about the realisation of this policy. That is a very significant thing. They want to take these steps and they have sent Mr. Montagu to this country in order that he might consult the Viceroy, personally see the situation, interview important leaders of public opinion among Indians to supply himself with fresh materials, collect his own facts upon which some practical steps may be immediately taken towards the realisation of this policy.

Now this is a very important matter. Mr. Montagu says in effect : "His Majesty's Government

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have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss this matter with the Viceroy and Government of India and receive the suggestions of representative bodies and others..... That progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages and the British Government and the Government of India, upon whom the responsibility for the welfare of the Indian people, rests, must be the judges" etc. (reads).

Now this is a long sentence which contains many qualifying phrases. I will not discuss the qualifying phrases at present. I will only ask your attention to the mere fact that for the first time in the history of this country the Secretary of State has come out to this country not as a wandering tourist but on a deputation to consult with the Government of India as well as to consult the leaders of public opinion in India regarding the steps that may be immediately taken towards the realisation of the ideals of responsible Government. This is very significant, and our important duty at this time is to give such help to Mr. Montagu that he will not be imposed upon either by Indians or by Anglo-Indian top-hats. This is absolutely necessary.

Here I hold in my hand a treatise drawn up by

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the great Mr. Lionel Curtis, of the "Round Table" who has been touring in India for the last 12 months or more. Mr. Lionel Curtis was recently in Darjeeling. We do not know why of all the provinces he should favour Bengal just at this time. He was in Darjeeling and he was in Calcutta and he says in the introduction to the treatise that he had conferences and informal meetings in Calcutta and Darjeeling with some of our leaders. In Darjeeling there was Sir S. P. Sinha, but whether he was there as a member of the Government of Bengal, I do not know. Babu Bhupendranath Basu was also there before he was transferred to Delhi to join Mr. Montagu. There were others there also. It is useless to name them, great lawyers, who have been spending all their lives in poring over costly briefs and unravelling the mysteries of conflicting rights, civil and criminal, who have spent all their lives in looking for law cases in support of their clients' cases. These gentlemen were all there and they had a holiday and they tried their hands in constitution-making under the guidance of Mr. Curtis; and as a result of these conferences in Darjeeling and Calcutta, Mr. Curtis has drawn up a certain treaty—I call it a treaty, because Mr. Curtis himself calls it a treaty.

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between level-headed Indian leaders and level-headed Anglo-Indian leaders.

This has been signed by a number of Anglo-Indians and also by a number of Indians. I think you may have seen it in the newspapers. I think it was published partly in yesterday morning's papers. I think it was published this morning in the *Bengalee*. These are the conclusions at which these gentlemen arrived, to which they put their signature. I do not want them to treat these as a scrap of paper as the Kaiser did.

I will not tire your patience by reading all the articles but I will just refer to these (reads 1, 2, 3 and 4). Then in the most important articles of the treaty it says: "during the period of transition," that is to say, during the time that it will take to convert the present irresponsible government into a responsible government in India, it may take 10 years or 50 years or 100 years.

What is to happen during this period? Mr. Curtis says you are to proceed on these lines, namely there are to be side by side two types of government—the present type not responsible to the people but responsible to the Government of India; and the other is to be responsible to the people. There are to be two compartments, one, which will be respon-

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sible to the people and the other which will be responsible to the Government. One compartment is to be in the hands of the civilian executive and this compartment has no manner of responsibility to the people of India. There is to be another compartment to be managed by the elected members of the Council and it will be responsible to the Legislative Council for its acts. So there will be two compartments—one responsible and the other irresponsible.

This treaty is significantly silent as regards the duties of these two compartments, but Mr. Curtis has in another place in one of his earlier writings pointed out how even this may be worked out. He says the Government of a province have to perform certain functions for instance—archaeology, village sanitation, primary education and local taxation. This is one group. There is another group. Irrigation, Agriculture etc. In the third group there is the Customs, Salt Revenue and so on. The fourth group consists of Police, Justice, and so on. Mr. Curtis proposes that of these four groups, the matters dealing with archaeology, the museum, village sanitation, the looking after of village roads, and all those things known as "local sluff", also Irrigation, Agriculture and so on should be left to you and me. We are to be allowed complete control of Archaeology, village

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roads, village ponds and all that sort of things, of Agriculture whatever that may mean and Irrigation etc., but the control of the Police, Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice—these all belong to the other compartment which is not to be responsible to us. They are not to be controlled by this responsible compartment of the Government of Bengal. They are to be controlled by the irresponsible compartment (applause). They are to remain in the control of the I. C. S., of the Indian Civil Service.

In regard to education you may control your village *pathshalas*, but you cannot go further than that. So far as secondary education is concerned, so far as University education is concerned, you are not to be given any control over that. All these things of minor importance which do not help to build up a nation are to be in our control, but those things which are necessary for the nation, which will build it up are to be in charge of the Government and Executive Council composed of Civil Servants. You may have one or two of your own men there but this is to be the irresponsible part of the Government. All that the responsible part of the Government has to do with is the supervision of broken bridges, village roads and ponds, primary education, medical relief and some other matters of the same sort. I put

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it to you how will this work. The idea is: "I shall make it over to you after I see how the system works, judging by your faithfulness in discharging your responsibilities, so far as broken bridges are concerned, by your faithfulness in the discharge of your responsibility so far as hidden stones and archeology in the ruins of Gour or Bikrampur are concerned, by faithfulness in the discharge of your responsibility, so far as the village *pathshalas* are concerned." I would have been prepared to accept this compromise if I knew that even in this compartment I would have perfect liberty and absolute freedom from the interference of the Police; but can you expect it? Can you dream of it? Supposing I want to reconstruct the *pathshalas* and I want to educate the mass by means of films, lantern slides and oral lectures and I want to go about among the village people telling them how the people of England live, and that I want to go about among the people in the villages educating them in the mode of government as being practised in the country of my rulers—what will be my fate? (laughter). You all know very well what that fate will be. Can any of our young men go, can we send any of our young men to the villages to organise the civic life of the village, so that they might start on the lowest rung of the ladder to responsible govern-

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ment, educating them in the civic duties for the good of their community,—of their village. Can I do so without being pursued and dogged by the hounds of the C. I. D.? I cannot do it so long as I have not got full control of the Police, so long as I have not got thorough control of justice, so long as Justice is not freed from political influence in this country.

Suppose a minister in the responsible department is interfered with in the discharge of his duties and he brings the man before the House complaining about the Police. Will he ever have the House against the action of the Police by complaining to the other compartment which will have the Police in its charge? Not at all.

Nay, worse than this, granting that we accept it or that it is forced upon us, that there are to be two compartments, it is plain to the meanest intelligence (I do not know whether it is plain to a lawyers' intelligence) that at every step there will be no small amount of rivalry and friction between the two departments: the responsible government will try to prove their fitness so that the irresponsible government may be reduced to a position of responsibility and the Responsible Government, not being like Christ ready to sacrifice themselves at the altar of humanity, or of duty, will always try to preserve their position and

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carry out their functions and the Irresponsible Government will be jealous of the success of the Responsible Department and friction will increase at every step ; at every meeting of the Council there will be resolutions passed against the action of the Irresponsible Government. This will increase the bitterness of feeling already existing ; it will increase the bad feeling against the Government which cannot be for the good of either the people or of the Government itself.

If you cannot give us full responsibility, do not give us any thing. We do not want this compartmental system of Government (Applause). Is it impossible to give us the whole system ? I do not see how or why it should be so. I cannot see why, at any rate in Bengal, where you and I can speak with practical experience and knowledge of the people and their economic and civic life, this cannot be done. You and I can see that there is no reason why a full measure of Provincial autonomy, which means a full measure of Responsible Government cannot be given to the people of Bengal.

How is it to be done ? The first step must be to divide the functions of the Bengal Government from the Government of India. Mr. Curtis himself admits that there is no such thing as Provincial Government. They are only different compartments of the Govern-

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ment of India. This is Mr. Lionel Curtis' own version. He says that the Government of the Provinces is the Indian Civil Service representing the Government of India and controlling the other departments. There the first step is to help the Provincial Governments to be free from the interferences of their activities and functions by the Government of India and to do this you have to divide the functions of the Government of India. Let us in the first place put them in charge of Naval and Military affairs. The Provincial Governments cannot undertake Naval and Military affairs. The Imperial Government must also be in supreme control of the Customs, of all tariffs, Import and Export Duty. All these functions belong to the Imperial Government. They have to do that in other countries or other parts of the Empire. Imperial relations must be in charge of the Government of India. In the next place, there are other matters with which the whole of India are equally interested, which affect every part of India—not one particular province. That must also belong to the Government of India.

In regard to small provinces like the N. W. P. these provinces are not as yet fitted to assume any degree of provincial autonomy, so these provinces must remain under the direct control of the Govern-

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ment of India. These are the functions of the Government of India. The Provincial Governments should confine their activity to provincial matters.

In Bengal the Provincial Government must be responsible for the collection and expenditure of the Land Revenue ; they must be responsible for the Salt Revenue ; they must be responsible for the Excise Revenue ; they must be responsible for the control of the Educational policy of the Province ; they must be responsible for the control of provincial agriculture ; they must be responsible for the control of the provincial Forests and Irrigation ; they must be responsible for the Administration of Justice and of the Police. These are the functions of the Government of Bengal.

Having divided the functions of government as between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, the question arises can we or can we not endow the governments of the provinces with full responsibility? This is the only question. My own opinion is, and I think it is known to a good many people, that Bengal is quite fitted to discharge these functions at this very moment,—all these functions of a responsible Government in regard to all these matters. Practically it is we, that are ruling all things. We are ruling our finances. The Finance Minister

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signs, it is true, but the papers are prepared by these under him. These duties are delegated to them. They are competent men, men of education. We have many men who can do all these things. We have one man, who practically controls our University Education. Lord Curzon had been at great pains to reform our University and he passed an Act, and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is reforming it. Can you point to a more capable and efficient, a more powerful, administrator even in your United Kingdom than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee? Can he not be made responsible for the Department of Education? Have we not men capable of being responsible for the administration of Justice, men with large experience of criminal Administration in this country, with a large experience of the Police methods and Police Administration. Take Mr. C. R. Das. Is he not able to do this? He has a large experience in Calcutta and the mofussil. He had had a large criminal practice extending over nearly twenty years. And I ask you, is he not fully competent to control the Police and the Administration of Justice in Bengal? Is not Mr. Chakravarti, who has got an equally large experience, both in the mofussil and Calcutta, able to control and supervise the Administration of Justice and the Police? Is not Ambica Charan Mazumdar, though he comes from

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the mofussil, a fit person to be placed in charge of the Police and the Administration of Justice? Let me name just another. 'Ananda Chandra Ray of Dacca. Is he not equally competent to be placed in charge of this? Have we not got competent men to take charge of the Public Works Department, our own Engineers? We do not mean to say that our responsible Government shall be all our own men, all Bengalees, all native-born. We do not mean to say that all the functions in the administration, the responsible functions of the Ministers of the Bengal Government, shall be in the hands of Bengalees, either Hindus or Mahomedans. No, Sir. All that we want is that whoever may be responsible for any portfolio in any Department of Bengal—it may be Finance, it may be Commerce and Industry, it may be Education, it may be Agriculture and other things or it may be Police and Justice—but whoever is responsible for these Departments shall be responsible to the people, shall be responsible to the elected representatives of the people and shall be controlled by the Legislative Council. This is what we want. I dare say if we have this responsible Government, and Lord Ronaldshay sends for any of our men to form a Ministry, and supposing he sends for Sir S. P. Sinha to form a Ministry, provided he has the confidence of the

majority of the Members of the Legislative Council, is it inconceivable that the first thought of Sir S. P. Sinha, when he is thinking of the composition of his Cabinet and wanting to find out a man to place in charge of Industry and Commerce, is it inconceivable that his first thought will go out to Sir Hugh Bray, or Sir Archie Birkmyre? Or if he is called upon to form a responsible Ministry, is it inconceivable that he should have as Member in charge of Police and Administration of Justice, at any rate for the first two, three, four, five or six years, Mr. Kerr? It is not impossible. If you make us responsible for the working of the Administration we shall be bound to see to it that we get the best men to carry out the Administration and not get in our brothers-in-law and the brothers-in-law of our brothers-in-law.

We shall know that by the way we control the Administration we shall be judged. We shall always be conscious of that, and being conscious of that, we shall always try to secure the best men who will help to make the experiment a complete success. In doing so, we shall get rid of that stigma of inequality, because we are treated as spoilt children as though we were unable to do anything in this country but remain as hewers of wood and drawers of water, as only instruments for the economical exploitation

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of our mother-land and for the political exploitat
of our intellectual resources by the white people.

Because of this, there is antagonism of inter
between Sir Hugh Bray and ourselves. Remove t
inequality, bring them down to the same positio
raise us up to the same level, endow us with the sa
rights and privileges and you will see that the wh
thing will balance itself naturally and automatica
without any difficulty. Anglo-Indians believe t
they enjoy special privileges and they know the
fore that the proposal to give responsible governm
to the people will interfere with these special pri
leges and these privileges will be ruined. I reg
that there are subtle influences that pass over the
cups and over whiskey pegs, that pass along t
dining table and at evening parties. These are t
subtle influences that work for the benefit of and
the interest of the Anglo-Indians and to the detrim
of the Indian people (Cries of "shame, shame").

No shame, Sir; this is human nature. Y
would do the same thing if you were in that positio
If the special privileges are taken away; if t
Indians are raised politically to the same position th
is occupied by the Anglo-Indians, they will see to
that they work together for the common good. I
long as this is not done, there will be no responsib

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government in this country. They say: "If we grant you responsible government, what will happen? Will there not be chaos? We worked cosmos out of chaos and if we return this government at present, there will be chaos again." I do not believe there will be chaos. If there should be chaos it will be the greatest condemnation of the British rule. If after nearly more than 150 years of British administration in this country, it is not fit to take its share of the responsibility in regard to the management of provincial affairs, then I say that all your boasted claims of having governed the country well and effectively for years go to the dogs. You have imposed your Government on the country and if after all these years the state of the country is such that the people cannot undertake the government of their provincial affairs, then, I repeat it again, it is the greatest condemnation of your rule by anyone. But I don't believe it. I don't believe that British rule has been so inglorious or that instead of educating us you have so deprived us of our capacity for self-rule that even if we were given a modicum of it there would be chaos.

You talk about wrangling. Has there not been fighting in England between the Pacificists and the Anti-Pacificists? Has there not been fighting between parties at your elections? To those who have not

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been to England you can talk like this. Those who have there and have seen the scenes at election time know what force there is in such remarks. How many rotten eggs are thrown, how many chairs broken? We know of all these things.....

It is true that we have Hindoo-Moslem riots. If we had responsible Government in this country, if we had a responsible police minister, responsible to the people for the preservation of peace and order, the head of the police in Bihar, I am perfectly confident that the unfortunate incident that has happened last month would never have taken place there. It is the want of responsibility to the people that brings about these things. Nobody is responsible for what happened at Allahabad. During the Mohurrum and Dasahara people were not allowed to go about with sticks and lathis. This time first the Mahomedans went out with lathis. The Hindoos asked the police "How is it you never allowed us to go out with lathis? How is it that this year you have not prohibited the carrying of lathis by the Mahomedans?" The police said "You go away. It is their usual custom". The Hindoos said "All right, if it be their usual custom go about with lathis in the Mohurrum, it is our usual custom in the Ramlila to carry lathis". On the first day the Mahomedans carried 500 lathies. On the

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second day the Hindus carried 700 lathis ; on the third day the Mahomedans had 1500 lathis ; and on the fourth day the Hindus had 2000 lathis. In this way, the competition in regard to lathis went on. I heard it from a very responsible member of the U. P. Council. I cannot name him. My friend Panchcowrie Babu was with me when I heard this. These things have been published in the papers. The result was that there was a disturbance in Allahabad and some heads were broken. I put it to you that if we had a responsible Minister belonging to the U. P. Government in charge of the police, would his subordinates dare to play this game? Would he not be responsible for the riots? Would not his place be unsafe? Would not a Government which would encourage such a policy be liable to be censured by the Legislature? Would not the Government be sent about its business if we had a responsible government? It is because we have no responsible government, it is for this reason that these Hindoo-Mahomedan riots assume the proportions that they do at present. There may be an occasional brush between Hindus and Mahomedans; there may be an occasional dispute between one side and the other; but such a wide-spread disaster as these under British rule would never occur either in Bihar or elsewhere if we had Responsible

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Government. Therefore I say that unless you have responsible government these evils are sure to be frequent.

We are speaking here for Bengal. We are not speaking for the other provinces. We are not acquainted with the conditions of the other provinces. Bengal demands and must have this responsible government. We have had experience of the province. This will make the ground secure and safe for the transference of the responsibility under the Central Government. In this way, by a gradual process, the policy initiated by Mr. Montagu may be given full effect to.

If it does not materialise itself soon, it will be at the peril of the Empire; it will be at the peril of India. Therefore it is our duty, and it is to our interest to see that there is no shilly-shallying, no namby-pambying, no watering down of the real demands of the country. We do not want compartmental government. Let this go out as the united voice of the people that this compartmental system will not do. It is a snare and a delusion for the undoing of the Empire. We want a full measure of responsibility so far as this province is concerned and we have the united support of the people I am confident that we will get it. The matter will not en-

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here. Mr. Montagu will not say anything here. He will not indicate any policy here. He will take everything to England. Perhaps some committee will be appointed to consider the whole question and that committee will ultimately lay down the terms and conditions and give instructions by means of which this responsibility may be gradually transferred from the present government to the people of India (prolonged applause).

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