

TOWARDS SWARAJ

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TOWARDS SWARAJ

BEING THE EXPOSITION OF A
SCHEME OF RESPONSIBLE
GOVERNMENT

BY

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Self-government is the highest and noblest principle of politics,
the safest foundation on which the State can rest.—

The first Marquess of Ripon.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

Since handing over the copy to the printers, I have gone through the Report of the All Parties Conference. The chief merit of the Report of the Committee charged with the duty of determining the principles of the constitution for India, subsequently ratified at Lucknow, lies in the support it has secured of as large a volume of public opinion as possible under present conditions. In its negative side it is a warning that any novel or original proposal that might be generated by the Simon seven, with or without the help of complaisant Indian Committees, Central or Provincial, will provoke a storm of opposition the like of which has not been experienced before. It is not therefore in a spirit of challenge to the arguments advanced and conclusions arrived at in the eight-seven articles of the Report that this book is issued, but in a spirit of earnest enquiry that, when the Conference revises its scheme, it may take note of certain factors underlying the immediate realisation of full responsible government which the distinguished authors of the Report seek to

secure and on which emphasis has to be laid. On the question of the types of government, federal or unitary, franchise, adult suffrage, the constitution of the second chamber, the division of functions between the State and the Commonwealth organisations that are to be set up, and even the redistribution of the provinces on a linguistic, sectarian or religious basis, much will have to be said which may run counter to the cherished principles of the Committee of the Conference. In these pages certain aspects of these problems are developed which may deserve the earnest consideration of the critical public, to whom this book is humbly dedicated.

Trichinopoly,
15th November 1928. }

S. K. SARMA.

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- In page 101 line 9 for *Changes* read *Chances*.
- " 277 line 22 for *than* read *as*.
- " 349 line 1 for *execution the case in* read *extension in*
 the case.

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